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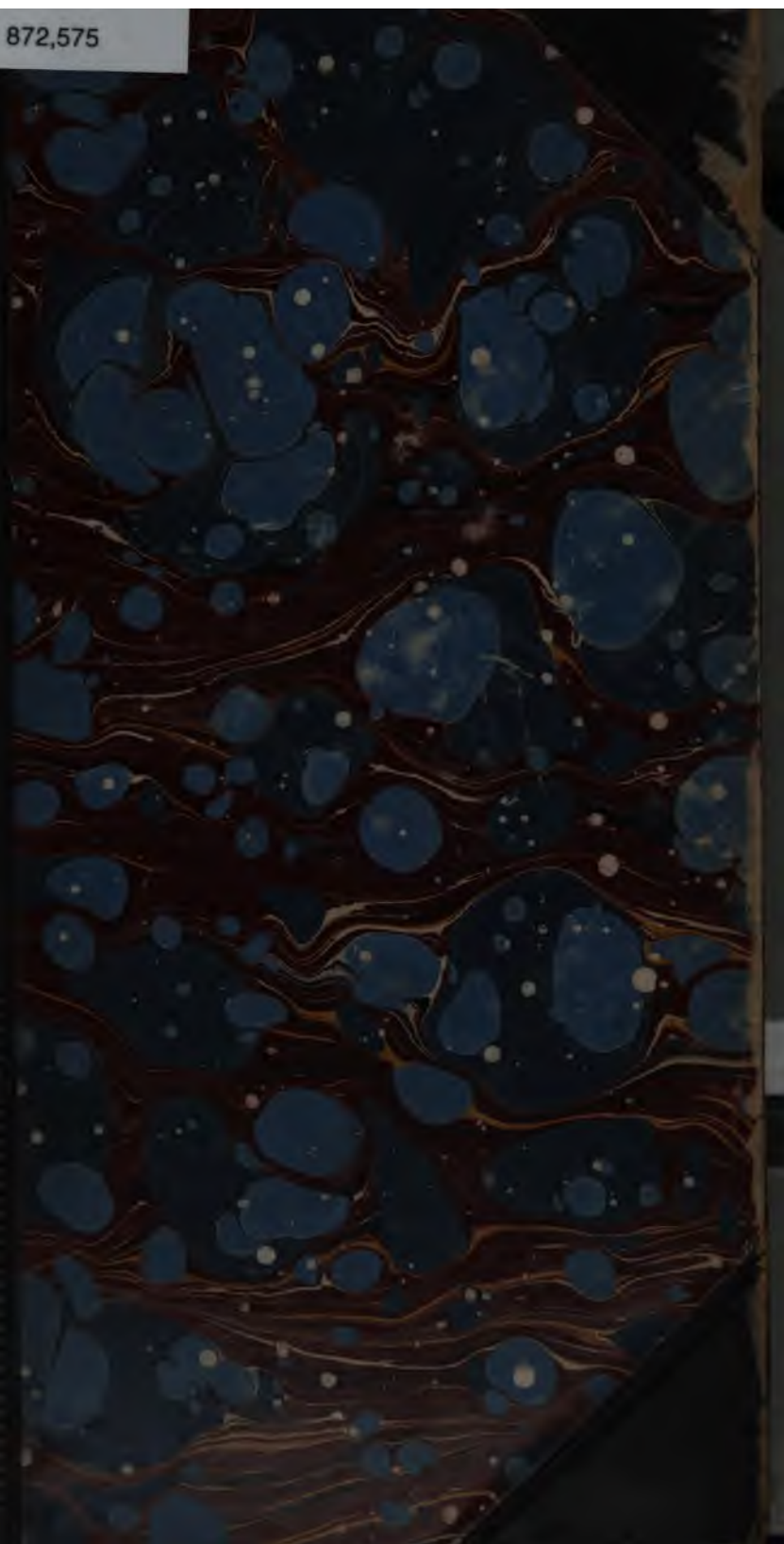
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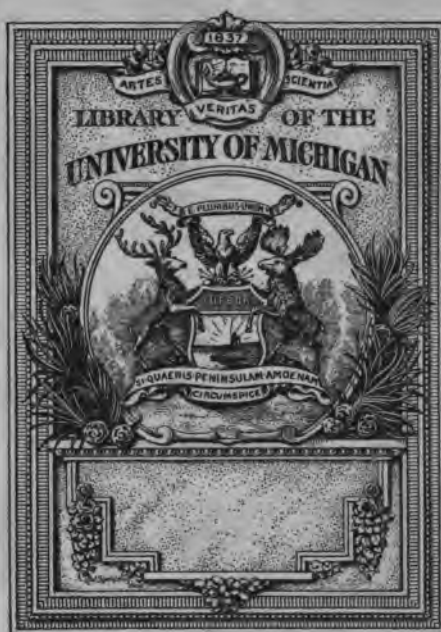
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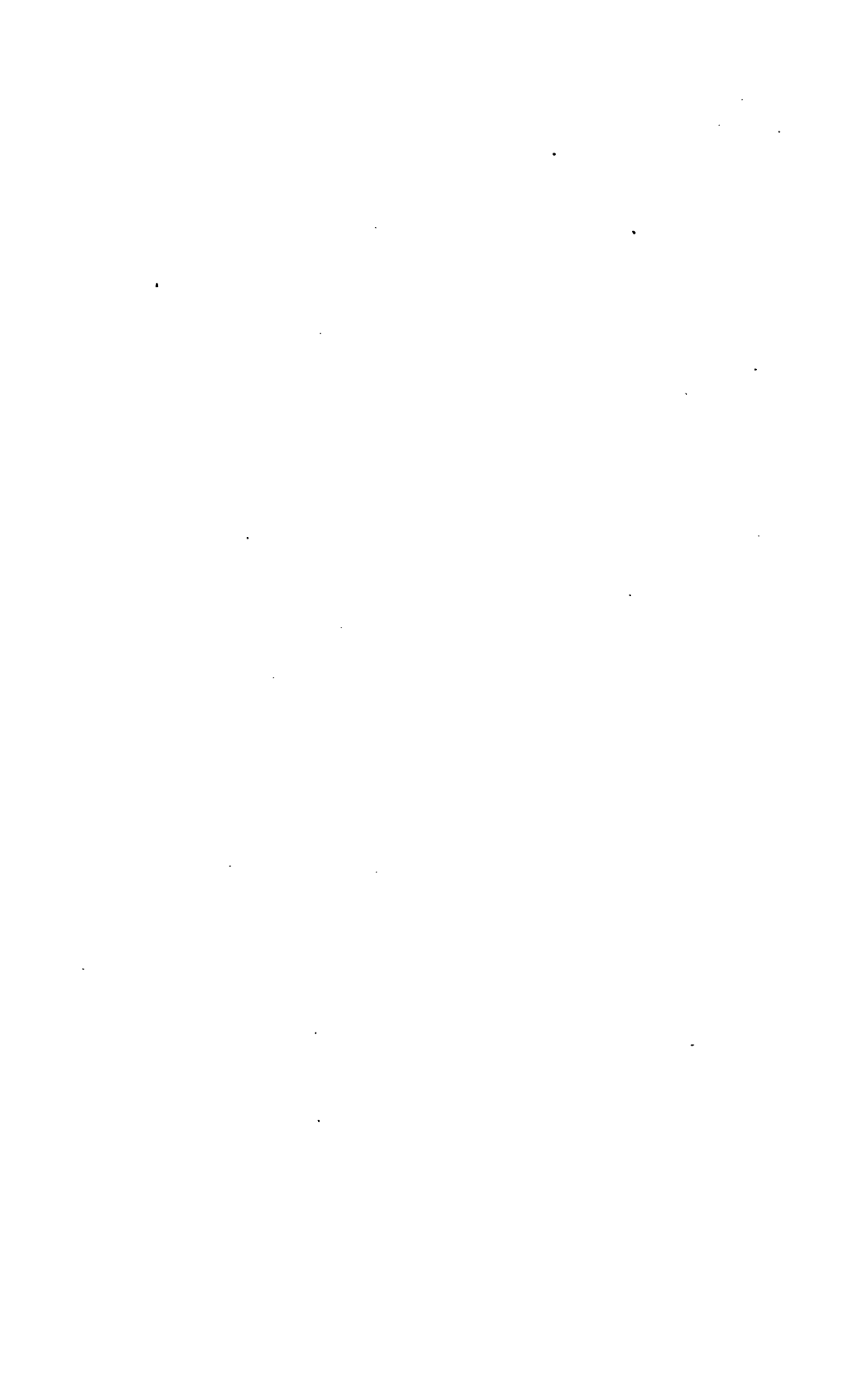
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with hair silvered to the hue of age by the long agony of his voyage.

The exploration of the great moving highway of Africa makes an epoch in the discovery of the continent, closing the era of desultory and isolated research, and opening that of combined steady effort towards a definite though distant goal. That goal is the opening up of the vast equatorial regions to direct commercial intercourse with Europe.

Mercantile enterprise has been in all ages the mainspring of exploratory adventure, but the needs of commerce in our own day are almost the reverse of those which gave its impulse to distant navigation in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The ocean was then searched, north, south, and west, for a route from Europe to the Indies, that the eager pioneers of progress might freight their ships with the semi-mythical treasures of those regions and become their distributors to the rest of the world. The modern heralds of civilization, on the contrary, seek in distant lands fresh fields of consumption rather than of production, and look on the barbarian less as a victim to be plundered or cheated of his unprized riches than as a neophyte to be educated to new wants, as a valuable customer for the commercial classes at home.

The sated markets of older countries no longer supply a sufficient demand for the products of modern industry, and the vast machinery called into existence for their elaboration cannot stand idle or collapse without occasioning a social cataclysm. Highly specialized human skill, represented by armies of trained workmen on the one hand, and enormous capital on the other, in the form of costly engines and vast palaces of industry, demand fresh outlets for their productive energies, unless their accumulated force is to be suffered to run to waste. It is not alone the wealth of the few but the bread of the many that is at stake, for the idle loom means the empty hearth through whole quarters of crowded cities. In the great game of commercial speculation all prejudices of race and colour are laid aside, and black counters may be admitted to make up the tally if the white run short.

Hence the sudden fever of emulation which has recently broken out among European states to obtain some foothold on the soil of Africa; hence the gigantic efforts now being made to link its almost inaccessible interior by some practicable route with the rest of the world. The competition has hitherto lain principally between two rivals—the French, through their colonial authorities on the West Coast, and the somewhat anomalous corporation originally known as the African International Association. Founded in 1876 by the private initiative of the King of the Belgians, the aims of this body were in the first

instance purely philanthropic. To establish a chain of stations across Africa which might serve as halting-places and bases of supply for future travellers, thereby facilitating legitimate commerce, and effecting the extinction of the slave trade, such was the original programme of a body which, by the force of circumstances and the very necessities of its own existence, has gradually come to assume the authority and responsibility of a sovereign state throughout vast tracts of Africa. Like all great experiments, it has far transcended the designs of its projectors, and the new and unforeseen development of its position requires to be ratified by international recognition.

Zanzibar was made the first fulcrum of the operations of the newly-founded philanthropic society, and its outposts were thence pushed forward to the great Equatorial Lakes; but no sooner had Stanley's adventurous voyage revolutionized the question of African exploration, than the Belgian Association not only shifted its base from the shore of the Indian Ocean to that of the Atlantic, but engaged the services of the now famous traveller to open up for traffic the great waterway he had made known.

Thus it was as the pioneer of commerce and civilization that Stanley, accompanied by a large staff of labourers and coadjutors, reached the mouth of the Congo for the second time in August 1879, two years after he had arrived there from the heart of Africa in the last stage of famine and exhaustion. The herculean nature of the task before him might well have daunted a less indomitable spirit, for it is no ready made and facile highway that the mammoth river of western Africa offers to the interior of the continent.

The Congo may be approximately divided into three vast canal sections flowing at different levels, with intervening tracts of broken and dizzy descent down which it plunges from each of these land terraces to the other. The mighty estuary, between whose expanded arms, seven miles apart, it projects its turbid volume at the rate of two million cubic feet per second, a hundred leagues into the Atlantic blue, is on the same scale of magnitude as its other features, and is navigable to a distance of 120 miles from the sea. Here, at the first upward heave of the land, the great Falls of Yellala mark the commencement of the cataract region, which extends, though with intervening navigable stretches, to Stanley Pool, some 300 miles from the coast. In this tranquil basin, studded with fairy palm-feathered islands, the great river, expanded to a silver sheet twenty-three miles across each way, seems to pause in hushed and dreamy repose before hurling itself over the last series of obstacles in its path to the sea.

This inland haven, forming the heart or nucleus of the great arterial system of Africa, is destined, according to the enthusiastic

forecasts of its rival explorers, to be the emporium of a continent thronged by the merchant navies of the world, since it forms the terminus of a vast network of inland navigation, furnished by the great river and its affluents, extending in an unbroken length of nearly 1,000 miles far into the heart of Africa. The furious series of rapids, known as Stanley Falls, corresponds there to the second step of the continent, above which the Upper Congo flows again through its great central depression in another comparatively tranquil reach of 1,200 miles. At Nyangwe, 300 miles from its source, the river has an expanse varying according to the season from 1,300 to 5,000 yards, with a low-water depth of 18 feet. Its tributaries, ramifying in a fan-shaped network of silver threads, enmeshing the continent in a vast web of waters, gather from regions conterminous with those drained by the Nile, the Niger, and the Zambesi, the opulent volume of its flood. Many of these affluents, as yet unexplored, rival the main stream in amplitude, having a width at the junction of 1,000 yards and upwards. The Aruwimi, which joins it from the north, is navigable for steamers for a hundred miles, and, if identical with Schweinfurth's Welle, would open a route to the southern provinces of the Egyptian Soudan.

Stanley's first step towards rendering these upper channels accessible from the coast was to found a station at Vivi, near the limit of maritime navigation, and thence to set about the construction of a road intended to turn the obstacles of the river. Ravines and precipices were bridged and blasted in the process, winning for Stanley his native soubriquet of *Bula Metadi*, or "breaker of the rocks," and after two years of severe and continuous labour a steamer was actually transported over this seemingly impracticable route, and in July 1881 launched at Isanghila above the first group of cataracts. A second series, higher up, had yet to be passed in similar laborious fashion, but this was also achieved, and in December 1881 the *En Avant* floated safely on Stanley Pool, the great water-gate of the continent. Thus, the explorer's dream took shape in actual reality, and the first busy throb of commerce stirred in the dead heart of Africa.

From this point, on the level of the great continental plateau, the upper reaches of the stream have been systematically explored, and two considerable lakes discovered on its affluents near the Equator. The flag of the Association has been carried as far as Stanley Falls, the present limit of upper navigation, where a permanent station has been formed on Wani Rusana, a large island ceded by the native chiefs.

The results of Mr. Stanley's activity during the past five years are now visible in a flotilla of boats and steamers freely navigating the Upper Congo; in communications maintained and established

on its lower course, bringing Stanley Pool within 14 days' journey of the coast; in a chain of 36 stations, three on the Pool and six above it, which a fresh expedition is about to connect with that of Karema on Lake Tanganika; and finally, in large tracts of territory occupied with full rights of sovereignty in right of treaties of cession from native chiefs. Thus a complete cordon has been formed, stretching across the hitherto unexplored continent, with the surprising result that letters may actually be sent from Banana, on the Atlantic, to Zanzibar, on the Mozambique shore.

But the very vastness of this success, and the boldness of the means by which it has been attained, have raised a new set of problems, bringing into question the political status of the organization which has thus suddenly assumed the dimensions of a great power. Its founders seem to feel the necessity for some formal legalization of their anomalous position, and their efforts are now directed to obtaining diplomatic recognition. This has been already accorded to them by the Government of the United States under the title of Free States of the Congo, and the European Powers are gradually following the example.

The incipient State has put forth a manifesto shadowing forth a future Constitution, and a scheme of administrative organization. A governor-general, assisted by a legislative council and executive committee, all under the orders of a supreme junta at Brussels, would seem to recall the machinery of the East India Company, but the new sovereigns of Central Africa differ from that famous corporation in disclaiming all commercial monopoly. The most stringently exclusive trade privileges are indeed conferred on them by treaties with native chiefs, but these, it seems, they generously intend for the benefit of others rather than themselves, since they guarantee absolute freedom of trade to the whole world throughout their dominions. The crucial question arises, How is revenue to be raised? for even royal munificence cannot continue to support the increasing expenditure entailed by the vastly enlarged sphere of action of the Association. The "endowment fund," which enables them to dispense with tolls and customs, must be largely supplemented from some other source, and the State must eventually become self-supporting if it is to continue in existence. It is probably to rent of land leased for building or agricultural purposes that the founders of the Association look to fill their treasury, for we are told that future villages are blocked out and lands parcelled into lots, ready for expected settlers to take up and occupy. European colonization of their territory on a large scale evidently forms part of the beneficent dreams of the Association, which has realized so much of what seemed impossible, that it is hard to place a limit to its future achievements.

By a master-stroke of policy, the creators of the new State have sought to convert their most formidable antagonist into an ally by giving France a reversionary interest in their acquisitions.\* The preferential right of purchase accorded to her in case of alienation of territory on the part of the Association, seemed for a time to have ended the emulous race for annexation between Stanley on behalf of the latter, and the champion of French exploration, a spirit not less adventurous than his own.

Pietro Savorgnan de Brazza, born in Rome in 1852, derives his high-mettled tenacity of purpose from an ancient and war-like race, whose feudal charter for their stronghold in Friuli dates from the tenth century. A seventh son, with no inheritance to look to, save his noble name and dauntless heart, the young Count left his native country when but fourteen to seek his fortunes abroad. Entering the Naval College in Brest, he passed thence into the French navy as midshipman in 1870, and after service in other parts of the world, found himself, three years later, in the French colony of the Gaboon, whose abandonment was at that time contemplated by the authorities. Here he was seized with the exploratory fever, and asked and obtained leave to survey the Ogowe River, debouching in French territory, as a possible route to Central Africa. With very small resources, in part supplied from the private fortune of his mother, he began in 1875 a series of wanderings, resulting in a discovery of some importance. The head-waters of the Ogowe were found to be navigable to within 60 miles of those of the Alima, a considerable affluent of the Congo above Stanley Pool, and more recent researches, tracing out another feeder of the Ogowe, have reduced to twelve miles the distance between the two river systems. The construction of a short line of road thus opens to the French colonists the possibility of diverting through their own territory a portion of the traffic borne by the great waterway of Equatorial Africa. Fired with an exalted sense of his mission as a harbinger of humanizing influences, the young explorer early made the French flag an inviolable sanctuary of freedom, proclaiming the emancipation of all fugitive slaves who should seek its shelter and touch its folds. His humanity, which earned him among the natives the name of "Father of Slaves," stood him in good stead in subsequent explorations, for these freedmen, returning to their homes in the upper country, procured him a favourable reception among their friends.

The two pioneers of West Africa first met in 1880, when de Brazza, fresh from his recent discovery, walking into the station

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\* And now by an Article in the Berlin Conference, France has secured the right to levy whatever protective duties she may please in the event of her obtaining possession of this territory after twenty years from the present date.

near Vivi, haggard but triumphant, presented to Stanley's astonished gaze the phenomenon of a white man appearing suddenly from the interior of the continent. Unkempt, unshorn, in the frayed and tarnished remnant of a naval uniform, whose tattered fringes hung above his bare and blistered feet, not even his nine centuries of patrician lineage, or the romantic picturesqueness of his Italian beauty, could make him appear other than a disreputable vagrant, and such it seems was the light in which he first struck his host at Vivi.

But Stanley's contempt changed to indignation when, on hastening up to the Pool, he found that his tatterdemalion visitor had forestalled him with the chiefs, that Makoko, whose name, signifying "Lord of the Stream," implies his suzerainty over the riverain tribes, had accepted a French protectorate, and that the tricolour already waved over the northern shore of the great inland basin. The treaty with Makoko was formally ratified by the French Chamber in December, 1882, and on January 11 following a grant of 1,275,000 francs was voted to de Brazza for fresh explorations.

The disappointment he had in this instance inflicted on Stanley was avenged by the latter some little time after, for de Brazza having explored the Quilu Valley, and gone to France to urge its annexation, returned to find it occupied by Stanley in his absence. The triangle formed by the diverging courses of this river and the Congo was then, early in 1883, garrisoned with ten stations by the agents of the Association, now organised as a province, with Captain Grant-Elliott as administrator, and a staff of 28 officers and 250 men. From the Quilu mouth, their only outlet to the sea, the Belgian representatives later extended their territory northwards as far as Sette Cama, on the French frontier, and the Lone Star flag of the Association waved here over an unbroken stretch of 300 miles of Atlantic seaboard.

De Brazza had to content himself for the time with the acquisition of some places of secondary importance, leaving the command of the Quilu Valley in the hands of his rival. The territories annexed by him to France, officially designated the Upper and Lower Ogowe and Alima Provinces, are occupied by 24 stations, of which 2, Brazzaville, on Stanley Pool, and another, some 60 miles higher, are on the Upper Congo. Communications throughout this region are, however, difficult and uncertain, owing to the hostility of some of the tribes, and it seems doubtful whether the French dominion, despite its commanding position on the Pool, will ever furnish a commercial route to the sea.

It was in Paris, on October 20, 1882, that the rival explorers met for the second time, and their interview was sufficiently

characteristic to be chronicled. Stanley, at a public dinner given in his honour by a society of English and Americans, had just concluded a sarcastic and contemptuous description of the miserable plight in which de Brazza had first presented himself at Vivi, when it was announced that the latter, who had been informed of what was proceeding, requested to be received by the company. All expected a scene of retorts and recriminations, but the chivalrous young sailor walked with extended hand straight up to his rival, and said, "I hear, dear colleague, that you have been handling me somewhat severely in your speech, but, before I learn what you have said, let me once more shake hands with you." "Sir," said the chairman of the meeting, "you have given proof of consummate tact."

While France and the Belgian Association were thus competing for access to the Upper Congo, the estuary and coast between 8° and 5° 12" south latitude were claimed by Portugal in right of priority of discovery and occupation. Her pretensions, hitherto practically acquiesced in by other Powers, had for nearly fifty years back been hotly contested by England, principally on the ground of her failure to suppress the slave-trade from her dominions. She was thus prevented from exercising any effective jurisdiction northward of Ambriz, while claiming titular sovereignty some hundreds of miles beyond.

But when the English Government saw in the annexations of M. de Brazza a danger to British trade in the Congo region, the claims of Portugal, whose weakness would at any time render her amenable to control or coercion, were hastily recognized as a barrier against more formidable encroachments. Hence the abortive Anglo-Portuguese Treaty, never ratified, though signed on February 26, 1884, and principally memorable for its share in directing public opinion to the West African question.

The objections taken to it were twofold—moral and commercial. Portugal has for various reasons long been in bad odour in Africa, her supposed slave-trading proclivities being alleged against her on the one hand, and the demoralizing influence of her colonies from their use as penal settlements on the other. The low character of the Portuguese half-castes, who, deriving their European element from the criminal classes, are amongst the worst types of a mixed race, also tends to increase the prevailing prejudice against the nation. The traffic, moreover, in free negroes, shipped to supply the labour market of the Island of St. Thomas, under the form of a five years' contract, termed *engagement libre*, savours too much of her ancient iniquities not to call down the denunciations of humanitarians. We will not attempt to decide between the conflicting statements as to the real position of these labourers, or pretend to know whether the

admirable code of laws for their welfare and protection is very rigidly enforced against their white masters ; all that is certain is, that few or none of them ever return to their native country, and that many of them die of home-sickness.

While effecting thus little for the interests of civilization in Africa, for those of religion, Portugal, though a Catholic state, has in the present day done almost less, and the presence of a priest or a church throughout her colonies is rather the exception than the rule.

But the Anglo-Portuguese agreement, regarded from a practical point of view, afforded still more irrefragable grounds of criticism. So ill-informed was the Foreign Office as to the requirements of British trade, that the Treaty as actually signed, sanctioned, under the name of the Mozambique Tariff, a scale of import duties which on certain classes of English cotton goods would have ranged respectively from 25 to 30, and from 30 to 35 per cent., while Birmingham wares, such as guns, would have been subject to an import duty of 100, and powder to one of 120 per cent. *ad valorem*. It was only on the indignant representations of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce that this so-called "liberal" tariff was modified by a correcting clause, establishing a maximum of 10 per cent. for the duty on all goods except tobacco, brandy, guns, and powder. It may be remarked that even this limitation leaves a considerable margin to the discretion of custom-house officials, since the taxable value of imports is struck by adding to their value at the place of production the estimated cost of freight, insurance, and commission.

The wisdom of the Treaty might at least have been susceptible of argument, but its futility was incontrovertibly self-evident, since a mere dual arrangement concluded between England and Portugal without reference to other Powers was not worth the parchment it was written on. For the African question had gone through many stages of development since England stood alone in barring the right of Portugal to the mouth of the Congo, and the interests and ambitions of many other nations had begun to centre about that great outlet of a newly-opened continent.

If, however, the impotent product of English and Portuguese diplomacy had been purely negative in its results, it would not have been worth remembering even as an instance of the short-sightedness of statesmen, but it is memorable on other grounds as the immediate exciting cause of the present ferment of European opinion on the subject of West African colonization. The apparent assumption on the part of England to dispose of territory over which she had no jurisdiction, excited the jealous susceptibilities of foreign Powers, and an immediate interchange of views took place between France and Germany, resulting in the Conference of Berlin.

The appearance on the scene of the latter Power, hitherto an indifferent spectator, introduces a new element into the question which promises to be a considerable factor in its solution.

It is only within a very recent time that the idea of utilizing the large yearly emigration from Germany as a means of national aggrandizement has presented itself to the minds of her statesmen, but it has been adopted with an ardour proportionate to its novelty. The colonial policy of our Teutonic cousins was inaugurated on a somewhat modest scale by the now famous settlement of Angra Pequena, whose history is not irrelevant here as it has had no small effect in irritating the mind of the present arbiter of Europe against England, and it is said to have been not without its *contre-coup* even in Egypt.

This first colonial bantling of the great German Empire is scarcely on a scale commensurate with the expectations founded on it. On a desolate beach on the south-western coast of Africa, so arid that it has to draw its water supply some hundreds of miles by sea from the Cape of Good Hope, the Bremen house of Lüderitz have erected two wooden shanties, constituting the whole of the settlement which has already made so much noise in the world. Its political history began in February, 1883, with a courteous request from the German government that British protection might be extended to it, a demand to which the Colonial Office delayed for seven months to send a reply. The patience of the Berlin authorities being at last exhausted, they took the matter into their own hands, and declared the tiny settlement German soil, despite the feeble protests of the Foreign Office. The latter attempted indeed a counter-blast, since the Cape Government was instructed by the Home authorities to proclaim the annexation of the whole remaining coast from Walfisch Bay to the Orange River, thus isolating the nascent colony, and forbidding it all future growth and expansion. To this assertion of British right the only reply was the assertion of German might by the despatch of a gunboat to occupy Spencer and Sandwich Bays, and Capes Cross and Frio, the most important points on the coast in question, of which they thus took forcible possession.

A similar cruise of summary annexation was headed by Dr. Nachtigal, on the West Coast, where the German flag was hoisted at Bageida, Afra, Little Popo, and Gun Coffee, points on the Guinea shore between Dahomey and the Gold Coast, some of them under nominal British protectorate. A like proceeding farther south, converting the Cameroons River and about 100 miles of adjacent coast into German territory, seems not to have been allowed to pass without an active protest from the representatives of British authority, and here, we are told, a series of battles of

the standard took place, each side hauling down alternately the colours hoisted by the other.

The result of this bloodless and somewhat inglorious war of bunting has been to place Germany in possession of 730 miles of comparatively worthless coast, while the remainder of the line from the Senegal to the Cape territory is distributed as follows: France 600 miles, Liberia 350, England 850; or, including the Niger Delta, 1,300, while Portugal claims 800, and the Belgian Association holds 300, leaving but 500 (exclusive of the Niger Delta) in native hands, of which the Congo coast alone is of any importance.

On the great river itself the Portuguese claim both banks of the estuary as far as Nokki, where the domain of the International Association begins, its continuity hence to Stanley Falls, the head of the Middle Congo Valley, being broken only by two French stations on the right bank. Its agents had sought to secure their flank by the occupation of the lateral valley of the Quilu, the possible route of a direct railway from Stanley Pool to the sea, superseding the difficult line of communication by the Lower Congo. Here navigation, possible only to ships of light draught as far as Boma, is rendered almost impracticable above that point by whirlpools and eddies, while many doubt whether Stanley's romantic rock-staircase, wonderfully as it has achieved its present end, will, with its alternations of road and river transit, ever prove a permanent highway of commerce. So busy, nevertheless, is speculation already in this region that all the land about Boma has been taken up for building purposes, and lines of railway are projected as practical possibilities. Thus commercial as well as political rivalries are weaving a tangled web of jealousies and intrigues round the great prize which recent African exploration has thrown open to international competition.

But the West African question as now raised is not limited to the Congo settlement alone, since it embraces another river of even more direct importance to British commerce. The Niger, one of the greatest of African streams, called by the Arabs the Nil-es-Soudan, or Nile of the Blacks, and still by the dwellers on its bank identified with the river of Egypt, was long scarcely less an enigma to geographers. Its eccentric course, indeed, is well calculated to baffle conjecture, since, rising in a mountain plateau within 200 miles of the coast, it runs first inland in a north-easterly direction, and traverses a great portion of the interior of the Soudan before doubling back to form eventually a spreading Delta at the head of the Bight of Benin, 2,600 miles from its source. Unlike the Congo, its course is through regions where civilization and prosperity increase in proportion to remoteness from the sea, for its upper waters drain

those native kingdoms of the Western Soudan where alone the negro has proved capable of developing a stable social organization. Arab influence has here been a relatively improving one, bringing a language copious and flexible beyond any spoken in the East, literature and the art of writing unknown elsewhere in Central Africa, the study of the Koran, a form of religious culture, though impotent as a moral check, and a monotheistic faith, as opposed to the degrading rites of fetichism.

The western spread of Mohammedanism in these regions interposes on the other hand a formidable barrier to European conquest, forming a band of union between states formerly without principle of coherence, and presents still more unfortunately an almost insuperable obstacle to the diffusion of Christianity.

The reserve of latent fury in the teaching of Islam is apparent in the history of the Foulah, or Fellatta of the Arabs, the dominant race throughout the Niger country from the mouths of the Senegal to the neighbourhood of Lake Tchad. Distinguished from the surrounding population by their light-brown or olive tint, straight features, and long silky hair, ethnologists ascribe to them a remote Malay origin, but history traces them no further than the neighbourhood of the Senegal coast, whence, since the fourteenth century, they have gradually advanced eastward through Central Africa. A religious revival, started in 1802 by Othman dan Fadio, an obscure village Imam, placed them in their present position of supremacy over the Pagan tribes around them; his eventual triumph being due in part to the enthusiasm excited by his religious canticles and their power of sustaining the spirit of his followers under many reverses. The vast empire thus acquired was divided between Abd Allahi and Mohammed Bello, brother and son of the reformer, who ended his days in a state of fanatical ecstasy or madness. The Foulah empire, though now on the wane, is still a formidable state, with territory equal to the united areas of Austria, Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Baden, and Switzerland, a force of cavalry 20,000 strong, and a revenue of £20,000. Something approaching to a caste-system prevails in many of its provinces, as the subject races are classified into tribes pursuing hereditary avocations, such as weavers, singing-men, and even beggars. The Foulah element forms an inconsiderable fraction of the entire population, the most numerous section of which is furnished by the Haussas, a negro race, Mohammedans like their conquerors, remarkable for intelligence, industry, and vivacity, whose copious and expressive language is the most widely diffused throughout Nigritia.

The Upper Foulah province or kingdom extends along the north-easterly bend of the Niger from its headwaters to about 16° 30" N. lat. Sausandig, the principal town in this district,

has a population of 30,000 or 40,000, and an active trade in gold, indigo, native fabrics and slaves. Adjacent to Foulah territory, though not included in it, is the more famous city of Timbuctoo, situated on the very joint of the great elbow of the Upper Niger.

Planted on the edge of the Sahara and partly tributary to its fierce veiled warriors the Touaregs, this famous emporium of the desert, with its terraces of flat-roofed houses surmounted by three mighty mosque towers, rises like a mirage city from the sandy waste that isolates it from the rest of the world. The point of contact between the caravan tracks from Morocco and Tripoli, and the traffic routes both up and down the Niger, Timbuctoo is a great centre of exchange, and its normal population of 13,000 is increased during the trading season between November and January by from 5,000 to 10,000 visitors. The town, distant some miles from the river, receives all its supplies through its port, Kabara, interruption of communication with which would quickly reduce it to famine, as the surrounding country is absolutely unproductive. Red cloth, cutlery, looking-glasses, tobacco, and tea, brought principally by the Morocco caravans, and cotton, bleached and unbleached, by those from Ghadames in the Tripolitan Sahara, are bartered in its bazaars for gold and slaves, guro or kola nuts (*Sterculia acuminata* and *Macrocarpa*) and salt, one of the main articles of traffic throughout Nigritia. The regular currency consists of cowries, valued in 1880 at 900 to the franc. Calicoes, of which all seen by Dr. Barth bore the name of one Manchester firm stamped in Arabic letters, travel hence up the Niger as far as Sansandig, where their further circulation is stopped by meeting a counter current of similar goods from the coast.

The French colony of Senegambia occupies, in regard to the Niger, a position similar to that of the Gaboon in reference to the Congo, commanding a possible route to its upper waters, while its mouth is in other hands. Nor, in the one case as in the other, have the French been slow to avail themselves of their opportunity, since they are making strenuous exertions to tap the commerce of the Upper Niger at Bamaku, where it is a mile in width, and whence it is navigable to Timbuctoo. Towards this point, already occupied by their troops, a railway of 300 miles, for which the French Chamber in 1882 passed a vote of £342,000, is being rapidly pushed forward from Medina, the furthest limit of navigation on the Senegal, and ten miles of the line have been actually constructed. A steam gunboat, transported in sections to Bamaku, carries the tricolour up and down the higher reaches of the Niger, and a French protectorate has been established over

all the riverain Foulah tribes thence to Timbuctoo. The corporation of merchants in the latter city are very anxious for direct trade with Senegambia, and a recent explorer, Dr. Colin, of the French navy, was accompanied on his return by one of them, deputed to ask the Governor of St. Louis to open up the Niger routethrough French territory as an alternative to that of Morocco.

The country traversed by Dr. Colin is described by him as rich in all natural productions, and the natives, who are anxious for trade, gladly ceded to France the right to make roads and work the valuable gold mines. Salt is the present medium of exchange, and for a quantity procurable in St. Louis for 1s., 12s. worth of gold may be had in the mining districts. France seems likely to find compensation in this quarter for the failure of the Trans-saharian Railway scheme, devised to connect Algeria with Timbuctoo, but hitherto thwarted by the hostility of the Touaregs.

The Middle Niger is partially navigable seaward from the highest cataracts near Timbuctoo for 1000 miles to the rapids of Boussa, within 600 miles of the sea, where Mungo Park, its first explorer, met his death in 1805. The river at this point undergoes a strange diminution of volume, suggesting the idea that a portion of its waters is conveyed by an underground channel like that which swallows up the Rhone at *La Perte du Rhone*, for while some five miles above and below Boussa it flows as a lordly river, in some places seven miles wide, it shrinks in the intermediate space to an insignificant stream scarce a stone's throw across. The Middle Niger is comparatively little known, but its natural commercial outlet would be by the lower stream, even if the Senegal railway should be a practical success.

The countries bordering the Lower Niger and its great eastern affluent, the Binue, form the Foulah kingdom of Sokoto and its dependencies, occupying an area equal to that of Spain, and containing many large and thriving cities. That of Sokoto has three mosques, and is surrounded by walls 20 feet high, with eleven gateways; those of Yasuri, on the Niger itself, are said to have a circuit of 20 miles; while the population of Yacouba, built on a lofty plateau near the watershed between the Niger and Binue, is estimated at 180,000. Herr Rohlf, who visited this latter place in 1866, describes its climate as suitable to Europeans, and the fruits of the temperate zone flourish there equally with those of the tropics. Its trade, however, is declining, and its market is chiefly remarkable for the miniature scale of the animals sold there, horses being described as no larger than donkeys, and sheep and goats than poodle dogs.

The emporium of this district is Kano, somewhat further to the north, whose resident population of 30,000 is doubled between January and April, when caravans flock to it from all

parts of the Soudan. It forms, so to speak, a commercial watershed, where British goods from the north meet American imports brought up from the Bight of Benin. Its principal commodities are ivory, gold dust, and slaves; salt, leather, cotton and indigo, over and above the dark-blue cotton cloth, for whose manufacture it is renowned, and of which 1,500 camel loads are annually exported to Timbuctoo, Murzuk, and Tripoli. It covers a considerable tract of ground, as its flat-roofed, mud-built houses, like those of all these Central African cities, stand in separate walled yards or gardens.

Bida, the capital of a tributary kingdom of that name, not far from the Binue Junction, has mosques, schools, and many industries, with a population of 100,000. The crack corps of the numerous army maintained by its king, Malika, is the famous Amazon regiment, under a female general, Mitha, whose prowess recently turned the scale in an assault on a rival city, her imperturbable coolness having rallied the wavering assailants. Women, here assuredly misnamed the weaker sex, also take part in the gladiatorial combats with the ounce, which are a favourite amusement of the population. The powerful cats, though muzzled, are still formidable antagonists, as their human adversaries are unarmed, and trust to muscular strength alone in their struggle with them.

The missionaries of Abeokuta, who have recently made the tour of these provinces, describe the constant advance of Mohammedanism among them, and the conversion of the Pagan villages by force of arms to the religion of the state. While the moral degradation of the natives is unaffected by it, their intellectual status is raised under its influence, and schools abound in these towns, where nearly every boy can speak and write Arabic. The better classes often speak two or three languages, and, in addition to the Arabic character, and a variation of it adapted to their own speech, they have invented a sort of cipher or shorthand, composed of the Arabic numerals with sundry arbitrary modifications.

The Delta of the Niger begins about 140 miles from the sea, where the single stream splits up into 22 widely diverging main branches, connected by a network of intersecting channels. This watery labyrinth extends along 120 miles of coast in the re-entering angle of the Gulf of Guinea, forming a maze of canals forking into the lagoons of Lagos at one end, and the inlets of the Old Calabar River at the other. The triangular region occupied by the Delta system forms a vast mangrove swamp, the festering tidal mud furnishing a congenial soil to that strange freak of tropical nature, whose branches, sending down fresh roots to spring up in turn as fresh trunks, multiply indefinitely in pillared growths of flamboyant vegetation. Poisonous with miasma, but

yet not without a dreamy beauty of their own, are the liquid alleys of this interminable forest, where walls of verdure fifty or sixty feet high divide the strip of shining blue sky overhead from the strip of shining blue river underneath, where nature seems drugged with drowsy heat, and pictured shadows sleep on the sleepy tide. Seen from the ocean the river mouths appear only as breaks in the continuous dark green line of mangrove jungle fringing the coast, but the approach to them is impeded by the surf breaking over a bar, and by a current which runs with the ebb some  $5\frac{1}{2}$  knots an hour.

The fierce copper-coloured natives of the Niger Delta are distinguished, even among African tribes, for irreclaimable savagery. They share with the people of Madagascar and the Mozambique countries the barbarous custom of destroying twin-born infants, as well as those of abnormal dentition ; while peculiar to themselves is the usage of sacrificing two human victims to the new moon. Cannibalism, practised in some districts as conducive to courage in war, prevails in others without that pretext, since as lately as 1859 human flesh was publicly sold in the market of Duke Town among other commodities.

But this region, where Nature and man are alike unattractive, has a special value for commerce. The principal arms of the Niger, the Bonny, Brass, Nun, and Calabar rivers, with the Cameroons, so called from *camarao*, Portuguese for a shrimp, are termed the "oil rivers" of West Africa, because the main export channels of that valuable product. Trade is here exclusively in English hands, two French firms, who attempted competition, having recently been absorbed by the National African Association, and the Lower Niger, though not formally annexed as British territory, is practically so, in right of early exploration and present occupation.

A strange life is that to which Englishmen are condemned in their voluntary exile on these remote shores, for as soil and climate make the swampy river banks ineligible for habitation, their dwellings are in hulks anchored in mid-stream, and towering in lofty superstructures above their floating foundations. The "oil barons," as the amphibious denizens of these river palaces are playfully termed, carry on a busy trade, since Bonny alone exports from 10,000 to 30,000 tons of oil a year, and the Calabar river 500 tons a week. Abo, at the head of the Delta, is in the centre of the oil country, through which the Guinea palm (*Elais Guineensis*) grows wild in great abundance. The oil, which is brought in by the natives to undergo a process of boiling before exportation, reaches Europe as a thick and clammy yellow substance, which forms the principal ingredient in common soap, in some kinds of wax-candles, and in oil-cake,

besides being largely employed as a lubricant. It is extensively used in cookery throughout West Africa, and "palm chop," as the viands prepared with it are called, is a delicacy all Europeans are expected to appreciate. The kernel of the nut is, moreover, a considerable article of commerce. The admirable French missionary establishment on the Gaboon has introduced the artificial culture of the oil palm with good results, substituting also the use of crushing machinery for the primitive process of extracting the oil by hand-labour.

At Onitsha, a pleasantly situated village, standing among trees and gardens on the left bank of the Niger above the Delta, the limit of the oil-palm is reached, and shea-butter takes its place as the principal commercial product. The seeds of a tree nearly allied to the genus *Bassia* are boiled down after being first dried, to produce this oleaginous substance, which is not only whiter and firmer than animal butter, but keeps for over a year without being salted.

The course of the Lower Niger from Boussa to the sea was first ascertained by the voyage of the brothers Lander in 1830. An attempt made ten years later by Mr. M'Gregor Laird to ascend the Niger in two small steamers proved unsuccessful, and an expedition of three vessels sent by the British Government in 1841 to establish a model farm at Lokoja, opposite the Binue confluence, also ended in failure, the mortality among the European settlers rendering its abandonment a necessity. A more successful enterprise was that of the African Steamship Company, which in 1852 established factories and communications along the Lower Niger. In 1864 was formed the West African Company, which, remodelled on an extended basis in 1879, was further developed in 1882 into the great association styled the National African Company (Limited), with the President of the Royal Geographical Society as its Chairman. The trade of the river is, since the withdrawal of their French competitors, exclusively in the hands of this company, whose main establishment at Akassa, at the mouth of the Nun River, is the dépôt for 100 stations echeloned along the Niger and Binue as far as Boussa on the one and Yola on the other, respectively 600 and 750 miles from the sea. This long line of communication is maintained by six or seven steamers of light draught, plying for nine months of the year as high as the Binue confluence, and during the flood of the river, which rises 36 feet between April and September, to the higher stations on both streams. These vessels are necessarily armed for self-defence, as the fierce natives of the Upper Delta frequently fire on them from the villages on the banks. At the upper stations, ivory, tree-butter, beniseed, and cola nuts, take the place of palm oil and kernels as equivalents

for European goods. Only the resources of a large company could bear the strain of a barter-trade carried on under such conditions, the large gross profits realized being counterbalanced by correspondingly heavy working expenses, requiring unlimited command of capital. The Binue route, now opened up for the first time, promises a wide field to commercial enterprise, since it traverses a rich and fertile valley forming the Foulah kingdom of Adamawa, and supplies an unobstructed though shallow waterway for 700 or 800 miles towards the watershed of Lake Tchad, the very heart of Africa.

But before trade can permanently prosper here, some semblance of social order must be established, and how far this is as yet from being the case we learn from a letter to the Editor of the *Times*, written from Lokoja on the Niger, and dated July, 1884. The writer describes the outrages perpetrated by bands of marauders styling themselves "princes" of the reigning house of Bida and other native dynasties, who levy black-mail on the English factories at will, enforcing their requisitions by stoppage of trade and supplies, while their oppression of private settlers goes even to the length of abduction of their free native servants for sale as slaves. The patrol of the river by a gunboat or steam launch would doubtless effectually check these disorders, and the enforcement of some such measure will probably be one of the first results of the Berlin Conference.

The situation on the Niger is then briefly this. A French protectorate extends over its headwaters for a thousand miles to Timbuctoo, while connection by railway with those of the Senegal will bring them under the commercial control of France; the middle river for a second thousand miles to Boussa flows mainly through Foulah territory, but is as yet isolated from European contact; while the Lower Niger, with its great eastern feeder the Binue, both bordered also by Foulah states, is the commercial monopoly of a great English company, the National African Association, with 100 stations and a regular steamboat service for 600 or 700 miles up both streams.

The commercial and political future of the two great river highways of Western Africa is intimately connected with the general conditions of trade along the coast, and here a state of things yet in part subsisting is rapidly passing away, or at least about to undergo essential modification. The only commercially important points hitherto remaining in native hands were the Cameroons and Congo coasts, and of these the first is already partially annexed by England and Germany, while the second, as a result of the Conference, is about to be placed under international control, with a guarantee of free trade to the whole world.

But it is precisely in these independent states that foreign

traders have hitherto found their favourite field of enterprise, preferring a precarious position won by force or favour from the native chiefs to the protection, accompanied by the restraints, of European law. Losses and injuries are indeed often inflicted on them by their savage neighbours, but they can generally invoke "the resources of civilization" in the shape of a European gun-boat or corvette from the nearest port, and so score the final triumph in their contest with barbarism. The blue-books teem with records of these disturbances, which generally run some such course as the following:—

A factory is attacked or set on fire in revenge for some infringement of local monopoly; its inmates appeal for redress to the nearest naval station; a cruiser arrives and burns villages or seizes hostages by way of reprisals; and a palaver ensues, resulting in the restoration of amicable relations.

Nor can the ingenious device of "boycotting" be claimed as the original invention of the sister-isle, since it was practised in full perfection by African savages long before the coinage of a word was required to describe the process in the English language. No sooner has a factory, by any transgression of local rights, given umbrage to its neighbours, than the decree goes forth that "trade is stopped," all supplies are cut off from the proscribed establishment, access to food and water is barred to its occupants, and, if situated in a remote district where no consul or commandant is within call, they are generally driven to purchase the raising of the blockade by surrender of the point in dispute.

One might naturally think that to men thus circumstanced the establishment of any form of regular government would seem a boon, but there is a point vital to the interests of the traders, as to which their practice is in direct contravention of all European codes of law. The labour question, always a difficult one in lands where Nature supplies human food gratuitously, is here solved in the primitive fashion so repugnant to modern feeling, and the natives employed in the various factories along the coast are generally slaves in fact, though not in name. This abuse is made the constant subject of mutual reproaches levelled at each other by the various nationalities here represented, with the result that none emerges from the interchange of accusations with undamaged reputation. That the worst features of slavery are present here is evident, from the undisputed facts that the forcible recapture of runaways, and the chastisement of delinquencies by the lash, by other forms of physical torture, and even by death itself, are amongst the rights exercised by white masters over their thralls. The plea that the natives will not work on any other terms is denied by Mr. Stanley, who, in an address on the slave-trade, delivered to the Anti-

Slavery Society in Manchester, October 23, 1884, stated that 1,000 natives march every month a distance equal to that from Leeds to Manchester in search of employment at the Belgian stations on the Congo. Should such a movement prove general and permanent among the native population, it would be the most hopeful symptom yet noted of the regeneration of Africa.

Statistics show the trade of Britain with West Africa to be far in excess of that of any other nation, and it is in its future increase that her merchants hope for compensation for lessening demand elsewhere. "Our old markets," said Mr. Houldsworth, M.P., in seconding a resolution at a meeting of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, October 21, 1884, "are dead, and I have no hesitation in saying our position is very perilous indeed as a nation if we cannot open new markets."

The remonstrance addressed by the Manchester Chamber of Commerce to the Foreign Office, on the subject of the Portuguese Treaty, under date March 5, 1884, thus expresses the views of that body.

In 1856 the commerce of this country with the native territories north of the Portuguese possessions in Angola was of small importance; but since the discoveries and expedition of Mr. H. M. Stanley it has rapidly increased, and, with but few unimportant interruptions, has extended and prospered under peaceful intercourse with the natives. During the past five years this trade has nearly quadrupled in value, and is assuming such importance that, in addition to several private mercantile steamers of 800 to 1,200 tons running at frequent intervals, a direct mail steamer leaves Liverpool every fortnight for the different ports in these territories. These steamers are laden principally with Manchester and other manufactures, and it is estimated that the amount of British goods exported to that part of South-west Africa now approaches a million sterling, and that the total volume of this trade is not less than £2,000,000 per annum. It is not only to the people of the Upper Congo, but also to the millions of inhabitants who dwell in those vast territories in the interior of this line of coast, and who are eagerly anxious for trade, that the manufacturers of Lancashire, and of other industrial districts of Great Britain, look forward as the future consumers of their products.

In the same document a letter from "one of the greatest travellers and authorities on Western Africa" is quoted to the following effect:—

Every trader has become a customer of England; and this custom has increased solely because from Ambrizette to the Gaboon the country was free and independent of Portugal.

Manchester furnishes the clothes, Birmingham the iron and brass wares, Yorkshire the woollens, London the boats and means of navigation, and Liverpool and London the provisions. As yet this trade

is only in its infancy ; if it increase at the present rate, five years hence it will be superior to anything on the West Coast of Africa.

Mr. Stanley, at the meeting already referred to, thus summed up the imports received by a single house on the Congo in 1879. Value of cotton and flannel goods (English), £138,000 ; sundries (English), £21,000 ; gunpowder (English), £6,000 ; brass rods, rings (English), £15,000 ; metal pots, pans, cutlery (English), £5,000 ; American cotton piece goods, £52,000 ; rum, gin (Germany), £36,000 ; tobacco (American), £14,400 ; total £287,400, of which nearly three-fourths are imports from England. Taking this as a criterion, he calculated that as the total imports in 1883 amounted to £884,000, nearly £660,000 worth of goods came from England. He adds that nothing was received from Portugal except a little red wine for the use of the white employés on the river.

The exports sent by one firm from Banana Point, in 1879, he gives as follows : ivory, 405 tons ; palm oil, 2,800 tons ; sesamum seed, 2,400 tons ; ground nuts, 13,200 tons ; palm kernels, 2,100 tons ; rubber, 2,600 tons ; gum copal, 400 tons ; the total value being £948,200.

He came to the conclusion that a trade in cotton goods to the value of £26,000,000 a year might eventually be carried on in the Congo basin, where the demand for such fabrics would be practically unlimited.

The Board of Trade returns for April 1884 show that the export trade of British cottons to West Africa is increasing. The figures are for the four months ending April 30, during which term in the year 1884 the export of piece goods to British West Africa was 17,633,400 yards, value £205,643, as against 13,963,200 yards, or £170,914, in the previous year ; while to other parts of the coast the export of 1884 was 20,026,000 yards, value £262,832, against 16,268,900 yards, value £218,897 in 1883.

The English mercantile establishments in the Congo are outnumbered by those of other nations, who, however, are compelled to resort to England for their stock-in-trade. The Portuguese are in a majority on the river from Banana to Vivi, having five factories at Boma, and thirty at other points ; the Dutch come next with twelve factories, two being at Boma ; while the French number seven, and the English but four. North of the estuary to Yumba, out of a total of seventy-eight factories, twenty-five are Dutch, twenty-one Portuguese, eight English (Messrs. Hatton and Cookson), and six French (Daumas Lartigne et Cie.). Of the thirty-six factories between the Congo and Ambriz, fourteen are Dutch, seven belong to large English firms, three to the French

house of Daumas Lartigne et Cie., while the remainder belong to single traders, English, Portuguese and Spanish.

Dutch trade, which figures so conspicuously, is almost exclusively in the hands of a great company, the Nieuwe Afrikanische Handelsvereniging, owned by Rotterdam capitalists. It is a revived form of an earlier company established in 1869, and wound up at the end of ten years, notwithstanding that its dividends had been from nine to fourteen per cent. The present company seems prosperous, and its shares are at a premium of 207 per cent. The Dutch factory at Banana has extensive workshops, with machinery for cleansing gutta percha, and apparatus for purifying palm oil. Along the coast, where there are forty branch establishments, communication is kept up by their own vessels, while larger ships are engaged in the trade with Europe. 100 Europeans are employed in these factories, whence, in 1881, 4,014,000 kilogrs. of palm oil were exported to Holland, the goods received in return being principally linen, spirits and powder.

The trade of the Gaboon, estimated at £120,000 yearly, is exclusively in English and German hands, though the territory has been French since 1842. The Hamburg house of Wöhrmann, which has branches along the coast as far as the Cameroons, and the Liverpool firm of Hatton and Cookson, represent their respective nationalities, the former monopolizing the trade in powder, spirits, beer, stoneware, chests, and rough ironmongery. Ivory, caoutchouc, ebony, and red dyewood are here the principal exports.

West African trade is conducted entirely on the barter system, doubly lucrative to a manufacturing country, since exports and imports are exchanged at a single operation, and ships carry profitable freight each way. The goods imported to the Congo region as purchasing medium are of a somewhat heterogeneous character, comprising, in addition to cotton and woollen goods, single-barrelled flint guns and powder, brass rods and rings, large knives, called *machetes*, soap (generally in rings), salt, razors, table-knives, scissors, brass basins, called *neptunes*, mirrors, red scarves, playing cards, and such miscellaneous articles as felt and straw hats, red caps, livery and uniform coats (not theatrical costumes), swords, sabres, canes, dark-blue beads and other fancy articles.

The products purchaseable by these commodities are of far higher intrinsic value, consisting of palm-oil and kernels, ivory, india-rubber, ground nuts, beniseed, gum copal, malachite, beans, orchella, wax, valuable woods, and various fibres which might be used for the manufacture of paper, as is the bark of the baobab tree, largely exported to England from the Portuguese colonies for the purpose.

Unlike the Valley of the Niger, where the oil country ceases at the head of the Delta, the Congo Valley produces the Guinea palm throughout its whole extent as far as Stanley Falls, and will supply oil in practically unlimited quantities.

The Landolphia Florida, or caoutchouc vine, the arm-thick liana, whose milky sap hardens into the india-rubber of commerce, also abounds in the Upper Congo country, where it ropes tree to tree in the sombre phantasmagoria of the tropical forest. The india-rubber trade is at present principally centred in the French colonies of the Ogowe and Gaboon, where it is yearly increasing and supplanting that in ivory, from the greater facility of obtaining it. This is done simply by tearing down a sufficient length of the creeper, supporting it horizontally on wooden props, and making incisions at intervals to drain off the viscous fluid, which is collected on leaves, or sometimes on the bare chests and shoulders of the natives. Hence the latter frequently arrive at the factories in gutta-percha cuirasses, to have them there peeled off and disposed of.

From the French colonies, too, Europe receives its principal supply of ground nuts, of which vast quantities are shipped to the Mediterranean ports, to be there manufactured into the olive oil of commerce, and figure as best Lucca.

Trade on the barter system is necessarily a matter of elaborate negotiation, and the process of "speaking an ivory," as arranging the sale of a tusk is termed in native parlance, is generally protracted through several days' palaver.

The great event of life in the factories and villages near the coast is the arrival of a "chimbouk," or ivory caravan, from the interior. M. Charles Jeannest, in the volume among our headings, gives a graphic account of the excitement aroused by it. The Chimbouk consists of from 100 to 500 negroes, who have come a march of two, three, or even four months, laden with elephant tusks, to the number of from 50 to 200 or 300. No sooner is its approach made known than from all points of the coast the native brokers, called linguisters, set out to intercept it on its march and thus forestall competition. Then ensues a wordy contest, in which each exhausts his eloquence in describing the wealth and liberality of his clients, endeavouring by presents and persuasions to secure the prize to his own district. Each tusk is a separate object of competition, and its bearers, once they have declared their preference, are housed, fed, and feasted by the successful candidate.

This conclusion is but preliminary to the negotiations next opened by him with the various factories, to whom a solemn deputation goes round heralded by the sound of bells called "gingongs," each representing a separate village, while the number

of chiefs interested is signified by a row of sabres laid in line before the white men. Among these there now ensues a lively competition for the favour of the linguisters who have secured the disposal of the ivory, and each bids fast and furious against his neighbour for the precious commodity. The march in of the caravan follows. Towards five in the morning the whole chimbouk arrives simultaneously from the various villages where it is quartered; "an avalanche of blacks," says our author, "pours over the country, and the houses of the whites are carried by storm."

The ivory-bearers are clad in ragged waist-cloths, sometimes supplemented by wisps of dirty grass or straw, but the savage love of ornament asserts itself in the strings of beads on their arms, in the glass trinkets and talismans worn round their necks, and, above all, in the elaborate and varied devices into which their greasy locks are twisted. Armed with scimitars and assegais of native iron, in addition to knives at their waist, carrying their mighty spoil slung in withes of liana, "nothing can be stranger," to quote M. Jeannest's words once more, "than the filing-past of these savages thus laden."

The ivory is bought by weight, but the negotiation of its price, as well as of the commission to the linguister, is almost interminable, for when, after much chaffering, a certain assortment of wares has been stipulated for as a standard of value, a fresh discussion arises as to the varying proportions in which the actual goods delivered are to be substituted for the nominal items in this preliminary list.

The tusks, which are valuable in proportion as they are short, thick, and straight, generally measure from 2 to 2½ metres, and weigh from 40 to 60 kilogrs. The external colour varies from brown or yellow to ebony-black, but is no test of quality. "Green ivory," yielded by the newly-slain beast, is superior to that of the ancient tusks found in deposits which seem to have been elephantine cemeteries. The annual export of ivory between the Congo and Ambriz averages, according to our author, 100 tons, or 5000 to 6000 tusks, and he himself purchased in a single week 97 tusks, weighing 1,800 kilogrs.

Minor produce, consisting mainly of orchella weed, beniseed, and ground nuts, is brought in by the natives of the neighbourhood, arriving in the morning in a continuous stream, diverging to the different factories. The price of the commodities is calculated in blue beads, forming the nearest approach to a currency, and reckoned at 12,000 to a flint-gun, but the value is given in other goods at an accepted rate of exchange.

The barter trade is further complicated by the usage defining special classes of European goods as solely exchangeable for

certain native products; thus "ivory goods" and "rubber goods" form separate categories, appropriated to the purchase of tusks and caoutchouc respectively.

The unit of value varies with locality, but the "piece" of cotton cloth is the most widely accepted, and though depreciated in quality from the theoretic standard, has a fixed nominal value. From the Congo to Ambriz, a length of five or six yards, called the "Long" or "Cortado," is the basis of calculation; but thence south to Cape Frio is replaced by a piece of blue cotton manufactured in Manchester, and there known as "blue baft." The "ivory bundle" and the "slave bundle," lots representing respectively the price of a tusk and a man, are other units of value; and in Liberia and on the Oil Rivers the "kroo" of oil (containing from 6 to 12 imperial gallons) fulfils the same function.

Only in the French colonies does actual coin circulate, the five-franc piece, called the dollar, having been introduced there owing to the vicissitudes which befell the "Indian guinea," the previous medium of trade. A piece of cotton, fifteen metres long, of East Indian manufacture, it resembled its golden namesake in being a universal standard of price, and by its cheapness, beauty, and durability, long defied competition. At length, however, a ring of Bordeaux merchants having bought up and "cornered" the whole supply available, the fictitious increase in price of the "guinea" caused the flooding of the Senegal market with cheaper European imitations. Manchester furnished the largest share, amounting in 1870 to 577,620 francs worth, Belgium came next in order, while Swiss fabrics were introduced as English. A differential duty, however, of twelve centimes the metre on foreign, as opposed to four centimes on French and French colonial goods, quickly put a stop to importation, but as indirect competition was still threatened through the adjacent British colonies, a metallic currency was eventually adopted, and the "guinea" was replaced by the dollar.

Throughout the interior the functions of coin are performed by cowries of two kinds, a small white variety from the Maldivé Islands, and a larger blue shell from the Zanzibar coast. As they are reckoned by number in the upper country, though sold by weight on the coast, the smaller species are preferred by traders as representing in equal bulk a higher purchasing power. It is a curious fact that these tropical shells have been found in ancient urns in Sweden, as well as among Anglo-Saxon remains in England.

Salt, gold-dust, and kola nuts, of which 60 lbs. are worth 15,000 cowries, are received in payment throughout the Moham-medan kingdoms of the interior, where certain commodities,

termed "rubbish goods," such as beads, Nuremberg mirrors, and small bells, also form a species of currency. Porters, their carrying power estimated at 40 kilogrs. per man, are here, as in other parts of Africa, the substitutes for beasts of burden where water transport is not available.

Nowhere are monopolies and exclusive trade rights more jealously guarded than in Africa, and the natives of the coast absolutely prohibit all direct traffic with those of the interior. A cordon is drawn round the white men, shutting them out from "the bush," as the rich forest lands are called, and compelling them to purchase its products only at second hand through the medium of native brokers or commission agents. The adoption of the system of "trust" in the Gaboon country is intended as a sort of compromise with these restrictions. A native deputy is employed by the European firms to conduct a trading canoe expedition to the interior, where he opens a temporary store and barter the goods brought up for local products to be carried back to his employer. The latter bears all expenses and risk of accident or loss, and is, moreover, dependent on the honesty of the "trust-man," who gives no security, but does not in other respects invariably justify his name.

Notwithstanding these restrictions, over and above the payment to chiefs of dues and presents amounting to about 6 per cent. *ad valorem*, traders in native West Africa are unanimous in their cry of "Let us alone." This, however, in the present competition of Europe for African territory, is no longer possible, and the rapidly contracting patches of "No Man's Land" will soon be all absorbed by the greedy wants of civilization. The Berlin Conference has therefore done no more than recognize a situation it has not helped to create, and deal with facts whose ultimate operation was already inevitable. Its first positive result has been to give binding force to the previous declarations of the International Association, by which the vast basin of the Congo, with all its feeders and outlets, forming an area of 1,300,000 square miles, as well as the coast from Ambriz to the Gaboon, is thrown open as a great market for the whole world, while France, as the reversionary heir of the territory, guarantees for twenty years the same conditions. The authority of an International Commission will enforce law and order on the estuary, the Portuguese claims to which are silently brushed aside. Britain will be responsible to Europe for the peace of the Lower Niger, where her control has hitherto been ineffective. Finally, all future annexation of African territory will be held valid only under certain conditions of permanence and stability. The stamp of finality is here given to arrangements hitherto but provisional, and the situation in Africa clearly defined, with the least possible amount of change in the *status quo*.

Thus Europe stands for the second time in history on the threshold of a mighty task—that of assimilating to her older culture a fresh contingent of the human race. The trustee of posterity, to her has once more fallen the lot of imparting a share in her ancient birthright to the disinherited of ages.

We started by comparing the voyage of Stanley to that of Columbus, since if the one revealed the existence of a continent, the other rendered one accessible. For though the breaking of the seal of time, which had for ages rested on the heart of Africa, was not exclusively effected by the exploration of the Congo, the social results of that great event immediately flowed from it. The riveting clasp in the chain of discovery, it combined and unified the links already forged round the continent, and the electric current of civilization flashed instantly along the completed circuit. Thus, as in the fifteenth century, an isolated section of the human race is about to be united to the rest, and a fresh extension to be given to the universal fellowship of man. But society has undergone a radical change, since the conquest of America, stained indeed by the greed and rapacity of individual adventurers, was yet undertaken in the spirit of a missionary crusade. The Cross is no longer the first symbol that civilization shows to barbarism, nor is the apostle now the trusted coadjutor of the pioneer.

The divorce of religion from all modern enterprise is most conspicuously visible in its course among heathen peoples, where material advantage alone is sought to the exclusion of every other consideration. Not as converts but as customers are the untold millions of Central Africa counted, and the missionary is regarded by the explorer at best with benevolent neutrality, extended to those of all faiths alike. Hence its divisions in doctrine are sometimes the first aspect of Christianity presented to the savage mind, and the newly-opened regions of Africa become too often a battle-ground for the conflicting creeds of Europe.

Yet the Church, accepting these conditions, is not slow to take advantage of every opening won by the purely secular forces of society, and the Holy Father has already signified his sense of the importance to religion of the Berlin Conference by desiring reports from all the Missions in West Africa to be prepared for submission to the Powers. In this region, where Catholicity once had so firm a hold that its memories still survive amid the descendants of its former votaries,\* there is surely ground for hope that it may flourish once again, and already every effort is being made to prepare the way for that end. In the wake of

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\* An account of some of these derelict congregations will be found in the DUBLIN REVIEW for April 1881, pages 404, 405, in Art. on Catholic Missions in Central Africa.

Stanley, and in the wake of de Brazza, zealous French priests, most courteously assisted by both explorers, have closely followed, establishing stations in the Quilu Valley, and thence towards the Upper Congo. Meantime the Algerian Missionaries, advancing from Zanzibar, having planted the Cross by the shores of the great lakes, are still pressing forward across the heart of the continent, to join hands with their brethren from the Atlantic. The Missions of the Gaboon and of Abeokuta, near Lagos, are great industrial as well as educational establishments, which, like that of Bagamoyo, near Zanzibar, are pointed to by all travellers as examples of what it is possible to do for the future regeneration of Africa.\*

It may be, in the furtherance of designs we cannot fathom, that among the long degraded races of this vast region, some other influence is needed to prepare their minds for that of religion, and that commerce, with its introduction of a higher standard of merely material well-being, may here be the predestined precursor of faith. Even thus did the civilization of the Roman Empire, with all its accompanying depravity, educate mankind for the reception of Christianity. Monsignor Comboni, the zealous apostle of the Soudan, said of the tribes among whom his labours lay, "We must make these people human before we can make them Christian." To this end even merely secular civilization must tend.

But legitimate commerce will still more directly pave the way for religion in Africa, and remove the most formidable obstacle to its progress, by drying up the sources of that most woeful of human woes, the hitherto irrepressible slave trade. How ineffectual is the mere blockade of the African ports to check its ravages in the interior is proved by the experience of Stanley's last voyage, showing indeed how its zone of devastation goes on widening with the advance of Arab colonization from the east coast. In his address to the Anti-Slavery Society at Manchester the traveller thus describes this "latest scene from the interior of Africa," witnessed on November 18, 1883 :—

We had ascended the Congo to about 1,150 miles from the sea. At this point we came to the confluence of the Aruwimi with the Congo, and, after we had got acquainted with the natives, we were told of a strange people called the Bahunga, who had come in strong force one day just at dawn, and before they knew anything there was confusion worse confounded; the skies seemed to have fallen on them; there were loud explosions, and whistling and singing of strange

\* For details of Catholic Missions in Africa, and the relations of missionary and pioneer work throughout the continent, the reader is referred to "The Evangelization of Africa," DUBLIN REVIEW, January, 1879; and to the Nos. for April and July, 1881, and January and July, 1882, for articles on Catholic Missions in Africa.

missiles all around them; there was darting of flame into their very faces, and savage yells in a strange language deafened them, and men and women were levelled as before a blast of a great living fire. Who or what all these strange forms were they knew not; . . . instinct bade those who had been so rudely awakened from sleep to fly, and the strong men dashed through the frail buildings to escape to the friendly shade of the forest. "From our coverts," they said, "we saw that some houses were on fire, and heard long shrieks from women and cries of children, and now and then we heard the sullen boom from one of those hollow tubes such as you have, and we plunged our faces deep into the grass and thicket to hide ourselves, and then there was a deathly stillness. We mustered courage a little, and crept out of our coverts, to look upon our ruined village, and to bewail the loss of our wives and children." "Who were these people? Where did they come from? What were they like?" we asked.

"Oh, we know not. We were all asleep when they came, and they departed in canoes. We think they were Bahunga, or some people from the north." All this was very strange to us. Of the Bahunga we had never heard, and in 1877 guns were unknown in this region. The journey was continued; we passed many desolated villages, and one day, as our eyes swept the banks, we saw first one tent gleaming white as a patch of snow or white quartz, and presently another came into view as we had cleared the point, and, soon after, about a dozen more. "The Arabs!" was the general cry. The secret was out. We knew that we had overtaken the marauders, and thought, with regret, that had we been a month earlier, we might have prevented these ruthless massacres. For one short moment a wild idea of revenging these poor outraged people darted through me; and when I discovered that there were 2,300 slaves in that camp, principally women and children, I more than ever regretted that my peculiar position did not warrant the exercise of chivalry.

Mr. Stanley subsequently visited this camp, and found it, he says, "a sight to make the angels weep." Here, in "a ravening human kennel," 300 fighting men kept in manacles and fetters their half-starved, emaciated prisoners, the spoil of 113 burned villages and 43 ravaged districts. Of the 2,300, only some 800 or 900 would, according to the speaker's calculation, survive to reach their goal, the remainder going to swell that grisly total of victims whose remains line all the native highways of Africa. Mr. Stanley claims on behalf of the International Association that its advance will check this horrible traffic, nay, that it has already done so, its last and furthest station at Stanley Falls being fifty miles above the spot where this scene of misery was witnessed.

If this be indeed so—if this be the message which the throb of the "En Avant's" engines carried with the star flag of the new Free State, from Stanley Pool to Stanley Falls, through all the heart of Africa—if civilization have thus made its fiat heard

in the innermost stronghold of barbarism, and the long protest of outraged humanity have been uttered there with authority at last—then rocks will not have been shattered and torrents spanned and rapids stemmed in vain—not in vain will the great river have been tracked from its lake sources to the sea—for the lifting of the veil that so long shrouded its course will mark an era of hopeful change in the destinies of a continent, and its explorer will deserve to rank with the greatest benefactors of his kind. Though Europe may fall short of her great mission, though new civilization develop new forms of evil on a soil rank with generations of depravity, though the savage in the fresh possibilities opened to him may choose the lowest and the worst ere he be brought to accept the best and highest; though religion may have to wait for generations ere she see the crop garnered from her latest harvest field of humanity, even thus the last state of things cannot be worse than the first, and the future of Africa under any form of European tutelage must be better than the dark and evil nightmare of her past.



#### ART. II.—THE HEALING ART IN PHILOSOPHY.

WHEN Mr. Veneering had made up his mind to stand for the borough of Pocket Breaches, the one thing which at once occurred to his devoted friends and admirers was, that if he was to be successful as a candidate, they must all *work*. He visited one friend after another. They differed in some degree in the advice they gave; but one and all agreed in this one point—if he is to be elected we must work. “One thing I will do for you,” said Twemlow, “I will work for you.” “One thing is plain,” said Lady Tippins, “we must work.” So, too, said Podsnap; so said Boots; so said Brewer. There was much energy promptly enlisted on every side, and much goodwill. But the mode in which the goodwill manifested itself and the energy expended itself was, it may be remembered, somewhat different in each case. Twemlow went to his club and casually observed to several members, whose connection with the result of the election was presumably *nil*, that a man called Veneering, whom they did not know even by name, was going to stand for Pocket Breaches—a constituency in which, so far as we know, they had no interest whatever. Boots went indefinitely all over London in a hansom cab. Lady Tippins took advantage of the opportunity by persuading Mrs. Veneering to lend her her carriage, in which she drove about town calling on all her friends, and amusing them and herself by explaining that the Veneerings were nobodies, but that she was pledged to support him in the election, as they gave her

good dinners to eat. Brewer did what was universally considered the most brilliantly conceived piece of work, in driving down to the House of Commons to see how things looked.

All this—which is, I hope, a fairly accurate *résumé*, given from memory, of a chapter in “Our Mutual Friend”—is here put forth as a parable. It is plain that if Veneering’s election had depended on the “work” of his friends he would never have got in; and that energy and goodwill, if they display themselves only in driving about wildly in cabs, will not secure a Parliamentary election. If we want to succeed in a practical aim it is not enough to say “we must work,” or to do the first thing which occurs to the mind; we must find out what work is best suited to bring about the end we have set our hearts on.

And what is the special department which I have in view at the moment in saying this? There is a very general feeling among thoughtful Catholics that infidelity is making rapid and fatal strides in our country; that the Anglican Establishment, so long a serviceable “breakwater” against “errors more fundamental than its own,” is going to pieces; and that eventually the struggle must be between dogma and negation; between that which claims to know with a certitude derived from a superhuman principle and that which denies the possibility of any absolute knowledge whatever—in a word, between the Catholic Church and that ever-growing phase of infidelity which is commonly called agnosticism, or know-nothingism. There is, I say, in a general way this feeling among us, whether it is expressed or only implicit; and side by side with it there is a sense of the importance of a sound philosophy to be cultivated and developed, as an antidote to the agnostic philosophy, which is daily gaining ground. There is, in short, to confine ourselves for the moment to the purely intellectual aspect of the question, a general sense that “we must work” at religious philosophy if we are to keep our own faith permanently, and if we are to stem the tide which threatens to overthrow the whole fabric of religious belief in the world. But it may, perhaps, be said that there is a difference of opinion and considerable vagueness among many of us as to the exact shape which our work should take. There may be in some cases a tendency to charge about in philosophical hansom cabs with no exact purpose or aim; but on such cases I do not wish here to insist. My wish here is to look rather at the particular forms of philosophical work which do appear to be exercising an influence for good on English thought, than to dwell on those which do not. And I hope that this method may commend itself as being in reality the one safe *organon* of discovery—as being an application of the experimental method. It seems useful to examine closely the conditions which have been found neces-

sary that Catholic thought may touch the age, so that those who wish to contribute their small share towards the special work of which I speak, may spend their energy in what is known to be useful;—that they may walk on hard ground and not on sand; that each effort may carry them onwards towards their goal instead of losing half its effect, owing to the nature of the ground they have chosen. I propose, then, in the main, to summarise rather than to theorise; to point to instances of what does succeed rather than to prove what ought to succeed; to act as show-man and not in any sense as a teacher—a rôle which it would obviously be impertinent in me to assume.

There seem to be two chief divisions of the philosophical work which is to meet our present needs. There must be a philosophical education—a training in sound first principles and modes of thought, as a preventive against philosophical error; and there must be a curative or medicinal philosophy to touch and heal the error so far as it may have already infected us; and to offer to those who are steeped in the unhealthy atmosphere of an age of intellectual disease, a cure which shall be in some measure palatable and effectual. I may call these two classes of philosophy respectively—philosophical pædapeutics and philosophical therapeutics.

Our present Holy Father, in the well-known encyclical *Æterni Patris*, gave full expression to his views with regard to the former of these branches of philosophical study. Our work in this department should proceed on the traditional lines of that Christian philosophy which we have inherited from Justin Martyr, from Clement of Alexandria, from Origen, from Athanasius and Chrysostom, and above all from Augustine, “who seems,” the Holy Father says, “to have borne away the palm from all. With a towering intellect, and a mind full to overflowing of sacred and profane learning, he fought resolutely against all the errors of his age with the greatest faith and equal knowledge.” This store of patristic philosophy was sorted and arranged by the Scholastics, who, adopting a more systematic form, less rhetorical and more concise and logical, and adding to the earlier teaching much both of the method and of the substance of Aristotle’s philosophy, erected that imposing structure commonly known as the Scholastic philosophy. The Holy Father writes thus of their work:—“The Doctors of the Middle Ages, whom we call Scholastics, set themselves to do a work of very great magnitude. There are rich and fruitful crops of doctrine scattered everywhere in the mighty volumes of the Holy Fathers. The aim of the Scholastics was to gather these together diligently and to store them up, as it were, in one place for the use and convenience of those that come after.” The method of this philosophy was exact and coherent. It was

adapted especially for teaching purposes. The accuracy of its definitions, the careful order of its divisions and sub-divisions, the completeness of its treatises, fitted it especially for the training of youth. It was easily remembered; it was positive in its statements and clear; it treated of everything the inquiring mind could ask about. And these are characteristics which would specially recommend it for the instruction of Christian youth—at a time when the mind is fresh, receptive, and inquiring. Sixtus the Fifth, in his bull *Triumphantis*, speaks thus of its characteristics:—"It has an apt coherence of facts and causes connected with one another; an order, an arrangement, like soldiers drawn up in battle array; definitions and distinctions very lucid; unanswerableness of argument and acute disputations. By these the light is divided from the darkness, and truth from falsehood."

Chief among the Scholastics stands St. Thomas Aquinas. The wisdom of Athanasius and Augustine was by him better understood and more faithfully transmitted than by any others. Leo XIII. reminds us that Cajetan said of him, "So great was his veneration for the ancient and sacred Doctors that he may be said to have gained a perfect understanding of them all." "Thomas," adds the Holy Father, "gathered together their doctrines like the scattered limbs of a body, and moulded them as a whole. He arranged them in so wonderful an order, and increased them with such great additions, that rightly and deservedly he is reckoned a singular safeguard and glory of the Catholic Church." We are counselled then by the Holy Father "to extend and perfect the old by new truths," and to beware of "undervaluing the inheritance of ancient wisdom." We are reminded of those "men of the greatest learning and worthy of the highest praise both in theology and philosophy" who, "having sought out with incredible diligence the immortal writings of Thomas, surrendered themselves to his angelic wisdom, not so much to be taught by his words as to be altogether nourished by them." We are cautioned at the same time that it is the "wisdom of St. Thomas" that is held up as our model and not "those things which may have been inquired into by Scholastic Doctors with too great subtlety;" and we are warned against an unquestioning adoption of "anything taught by them with too little consideration not agreeing with investigations of a later age."

Here, then, we have the lines on which the philosophical teaching in our schools should be carried on clearly marked out. It is to be an intelligent continuance of the Christian philosophy, which has been constantly developing in the course of the history of the Church. It is to avoid formalism or a surrender to all the details of Scholasticism, but it is to make use of the accumulated

wisdom of Christian thought, and not to despise it or put it on one side. It is to perfect it; to add to it; to modify it so far as the conditions of the age call for its modification.

But there is another need in the philosophy of the present age besides the need of philosophical teaching. And I have endeavoured to convey the nature of this need when I speak of the healing art in philosophy, or of philosophical therapeutics. The philosophical education which will train the Christian mind under normal conditions and make it strong and healthy is one thing; the philosophy which will heal a special disease of the intellect is another. It is exactly the difference between the diet best suited for health, and the medicine best adapted to a particular disease. There are many species of food, intrinsically strengthening, which add to and develop the health and vigour of the body in its normal state, but which weakly or diseased organs fail to assimilate. The nourishing substances consequently fail to nourish until the organs are by appropriate medicine restored to their natural condition. There is need of medicine before the diet can be effectual. And so it is, likewise, with religious philosophy. A healthy mind, with its religious instincts undwarfed, with its faculties untwisted by scepticism, acting in the normal and natural way, will assimilate a Christian philosophy based entirely on the old lines, and will thrive and grow strong on it. And thus where the mind can be dealt with in youth, where first principles and definitions can be instilled by the teacher—readily accepted as congenial to a fresh and healthy intellect—philosophy will naturally be for the most part that educational philosophy of which Leo XIII. speaks to us. But we are living in a diseased age; and we have to bear in mind that many of those very definitions and first principles on which the whole fabric of Christian philosophy is built, and which will be accepted without question by a mind in the normal and natural state—for the mind is *naturaliter Christiana*—are rejected and discredited by those whose spirit is the spirit of the times in which we are living. And in proportion as Catholics themselves become infected with the tone of thought of the age—and it is a part of the very air we breathe—they too will tend to accept less readily the principles of which I speak, and will stand in need of the medicinal philosophy, over and above the instruction which they have received in the recognized Catholic treatises.

I have now come to the question which, as the title of my article implies, is the main subject of my present inquiry—What must be the lines upon which a medicinal philosophy which is to touch the thought of the age, which is to appeal to men who are more or less infected by the current traditions and the ways of thinking which are now in vogue, must proceed? This is, of course,

a very wide question, and, as I have already intimated, I shall endeavour to consider it by looking at one or two specimens of work which has actually touched the thought of the present time, and has been influential, in a greater or less degree, in turning into a right channel speculation and opinion which was in a wrong channel.

The first work of which I shall speak is Cardinal Newman's "Grammar of Assent." And I speak of it first both from the immense influence which its author has exercised over religious thought, and because it seems to me to touch and suggest the remedy for the root-disease of our time. It is scarcely necessary to remind my readers that agnosticism is the watchword of modern unbelief. And this—roughly speaking—implies the opinion that knowledge of God, of immortality, and of all spiritual truth, is unattainable by man. In its technical form it means the belief in an unknowable being from which the universe proceeds. But the popular agnosticism—which has been termed know-nothingism—is less definite, and, indeed, less affirmative than this. It partakes more of the nature of positivism—viewed in its philosophical and not in its religious aspect. It is as much a tone of thought as a creed. It says equivalently, "The whole matter is a riddle, and a sensible man cannot expect to get certain knowledge on it at all." The arguments for natural religion and for revelation are submitted to criticism. The axioms on which they rest are called in question. The idea of causation is asserted to have no objective character. The appearance of design is affirmed to proceed from a principle which adapts our organs gradually to the environment—and the principle is supposed to exist in the nature of things. And so onward with the stock religious arguments: and while the battle is being fought out by experts, common sense steps in with the masses of people, and they are inclined to say—at any rate, if the question is open to dispute among able men, if doctors disagree, it is not for us to say that we have a right to be certain of religious truth. And as certainty is of the very essence of faith, once this way of speaking and thinking has become current, religious belief falls and know-nothingism takes its place.

Now, what is the cardinal principle on which this destruction of belief proceeds? It is the principle of Hume, though applied in a somewhat new way. Hume started with the principle that complete analysis of the grounds of belief is the only decisive test of the belief's correspondence with fact, and that all our knowledge has reference only to the regions of experience. Everything must be analyzed in terms of sensation, and what cannot be so analyzed we have no right to believe in with certainty. Consequently, as soon as it was clearly shown that in our know-

ledge of the external world all that we know in terms of sensation is the sequence of touch, taste, sight, smell, the conviction that something outside us caused these sensations, that their regular correspondence was due to something external, was not allowed to stand; for it rested on the conception of causation; and causation, as distinct from mere sequence, was an idea with no counterpart in the region of sensible experience. Thus we have no ground for believing in an external world. So, again, when analysis of the mental operations seemed complete in the classification of sensations and emotions, when the further consciousness that they are sensations and emotions of *me* was found to involve the idea of *me* as distinct from any sense experience which that *me* has, and through which the *me* is felt to exist, the self was denied to be anything at all. Mind was simply a succession of feelings and ideas.

The answer to all this was simply that the certainty we have of ourselves as subjects of sensation, and of something not ourselves as cause of sensation, is as piercingly clear, though of a different order, as the certainty that we have the sensation; and that we have no right to limit the trust we repose in our mind's declaration by Hume's arbitrary rule. The positive assertion of a healthy mind does not cease to carry reasonable conviction because we are unable in cold blood to trace every step it has taken; and conceptions of intellect do not cease to be real because they cannot be resolved into conceptions of sense.

And when Hume's principle came to be more and more closely applied to religion, this answer had to be carried into the sphere of religious argument proper. Cardinal Newman's argument seems, then, to amount to this. The whole reasoning faculty—the illative sense he calls it—goes forward automatically, basing its conclusions on the positive declarations of the mind; taking into account the moral and spiritual nature of man as well as the intellectual; and what the illative sense clearly and unhesitatingly affirms as certain is certain. Hume of course admitted that the mind could not help regarding such things as certain; but Newman seems to show that *provided the mind is in a normal and healthy state* its declaration is a declaration of objective truth.

Thus the really practical subject of inquiry becomes this—What are the signs that the mind *is* acting in the normal and healthy way when it affirms this or that truth? No doubt an analysis of its process is *one* way of testing its condition; but no analysis can be complete—and many decisions of the mind are far clearer and more certain than any analysis of the steps of inference can justify. The proof may be recognized and felt as a *body* although one may be unable to resolve it into its component parts.

This is, of course, the principle on which men have always

acted. A man believes firmly in America, although it may never have occurred to him to arrange in logical order the grounds of his belief, and if he is not a man with a naturally logical mind he will be unable to give reasons at all proportioned to the depth of his conviction; and yet that conviction remains still in the highest sense reasonable. But though this principle was recognized in practice, it needed clear expression to counteract the paralyzing effect of a philosophy which assumed that directly it was shown that the full analysis of the reasons for religious belief presented difficulties, suspension of judgment was the only reasonable course. Newman clearly shows that belief being in possession, in any case the *presumption* is that what the mind holds is true, and that such false elements as it may have adopted along with truth will by the conscientious thinker be gradually discarded.

And incidentally it appears in the course of this argument that after all the very same warrant as we have for trusting sense experience—namely, the positive testimony of our own consciousness—is equally a warrant for believing in the reality of the religious nature which is evidenced in conscience. Thus we have in the “Grammar of Assent” the *organon* of the medicinal philosophy. It gives the lines on which agnosticism must be met, the nature of the proof we may look for, the reasons why it may be esteemed conclusive, and it is left for others to carry out in detail, and with reference to the special utterances of the agnostics of our own day, the principles here indicated. In the normal state of things this kind of proof and this class of experiences was accepted by the human mind without reflection. But such automatic acceptance has now commenced to halt. Morbid introspection has caused the intellectual organs to cease from their natural performance of function, much as the memory becomes blank in moments of intense self-consciousness. The medicinal philosophy has once more to set in motion the mechanism designed by Nature for the acquisition of spiritual knowledge. And as I am writing not critically, but historically, I may be allowed to refer in this connection to the special place in this scheme which a portion of Dr. Ward’s “Philosophy of Theism” occupies; though I have only space here to speak of a small portion. The cardinal principle both of Hume and of Spencer is that our knowledge is subjective and relative—that the mind may know, indeed, its own experience, but that that experience is no indication of objective truth. Thus there is nothing seen and known to be true, but only something felt and experienced. Dr. Ward with care and insistency pointed out that in any *continuous* experience the power of the mind to declare objective truth is assumed. The experience of five minutes ago, though

it was subjective *then*, is objective *now*. The mind in knowing it is not witnessing to a feeling or an impression, but declaring positively the truth of an objective fact. This argument has been reproduced inaccurately, or without perception of its exact bearing, by several writers. The *Guardian*, speaking of it and of others in the same book, recently said that they have filtered down to the world through the writings of inferior critics who "have not scrupled to plough with Dr. Ward's heifer." He himself looked on it as the most clear and conclusive evidence that what the mind must be allowed to witness to is objective fact and not subjective impression. Thus once it is shown that the mind does positively affirm the existence in the sense of law of something in man pointing upwards, the *prima facie* charge that in affirming something absolute and not relative, something objective and not merely subjective, it is stepping beyond its own powers, falls to the ground. And if for a moment the fact that memory does not go beyond the region of experience in its testimony—though that experience is an objective fact—seems still to leave some warrant for limiting the power of objective knowledge to regions in which experiment is possible, such an objection to the completeness of Dr. Ward's argument, whether or not it is valid, seems to be met by the consideration, to which he proceeds, of the knowledge we have of necessary truth—for instance, that every isosceles triangle has angles at the base of equal size; knowledge which holds good throughout the universe of space, of which our planet occupies so infinitesimal a portion, and our experience is so inconsiderable.

Starting, then, with the view, laid before us by these two writers, that we are to appeal to the positive declaration of the mind, working naturally with intellectual and moral faculties alike, and that this is the unconscious assumption of all thinkers, it remains for those who work out the medicinal philosophy in its details to apply the remedy here indicated with special reference to contemporary writings. This has been done in various ways, and I may indicate one or two. One means which seems in several instances to have been effective in making those who are touched by recent agnostic writings realize how inconsistent its conclusions are with what is unconsciously assumed by all as true, consists in laying stress on those elements of truth which are undoubtedly contained in the works of which I speak, and from the vantage-ground thus gained—vantage-ground at all events in the eyes of such an audience—emphasizing the point at which the true method is abandoned, and the road to unbelief entered on. To take for the moment one instance, the Baconian method is justly reckoned the glory of modern thought, and

the boast of modern thinkers is that it is to be applied to the region of psychology as well as to physical science. But the whole strength of the inductive method rests in the care with which phenomena are observed. It seems, then, in simple accordance with its principles to say that if in the region of matter phenomena are examined with the greatest minuteness before a cause is assigned to them, equal care should be taken as to the phenomena of the spiritual life—that they should be scrutinised with conscientious care before it is decided that they may be accounted for by purely physical causes. And once this is realized it is safe to predict that Mr. Spencer's account of that central spiritual phenomenon—the sense of duty in conscience, the voice that speaks in what Kant calls “categorical imperatives”—will be seen to have been conceived rather in the spirit of the Platonic theories as to the origin of the universe than in accordance with the cautious and safe method of modern discovery; that it is a gigantic hypothesis based *simply* upon its suitableness in the scheme of physiological philosophy, and that in the advancing of it the one all-important step in all investigations—namely, a conscientious scrutiny of phenomena—has been omitted. I mean that the question most important is: Will Mr. Spencer's theory account, not for some imitation of conscience which he may imagine, but for conscience as it actually exists? and before this can be answered a careful and reverent inquiry into the nature and import of conscience was essential. And this is precisely what Mr. Spencer has passed over with lightest hand, intent rather, as the old Greeks were, on symmetry in his system than, as Bacon was, on its strict accordance with fact. It is for Christian philosophers, then, to carry out the Baconian method where the agnostics have failed to do so, and to institute a searching examination into those phenomena which seem the most direct evidence of a superhuman principle within us and the shadow of the Godhead above us.

And in noting such questions as these, to which the attention of the medicinal philosophy is directed, one thing strikes us forcibly, that they are, in many cases, questions which the older philosophy scarcely contemplated at all. Take, for example, the very consideration I have referred to—the argument from conscience for God's existence. It is not mentioned at all by St. Thomas. And yet it is true to say that all modern writers are agreed that it is not only an important argument, but the most important. And in accounting for this circumstance, my original analogy will, I fancy, be particularly serviceable. It would be true, surely, to say that in giving an account of the process of digestion the very last thing considered in a healthy organism is that living principle which causes the automatic

movement of the various muscles, and which is, after all, the primary cause of the transformations through which the food goes. The transformations are described, the nature of the various glands which discharge and assimilate, and in all this is *presupposed* the action of the living body, which is little spoken of only because it is taken for granted. But if the muscles become inactive and the digestion torpid, then it is realized that they must be stimulated, and we are reminded that the living force which sets them in motion is after all at the root of the whole process. And so, too, it may be said that one who receives a Christian education, and lives in the presence of God, *feels* that presence in his conscience as a strong motive for belief. But in describing the reasons, the very last he gives is what is so habitual to him that he scarcely thinks of it. There it is, a part of himself, and there seems little to be said of it. But when belief is shaken and has to be revived, he becomes conscious that if he recognizes in conscience no communication from the unseen God—no shadow of His Supreme Holiness—the other arguments fail of their due force. They are, in some sense, the external confirmations of that Existence whose reality the internal voice suggested; and if that voice be discredited, there is little motive power in the Soul for looking at the question with an active and serious mind.

Among those spiritual experiences, of which conscience is the most important as being most unmistakable and most universal, comes another class of motives for belief, which the old philosophy spoke little of, though it has ever been a most important factor in living belief in all ages. I speak of the various manifestations of the Church's vitality, and of the direct action of the unseen world on the saints and chosen ones of God. The constancy of the martyrs has, indeed, been often held up as a proof of the superhuman assistance afforded to those who trusted in Christ; but those innumerable manifestations of intercourse with the unseen world which the Church presents along the whole line of her history hold a subordinate place in the recognized philosophical and evidential courses. The continued existence of miracles, the constant fertility of the Church in saints, the unique character of the Catholic spiritual life, the effect of religion on our moral nature, and, above all, the marvellous experiences of the mystics—these and such-like motives are a part of the atmosphere in which a Catholic lives, and foster his faith naturally; and yet their being so constant on the one hand, and so difficult to express fully and to indicate in logical shape on the other, have tended to make their place as a part of the proof of Catholicism and of the reality of the religious world generally, far less prominent, in the recognized

analyses of the proof, than it is in the proof itself. The experiences of the mystics are, one would suppose, in their degree proofs of the presence of a divine element in all religion ; and in proportion as they are found more conspicuously and in a more directly spiritual form in the Catholic Church, in that proportion do they witness to the fact that God's spirit is with her as it is not elsewhere. The question as to those manifestations of spiritual insight and that immediate converse with the unseen which are witnessed to in the writings of the great mystics is undoubtedly felt more and more to be a vital one in religious philosophy. However distorted they have in many cases been by fanaticism and passion, there has ever been in the revelations of the mystics a deep fund of spiritual truth contained ; and then, again, mysticism is the most direct exhibition of the purely spiritual nature. Its phenomena cannot be ignored or passed over. If they are to be classed with the ravings of madmen, the mystics must be shown to have been mad. If there has been in many cases the strongest and soundest common-sense—as there was conspicuously in the case of St. Theresa—and along with this the positive declaration that insight into and communication with a world beyond the world of sense has been granted, it is difficult to throw discredit on the objective character of that insight. Our ultimate appeal is to the decision of our faculties, provided those faculties be in a healthy state. And it is difficult to see on what principle the mind which affirms that the intuition “in no region can two straight lines enclose a space” is to be trusted, and the mind which bears clear testimony that it has had intercourse with the unseen world, provided that mind be in a well-balanced and normal state, is to be distrusted. In each case the warrant for trust is the same, in each case the human mind testifies positively to objective truth clearly perceived to be true, although beyond the region of sense.

In this connection, and as an excellent specimen of the medicinal philosophy of which I am speaking, so far as it has as yet been undertaken by Catholics, I would refer to Mr. W. S. Lilly's paper in the *Fortnightly Review* for last September, entitled “Modern Mysticism.” And his remarks as to the substantial identity of the power in the human mind which enables it on such various subject-matters to perceive truths outside the sphere of mere sense perception are so happy and suggestive that I do not think an apology is needed for the length of my quotation. He writes as follows:—

The intuition of duty is but one of many faculties independent of sense perception which, as a matter of fact, exist in human nature. Or, to put the matter more accurately, that power within us which discerns the axioms of eternal righteousness is the very same in root

and substance with that which grasps the facts and interprets the laws of a world beyond appearances. Unquestionably, there is in man an *αἴσθησις τῆς ψυχῆς*. Take the sense of personality, whereby we know the self of ours which is no phenomenon, but something more, abiding amid change, and so making experience possible: take the sense of force, possessing a permanence and reality not belonging to the phenomena by means of which we apprehend it, or the sense of power, of will—surely all these give us a glimpse into the noumenal world, an intuition of things in themselves. But, again, consider the vast region—most real, however dim and ill-explored and infested by fools and knaves—the region of prescient instinct, of spiritual sight and hearing and contact, of abnormal physical states, of seemingly miraculous powers. Nothing is easier than for the negationist to suspend upon his upturned nose the mass of evidence available regarding these things, and to take refuge in a stupid *à priori*; but nothing is more “unscientific,” if science proceed upon observation and experience. To adduce a familiar instance: surely the well-authenticated narratives recently given to the world by Messrs. Myers and Gurney are as worthy of consideration as the hypotheses of Professor Haeckel. I am at a loss to conceive how any candid mind can read the section in Von Hartmann’s great work, wherein he discourses of the Unconscious in bodily life, and resist the cogency of the data gathered by that most careful and critical observer from so many departments of physical science. If any fact is clear it is this, that not only in man, but in all animate existence, down to its lowest forms, we find a perceptive power transcending sense and reflection and far more trustworthy. The subject is too large for me to enter upon. I can only refer those of my readers who would follow it out to Von Hartmann’s masterly treatment of it, merely observing here that the evidence for the facts of second sight, of presentiment, of presage, is so various, so abundant, and so overwhelmingly corroborated, that in the words of this clear and judicial writer, “for impartial judges, the absolute denial of such phenomena is consistent only with ignorance of the accounts of them.” And these phenomena, he justly observes, are essentially mystical. Well warranted, too, must I account him when he reckons as mystic all great artists, for they do but body forth, according to their diverse gifts, what they have intuitively discerned in the high reason of their fancies: and all philosophers, so far as they are truly original, both because their greatest thoughts have never been the result of laborious effort, nay, nor of conscious induction, but have been apprehended by the lightning flash of genius: and also because their essential theme is connected with the one feeling only to be mystically apprehended, namely, the relation of the individual to the Absolute. Of religion I need not speak. Every great faith of the world has originated in mysticism, and by mysticism it lives; for mysticism is what John Wesley called “heart religion.” When this dies out of any creed, that creed inevitably falls into the moribund decrepitude of mere formalism or superstition.

So much must suffice to indicate the transcendent importance which mysticism seems to me to possess in these days, when so many a fair philosophy lies in ruins, and time-honoured theologies are threatened with swift extinction, as mere collections of meaningless words about unintelligible chimæras. Founded as it is in that highest faculty which St. Bonaventura calls "*apex mentis*," mysticism is the impregnable citadel of the supersensible, a citadel which no *Zermalmender* shall ever overthrow, though he crush all else. But there are two objections to which, in conclusion, I must briefly reply. First, it is said by an exceeding great multitude—Mr. Mill may serve as their spokesman in the passage I have quoted from him—that the mystics, in fact, do nothing more than ascribe objective existence to the subjective creation of their own faculties, to mere ideas of the intellect. Surely this is a tyrannous *ipse dixit*, if ever utterance deserved to be so called. Why should I believe, upon the authority of those who confessedly do not speak as experts, that the choice specimens of human wisdom and virtue in all ages have been wrong, when they thought themselves to be holding communion with supersensible Realities? Is not their own account of the matter as credible as the hypothesis that they were given over to a strong delusion to believe a lie, that their highest vision was but a turning about in their own thoughts, as in the void inane? No; when the spirit is perfectly master of itself, when passion and interest are stilled for the moment, when there is a combined ease and energy of thinking which cannot be mistaken for vacancy of mind, I defy a man to believe that the intuitions of which he is conscious are illusory or merely subjective. He may say so when the hour is past, and he has been disobedient to the heavenly calling; but he did not think so when it was present. And here I would point to one most unquestionable and most significant fact. However strange, it is no less certain, that the farther we recede from mathematics and the formal teaching of logic—or, in other words, the nearer we approach to life and its perfections—the more delicate, subtle, and easily overlooked are the truths we come upon. The surest and most sacred verities are precisely those which appear the most fantastic illusions to such as have no real, no personal apprehension of them, who know them but as notions, and at second hand. Thus, who that has not experienced the tender passion can endure the extravagances, the unreason, the madness—so he deems—which characterize it? But let Benedick fall in love, and he will be as insane as the rest of us. The true doctrine is that only those are verily and indeed out of their minds, out of harmony with life and nature, who do not confess the sway of the gentle goddess: "*Alma Venus, quæ rerum naturam sola gubernas!*" Birth, life, family, the state, the world's great order are all carried on by means of a passion which laughs at syllogisms, yet has a higher reason than all logic, which defies analysis, yet has "its deep foundation set under the grave of things." Now this has a direct bearing upon that highest kind of love and knowledge which makes

the universe of the mystics. It is precisely in proportion as they do not argue that they are convincing; the secret of persuasion is theirs in a transcendent degree which no analytical philosopher has ever possessed. It is the easiest thing in the world to hold up their imaginations, their ecstasies, their visions and revelations to scorn as intellectual intoxication or mental disease: the hard, the impossible thing for one who has held high converse with the sages of the *Upanishads*, with Plotinus, with Jelâl, with St. Teresa, is to believe that what those great souls accounted the prime and only Reality was wholly unreal.

And in maintaining that a real truth is perceived in the contemplations of the mystics, the writer does not ignore the extravagant and even vicious elements, which are here and there found in company with ecstatic phases of mind. In its liability to be occasionally distorted and led into error, this species of spiritual insight is like any other power of the mind. The reason may be clouded by prejudice; memory may play false and become indistinguishably mingled with imagination; and so in like manner is the mystic vision liable to an admixture of what is not divine. Nay, the holiest mystics were fully conscious of this. St. Theresa speaks of her possession of God in "the centre of the soul where *illusion is impossible*," fully aware that under circumstances illusion may exist. And in this consciousness there is an additional testimony to the unmistakably divine character of the mystical experiences—just as one who is fully aware of his own prejudices, and on his guard against them, may judge with far greater confidence and security than another who is unaware of any defect in his mental vision. The true remedy for all such diseases is what Newman calls "the heart and the eye for truth;" and it seems fair to suppose that, just as it is the mind which in all humbly seeks to know the truth, which most readily bursts the bonds of prejudice, so the mystics, who in docility and submission allow God to work His Will in them, will be the most likely to have spiritual knowledge conveyed to them pure and untainted. Such an expectation would at all events receive strong confirmation from the fact which Mr. Lilly points out, that "in the Catholic Church mysticism has been incomparably more healthy, more sober, more beautiful than anywhere else."

But I must not dwell longer on this subject. I am speaking of it here only as one of those testimonies to the divine character of religion which, while they are taken for granted, and practically felt, by one whose growth is under normal Christian influences, become discredited in a materialistic age, and need to be explicitly insisted on. It is with the evidence afforded by the spiritual insight of the mystics as with the evidence of the indi-

vidual conscience. Both are practically very influential, and neither lends itself very readily to systematic or logical statement. And it is only when the time has come in which the mystics are spoken of as madmen, and conscience explained as an inherited instinct, telling us what actions will benefit our race, that it becomes necessary in loudest tones and with clearest statements of fact to point out the inconsistency of such theories with the phenomena before us. The boast of modern thought is, as I have said, that it reviews all phenomena with care, and draws its conclusions by careful induction. Let thinkers look carefully, then, at the phenomena of which I speak, and they will find that in each case they omit from their observation that divine element which is the very life both of mysticism and of conscience. It is as though an exhaustive analysis of the characteristics of man should be given which entirely omitted all mention of that living principle within him which distinguishes a man from a corpse. The Spencerian conscience is indeed but the corpse of the real conscience.

So far I have spoken, in treating of the detailed medicinal philosophy, of the necessity and expediency of urging upon modern thinkers that it is only to carry out their own principles that they should closely examine those direct intimations of the existence of a God, and of another world, which are to be found in the experiences of the individual conscience and in the narratives of the mystics. And while Mr. Lilly has done this with great effect so far as the phenomena of mysticism are concerned, another Catholic writer, Dr. Barry, has thrown out suggestions of another fruitful theme which modern philosophers would do well to consider and discuss. His enquiry is, as I understand it, into the amount of religious philosophy which is contained in embryo in such works as those of Herbert Spencer, which he even considers may prove the harbinger of a new birth for Christian philosophy. Even those who are unable to follow him in such sanguine expectations will recognize the interest and importance of the enquiry, and the truth of the main thought which underlies the article to which I refer, and which appeared some months ago in the *Contemporary Review*. Mr. Spencer has been steadily growing in the definiteness of his knowledge of the Unknowable, and his recent controversy with Mr. Harrison has made plainer than ever its extremely godlike character. So far as a mere phrase can suggest a train of thought, we have a very noteworthy confession from Mr. Spencer that he had at first written in his article on "Religion" in the *Nineteenth Century*, of the unknown energy whereby all things are "created and sustained." Then, again, one who reads the same writer's "First Principles," prepared to detect what signs there may be

in that remarkable volume of the return of theological belief under a new name, will not pass by without observation such passages as the following—the italics are my own :—

Whoever hesitates to utter what he thinks the highest truth, lest it should be too much in advance of the time, may reassure himself by looking at his acts from an impersonal point of view. Let him duly realize the fact that opinion is the agency through which character adapts external arrangements to itself—that his opinion rightly forms part of this agency—is a unit of force constituting, with other such units, the general power which works out social changes; and he will perceive that he may properly give full utterance to his innermost conviction: leaving it to produce what effect it may. It is not for nothing that he has in him these sympathies with some principles and repugnance to others. He, with all his capacities and aspirations and beliefs, is not an accident, but a product of the time. He must remember that while he is a descendant of the past he is a parent of the future; and that his thoughts are as children born to him which he may not carelessly let die. He, like every other man, may properly consider himself as one of the myriad agencies *through whom works the Unknown Cause*; and when the Unknown Cause *produces in him a certain belief*, he is thereby *authorized* to profess and act out that belief. . . . Not as adventitious, therefore, will the *wise man* regard the faith which is in him. *The highest truth he sees* he will fearlessly utter; knowing that, let what may come of it, he is thus playing his *right part in the world*—knowing that if he can effect the change he aims at—well: if not—well also, though not *so well*.

One may see in such a passage the most distinct conception of a Providential character in the Unknowable; and of the character of that which sanctions what is right. And when it is borne in mind that Mr. Spencer has been explicit in his declaration that if the Unknowable is not a person, it is something higher and not something lower than a person, we find, of a sudden, amid the assertions of what professes to be a philosophy destructive of theism, rising up in coherent shape the figure of a Being, endowed with Personality or something higher, creating and sustaining the universe, the source of all good thoughts and acts, whose purposes the wise man carries out—wise in the sense in which it is written, *initium sapientiæ timor domini*, wise, that is, with the wisdom of goodness, for his act is clearly represented in the passage I have quoted as an act of duty, and not of personal prudence. When Phoenix had reached the age of 500 years, he built himself a funeral pile, consisting of spices, and settling upon it, died. But from the decomposing body he rose again—small at first, but gradually growing bigger and more patent to view. And certainly this Unknowable cause seems growing gradually to the dimensions of the God whom agnosticism has professed to place on his funeral pile. Let it grow. We know that

the new Phoenix was really the same as the old, though with a new body, and that when he had grown up he wrapped up the remains of the old body in myrrh and carried them to Heliopolis and burnt them—as the work of the old body was accomplished. No analogy is complete, and we cannot afford to burn the older philosophies which have demonstrated God's existence. But may we not say that the work, on these lines, of the medicinal philosophy is to foster the further growth of the Unknowable, and that when He shall have assumed the full proportions of the Inscrutable Godhead, those who prefer it may use the new language rather than the old—may put away the old body and look on Phoenix, who is ever one and the same, under his new external symbols, just as the Italian, the German, and the Frenchman use in praying to their common Father, and in expressing the very same thoughts, the language suited to the habits and understanding of each?

But a full discussion of this question is beyond the needs of my present purpose, which is to point out a line of thought which has been indicated, and which is a good specimen of philosophical therapeutics, and of that particular work of which I have spoken, which consists in taking the acknowledged principles of modern philosophy, and starting on common ground with those whom we would influence, and showing that the very thoughts which seem to arise on the ruins of the old theism will prove, when further developed, to be but the resurrection of the old belief in a new form.

It will not be to my purpose to multiply instances much further. I have mentioned two distinct lines which the medicinal philosophy has taken so far as it has as yet been attempted by English Catholic writers. I will mention one more, and I will in this case again refer to a concrete instance. Many of the most valuable of the Scholastic treatises, the substance of which is quite fitted to teach the mind of the present day, fail of effect owing to their form. Dress out their arguments in modern language, speak in the concrete rather than the abstract, help to render your meaning clear by analogy and illustrations, and such a treatise rises from the dead state of a musty folio to the life—I will not say of a romance, but of a book like Mr. Drummond's "*Natural Law in the Spiritual World*"—which has influenced a public the extent of which may be judged of by the 16,000 copies which have been sold. Be it observed, I am speaking of the *practical* effect of such a treatise in the present age, and not in any way (I need hardly say) calling in question its intrinsic value. But St. Thomas tells us that the opposite quality to *studiositas* is *curiositas*, and whereas the Scholastic folios are the fitting food for those gifted with the former quality,

the latter is far more characteristic of the nineteenth century. A large Latin volume is regarded as a pill, and unless it be made palatable by surrounding jam it will do no good, simply because the age will refuse to swallow it, and not in any degree because of any defect in the medicinal properties of the pill.

The concrete instance to which I will refer of lucid statement, adapted to the age, of much that has been culled from Scholastic and Patristic sources—though likewise added to and developed by the writer himself—shall be taken from Mr. W. S. Lilly's able book, "Ancient Religion and Modern Thought." The dialogue at the end of that work, entitled "Matter and Spirit," illustrates what I have spoken of very happily; and, as a passage especially suggestive of the useful work it is calculated to perform, I will quote his account of what may be called the common-sense aspect of that most difficult and most trying of dogmas—a place or state of Eternal Punishment:—

As to evil. It is commonly held that progress must change evil to good, and that it is only relative, only the negation of higher good as yet un-attained. But, as I have urged, we must admit freewill upon the supreme testimony of consciousness. I say, therefore, that if a man submits to the law of moral development, which he may do by choosing and acting aright, he will finally be delivered from all evil. But if he rebels and will not submit to the elevating, the redeeming influences, he falls thereby under those which degrade, stupefy, and materialise. And as he would cease to be a man had he no freewill—*actu vel potentia*—and moral good must imply moral choice, it seems inevitable that he should remain the slave of the lower life as long as he will not choose to break away from it. And death being a change of state, not of moral condition, what warrant have we for affirming that the process of degradation will not continue indefinitely? And science not admitting annihilation—nothing perishes—does not this imply an eternal abiding in that form which the soul was meant to pass onward and upward? By what name, then, shall we call the vision of perfection not realized, nor now to be realized, the consciousness of a life with infinite aspirations unfulfilled, the knowledge of aims endlessly desirable, yet not loved, the thought of action, that might have been wide and high as the universe, now expended fruitlessly and thwarted by an evil will? You know the name, which so lightly comes to men's lips, given by all religions to this sphere of darkness. I do not see that science can erase it from the portal. If the soul at last identifies itself with the environment and this with itself, an evil soul must have around it an environment of horror. I admit that all this depends on the existence of free-will and the reality of sin, concerning which we must interrogate not the men of physical science, but those to whom good and evil have appeared the supreme realities of life, and the struggle between them the struggle for existence. It was a fine saying of Joubert's and a true: "One should be fearful of being wrong in poetry when one thinks differently from the poets, and in religion when one thinks differently from the saints."

With this most excellent and suggestive passage I close my specimens, having, I hope, given sufficient to illustrate the distinc-

tion on which I have been insisting between the educational and the medicinal philosophy, and to indicate in some degree the lines on which the latter is proceeding, and must proceed, if it is to be effectual in influencing the thought of the present age. I need scarcely say that I have made no attempt to give any full account of the valuable work which is being done by the numerous able Catholic writers of our day, on lines parallel to those I have described or in other branches of the medicinal philosophy of which I have not found space to speak. I have only referred, in illustration of the special philosophical need to which I am calling attention, to one or two specimens, sufficient for my purpose, as being of acknowledged excellence, and as having—in two instances—been recently the subject of considerable comment both among Catholics and among thinkers outside the pale.

One final word. No one can feed on medicine. Medicine prepares the organs to receive nourishment; but it cannot nourish by itself. And thus, indispensably important as the medicinal philosophy is, it cannot, even in the case of those who are most impregnated with the modern spirit, be so used as to dispense with the necessity of studying the traditional works of the Fathers and Scholastics. It may prepare the mind to approach those works in a due spirit of reverence and in such a way as to receive the nourishment they are calculated to supply; but it cannot build up the spiritual and moral nature by itself. Its work is essentially preparatory and intermittent: preparatory in the case of those who are not disposed to accept the wisdom of Thomas and Augustine; intermittent in the case of those who are now and again shaken in their allegiance by the various objections of modern scepticism. But the remedy they offer is no more complete in itself than medicine will avail to sustain the improvement it has wrought, or to guard against future sickness. These purposes will be fulfilled only by having recourse to the traditional Christian thought, and "feeding" the mind therewith, to use the Holy Father's phrase. For the permanent cure of unbelief, Leo XIII. has expressed to us his sense that "nothing after the supernatural help of God can be more useful in these days than the solid doctrines of the Fathers and the Scholastics. They teach firm foundations of faith, its divine origin, its certain truth, the arguments by which it is commended to men, the benefits it has conferred on the human race, and its perfect harmony with reason."

WILFRID WARD.

## ART. III.—MECHANICAL DEVOTIONS.

IT is a common mistake, and one which prevails more especially in sceptical times, to suppose that there is a family likeness between religion and superstition. We trace this error in the classical use of the words *religio* in Latin and *δεισιδαιμονία* in Greek, which were employed in the sense of "superstition" rather than of "religion" at the time when primitive beliefs were fast disappearing from the educated portion of Greek and Roman society.

The implied resemblance between the religious and the superstitious temper is not borne out by facts. Religious men are not prone to be superstitious, nor are superstitious men as a rule remarkable for their religious spirit. It is the guilty Macbeth who sees the ghost of Banquo in the vacant chair, and credits the predictions of the beldames whose words are the echo of his own guilty thoughts. Saul consults the witch of Endor only when the Spirit of God has deserted him. Spiritualism is shown by experience not to favour a high morality, or to be allied to a virtuous or holy life. St. Paul reproves the Athenians for their superstition, and the Colossians for the credit they gave to old wives' fables. Catholic missionaries have everywhere set their faces against the superstitious practices of the countries where they preached the gospel, and have risked their influence and their chances of success rather than make a concession to customs and modes of worship which they could not approve.

At the same time, it is true that religion and superstition are conterminous, and that religion is apt to lapse into superstition, if corruptions creep in and mar the purity of its morals or its faith. But it is only the tendency of the good wine to turn to vinegar. If superstition has a certain similarity to religion, it is the likeness of the caricature to the original, of the counterfeit to the reality, of the base metal to the ringing gold. It is not always easy to distinguish them from each other. The careless observer often thinks that the pure gold is but worthless brass, because, forsooth, it is a little dulled, or because he is ignorant of the countless varieties of hue that the precious metal can assume. Men watch a religious practice from outside, and condemn what they are unable to comprehend. They are no more able to judge it aright than a stranger who witnesses a play in a language he does not understand, to judge of the plot from the mere gestures and motions of the actors.

Into this mistake has lately fallen a writer of an article in the *Contemporary Review*,\* who, expressing the popular opinion

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\* *Contemporary Review*, October, 1884; Art. "Mechanical Modes of Worship."

current among most of our Protestant fellow-countrymen, denounces as superstitious a Catholic practice of devotion which deserves a better fate, even at the hands of those outside the Church. The recital of the Rosary of the blessed Virgin Mary is a devotion which prevails wherever the successor of St. Peter holds sway. It is no outgrowth of the Faith, no appendage of Catholic doctrines, which follows like some camp-follower in their wake, hanging on to the skirts of the army, and of which the wiser among its officers would fain be rid. On the contrary, it receives the highest possible sanction: it has been approved again and again by the Father of the faithful, and earnestly recommended to the devotion of his children. During the month of October, Leo XIII. directed its recital in every church throughout the world, and opened the treasury of the Church's indulgences to all who should assist at it. Although it is not imposed under pain of sin, yet there is scarce a good Catholic all over Christendom who does not sometimes say his Rosary. It is not a devotion limited to the poor and the uneducated, or invented to assist the prayers of those who cannot read. Men of the highest position and the noblest genius tell their beads, no less than the beggar by the roadside, the learned as well as the ignorant, the highly-educated theologian as well as the illiterate poor, the prince as well as the peasant, the most noble as well as the most abject. Bishops, Cardinals, and Popes, rulers of men and leaders of thought, statesmen, politicians, generals, and kings, find in the Devotion of the Rosary a holy and wholesome practice of prayer, well suited to raise the thoughts to God and do honour to His Divine Majesty.

The article of which we are speaking assails the Rosary and kindred Catholic devotions under various titles. "It constitutes a truly wearisome exercise of vain repetition." "It consists of short prayers, which may be uttered rapidly amid the stir and business of life, without requiring undivided attention." "It is of a like nature with the prayer-wheels of Thibet and Japan." "It is accounted as meritorious as the repetition of the hundred and fifty Psalms of the Psalter of David." "The omission of any of the Paters and Aves it contains is accounted sinful (!); hence the mechanical aid for the avoidance of miscalculation." "It is a practice so little in accordance with the spirit of Christianity, that it appears impossible that it could have been a spontaneous growth in the Christian Church. It is therefore natural to suppose it was imported from some heathen land." "It is but a Christian reproduction of a Buddhist or Chinese devotion." "It is generally ascribed to St. Dominic, but there is little doubt that this use of beads was common in Spain before the time of St. Dominic, and that it had been borrowed by the Spanish

Catholics from the Mahommedan dervishes, who accompanied the Moors on their invasion of Spain in A.D. 711, and who, in common with their Syrian brethren, had adopted it from nations farther east.”\*

It is the old story. The devotion which seems unintelligible to him who watches it from outside the temple is but a mummerly; the practices, of which he cannot understand the meaning or appreciate the beauty, are a wearisome exercise of vain repetition. They may find favour with men whose lofty genius the whole world recognises, but he denounces them as a “formal, heartless routine,” an empty lip-service, quite out of harmony with the spirit of Christianity. He is determined to find a heathen origin for the superstitious usage, and therefore “there is little doubt of” the correctness of the astonishing conjecture, equally gratuitous and absurd, that it was borrowed by Catholic priests from Mahommedan dervishes. His baseless hypothesis has to be built up upon another, equally destitute of any foundation in fact: that the Moors, in common with their Syrian brethren, had adopted it from nations farther east.

I am not going to discuss the historical value of this wonderful hypothesis. I have no wish to attack the trustworthiness of an article otherwise full of pleasant and interesting information respecting Japanese rosaries and Thibetan scripture-cylinders and prayer-wheels. Enough to say that to suppose the fiery Spaniard borrowing his methods of devotion from the hated Moor, is about as reasonable a supposition as to imagine the early Christians learning from their heathen persecutors how to worship Jesus Christ, or the Catholic Irish borrowing from the Puritan soldiers of Cromwell their Calvinist hymns and prayers. My present attitude is one of defence, not of attack; of apology, not of aggression.

Before speaking of the true character of the Rosary, I should like to say a word about the oft-quoted phrase, borrowed from the Anglican version of Holy Scripture, of “vain repetitions.” The reference is to Our Lord’s words from the Sermon on the Mount, warning His disciples against certain pagan modes of prayer. The translation in the authorized version runs as follows:—“Use not vain repetitions as the heathen do: for they think that they shall be heard for their much speaking. Be not ye therefore like unto them: for your Father knoweth what things ye have need of before ye ask him.”—St. Matt. vi. 7-8. There is a good deal of excuse for the application, by the non-Catholic, of these words to the devotion of the Rosary. There is a sort of plausibility in the Protestant belief that Christ Our Lord had in view certain mechanical devotions hereafter to arise, of which

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\* *Contemporary Review*, Art. cit. *passim*.

the Rosary is the most prominent instance, and desired to warn Christians against the danger of formalism they involved. The interpretation is justified by a Protestant tradition of some 300 years standing. The ignorance even of educated men respecting the true import of the Rosary is a justification of their suspicions of it. Even ill-instructed Catholics, or those in whom the brightness of faith has become dull through long neglect, sometimes find an excuse for the non-recital of their Rosary in the fancied danger that it will lapse into a mere vain repetition of empty words.

Unfortunately, however, for this pious interpretation, it is equally inaccurate as an explanation of the English words and as a version of the Greek text. Even according to the authorized version Our Lord does not simply say "Use no repetitions in your prayers." If he had said this, he would have practically contradicted His command by His recommendation of the Lord's prayer immediately following. If it is to be the universal prayer, distinctive of Christian worship—"When ye pray, say"—He can only mean that it is to be the customary expression of the desires of our heart, the prayer to be continually repeated when we pray. He does not say, "When you pray, frame your petitions on the following model, but say the following words" (λέγετε). If He means anything at all, He enjoins its frequent, its constant repetition. He could not, therefore, mean "Use no repetitions in your prayers, because repetitions are useless and dangerous," and then go on to order a short form of prayer to be repeated whenever we pray. Besides, He Himself used repetition in His prayers when He repeated in the agony in the garden over and over again His Divine Petition: "Oh, My Father, if it be possible, let this chalice pass from me; yet not as I will but as Thou wilt." In heaven the holy angels repeat continually their hymn of adoration: "Holy, holy, holy Lord God of Hosts," and no one calling himself a Christian would venture to censure their practice. What our Lord really says is, not "Use not repetitions," but "Use not *vain* repetitions"—i.e., repetitions of words which have no meaning, words which are supposed to serve as a sort of magic charm, independently of the spirit in which they are said or the signification they bear.

But He does not merely say (I am still adhering to the Anglican version), "Use not vain repetitions," but "Use not vain repetitions *as the heathen do.*" In order to fall under the Divine censure, the prayers must not only be repeated to no purpose and without any reference to their meaning, but the purposeless repetition must be similar to that practised by pagans and idolators. It must be the droning of sounds without sense, repeated parrot-like by way of a fancied charm, or the shouting of some noisy invocation to rouse the slumbering or inattentive god.

The Greek text, which the non-Catholic recognizes as the final court of appeal respecting the New Testament, bears out this distinction. To use vain repetitions is in the Greek a single word, "to battologize" (βαττολογεῖν) or talk like Battus. Battus, as we learn from Herodotus (iv. 155), was a young noble of Thera, who consulted the Delphic oracle respecting an impediment in his speech,\* or stammering, and a lisp, which made his words unintelligible; and to whom the oracle took occasion of his visit to predict his future fortunes as the colonist of Libya. From Battus came the verb to *battologize*, which means to utter sounds devoid of any intelligible meaning, to mumble nonsense, to talk gibberish.† It is unnecessary to insist on the absurdity of applying such a word as this to the recitation of the Catholic rosary. If the "Our Father" is nonsense, if the Angelic Salutation is gibberish, if the "Gloria Patri" is a sound devoid of meaning, then, and not till then, can he who tells his beads be said to battologize.

The Vulgate translation of the Bible, to which the Catholic turns as the authoritative interpretation of Our Lord's words, is substantially in accord with the Greek text and the Anglican version. "*Nolite multum loqui*"—"do not talk much, do not use many words," is a more general equivalent for the particular forms of "battologizing" and vain repetitions, which the superabundant utterances might assume. It chimes in most consistently with the words that follow. We are not to speak much, as the heathen do, for they think they will be heard on account of their verbosity (πολυλογία). We are not to liken ourselves to them because Our Father in heaven, unlike their pagan gods, knows what we need before we ask Him. We are not to entertain the heathen conception of a Deity who must be informed what it is we require at his hands, and on whom the request must be enforced by continual repetition and by a flow of copious words. We are not to address Him with persistent oratory or bombastic appeals to His justice or His generosity. We are not to insult the God of heaven by the reiterated shouts of the worshippers of Baal, who imagined that their voices must be loud and their cry oft-repeated lest their god should not hear, and at whom the prophet mocked with well-merited sarcasm: "Cry with a louder voice, for he is a god, and perhaps he is

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\* ἰσχνός ὦν καὶ τραυλός (Hdt. i. c.) where ἰσχνός is probably used not in its more common sense of *tenuis*, thin-voiced, but as equivalent to *impeditus* (ἴσχω), of impeded speech.

† According to another interpretation, Battus was an Athenian orator, who used a great many words which had very little sense, and whose pompous, inflated, tedious style had made his name a proverb in Greece. But there is no other trace of an orator of the name, who is probably a fabulous personage, invented to meet the exigencies of the passage in the Gospel.

talking, or is in an inn, or is on a journey, or perhaps he is asleep and must be awaked" (3 Kings xviii. 27). The monotonous din of their unceasing cry was a true instance of "battologizing," of vain and fruitless repetition. It either was a sort of charm, or it implied that their deity was full of imperfections like themselves, that he could not be expected to catch at first the drift of their request, that he had to be roused from indifference or inactivity by their noisy cry. Such a manner of addressing the Most High would be an outrage, not an honour paid to His Divine Majesty. The Christian God must be approached in a spirit very different from this. We must address him in words that acknowledge that He is Our Father and we His children on earth. We must desire that everywhere His name may be held in the honour that is its due. We must express our longing to see earth like to heaven by the carrying out of His Holy Will. We must ask for forgiveness, and shelter ourselves under the wings of his mercy in times of temptation and of danger. Such a form of prayer as this contrasts with the petitions of the heathen. It is framed in view of our needs, not of the effect which it is necessary to produce on Him. It is to educate him who offers it, not to instruct the God to whom it is offered, or to communicate to Him information which he did not possess before. Even though it is repeated ten thousand times a day, it is no "battologizing," no recital of a formula which is either unmeaning or derogatory to God. It is a celestial melody which we repeat over and over again, not for God's sake, but for our own; not that He may be more ready to hear, but as an acknowledgment of His Divine Majesty and as a means of attuning our own hearts to unison with His, of placing ourselves in that attitude of loving dependence and humble submission which is the key to Heaven's treasure-house.

"The many Paters and Aves of the Rosary" (says the Bishop of Salford in a recent Pastoral) "should be considered not so much a repetition, as a prolongation of the same chord of heavenly melody, just as the extension of a sweet chord is produced on some instruments by striking the same chords more than once."

But apart from the meaning of the words, or the effect of their reiteration on our own minds, there is an influence to raise our hearts to God merely in the devout utterance of the holy names of Our Father in heaven and Jesus Christ His Son and Mary His Holy Mother. It is always sweet to enunciate with our lips the name of one whose fond remembrance dwells in our hearts. As the hallowed sound passes from out our mouths, it seems to write more deeply on our hearts the memory of the object of our love. The lover breathes his lady's name with tender devotion, and each time that he breathes it, he at the same time gives utterance to his love and kindles its flame afresh. The warrior

shouts the name of country, or of country's hero, and the very act of shouting it arms him with courage for the fray. The mother names her darling with the repeated names of yearning love, and that love grows and becomes strengthened by the external expression in which it clothes itself. Why should not Christians breathe with the same intention and to the same effect the name of Him who is their Lord, their God, their Life, their All, without being assailed with charges of mechanical worship and vain repetitions? No one who calls himself a Christian can deny that the thought of the Saviour of men should be constantly in the heart, and His name often on the lips of His devout servants. St. Bernard's exquisite hymn echoes the sentiment of every one who has the love of Jesus Christ present in his heart :—

Nor voice can sing, nor heart can frame,  
Nor can the memory find,  
A sweeter sound than Thy blest name,  
O Saviour of mankind !

Who is there who would not desire to die with the name of Jesus on his lips? Who would not rejoice to think that naturally—mechanically, if you like—as the result of long habit and ceaseless repetition, this name should breathe itself forth as the spontaneous expression of his heart's fervent love, and that the last effort of his failing breath should be to whisper the names of Jesus and Mary?

But I have not yet reached the true meaning of the Rosary or the place it is designed to occupy in the devotions of the faithful as a method of Christian worship. In order to appreciate its true importance, I must ask my readers to consult their own experience as to the extreme difficulty of realizing to ourselves the presence of God, or even of remembering Him, amid the toil and turmoil of life. It is no easy task for ordinary men to fix their thoughts on God. The Infinite and Invisible God affords no hold to the imagination. They know that they can put before themselves no set of pictures which can represent Him as He is. Any material symbol is a sort of degradation of His Majesty. Sometimes we see Him painted as a venerable old man with a tiara on His head, but somehow the representation does not altogether please us. We say in theory that if we add together all imaginable perfections and all the possible beauty of heaven and earth, and multiply them a thousand times over and ten thousand times again, the result will be but a faint shadow of the reality, and will fall infinitely short of His divine loveliness. But none the more for this can we picture this loveliness to ourselves. It affords no play to the material faculty of our imagination, and therefore it fails to kindle the interest of poor ordinary mortals. We cannot *imagine* beauty which does not

permit of being limned by the pencil of the artist. We cannot *imagine* a voice which does not take the form of material sound of human words; we cannot *imagine* the glance of love which is not written on features like ours. We want something which is not transcendental and immaterial, unpalpable and invisible, but on which our imagination can rest not merely as a figment impossible in reality, but as at least *resembling* that which was once really and truly present in material form to the material world.

In other words, God must come down from heaven to earth before we can really make Him, so to speak, our own. We must picture Him as He was during His sojourn on earth, living our life of sense, endowed with faculties which found their continual expression in look and word and gesture, in rapid glance of love or sorrow, or tenderness or suffering. It is in the mysteries of Our Lord's life and death, in the various scenes which represent the leading epochs of His earthly life, from its first commencement in His Mother's womb until its consummation in His return into heaven, that the Christian soul finds the ready means of recalling the presence of His God and uniting himself to Him in grateful and loving remembrance. He dwelt among us, and we *beheld* His glory, and what our eyes then witnessed they can now recall, and the vivid picture becomes so familiar as we recall it day by day, that at last we almost fancy we can see that form, beautiful beyond the sons of men, walking to and fro amid the streets of Nazareth, or sitting in the Temple, with the venerable Rabbis listening around in rapt astonishment, or now scarce to be recognized as, at the pillar, it is torn with the scourges until it is reduced to one vast wound, or hanging on the cross in abasement still more complete, or rising again glorious from the grave, or at length, when His work was done, ascending from earth to heaven.

And as this material form which clothed the Godhead—all adorable though it was—was still the very Flesh and Blood of a Human Mother, as it was through Her that God came down from heaven to earth, it was but natural that She should be associated to these scenes in which the Humanity that He derived from Her enables us to see God, so to speak, face to face. The leading scenes of the life of Christ, inasmuch as they were the scenes of God made man, almost include the thought of Her through whom He became man. In His Incarnation she was necessarily present in His Nativity and His presentation in the Temple. In His Passion she was present, too, as of necessity, but under a different title. In virtue of His intimate Union with her, physical and moral, in virtue of her reproduction in herself, so far as a pure creature could, of His Divine Perfections, she had also the privilege of sharing each and all of His

sufferings, of taking part in His *Passion* by her *Compassion*. This places her naturally side by side with Him in the mysteries of His passion. In heart and thought and agonizing sympathy she was present, if not in physical presence, at each and all. The agony in the garden re-echoed in her sacred heart. Each blow of the scourge sent a thrill of agony through her. Beneath the cross she was present, too, in fact, as well as in heart, and drained to the dregs the cup of sorrow which she shared with Him. In His triumph, moreover, justice demanded that she should participate, and that when the fulness of the time was come that body in which God had dwelt should hasten to its proper place in heaven, and that she should be crowned Queen of Heaven by right of her conquest of the powers of evil, as Her Divine Son by His own right was crowned King of Kings and Lord of Lords.

Now it is these scenes from the Incarnation that the Rosary recalls and puts before us each time we repeat it. It is, to quote the beautiful expression of the Bishop of Salford, "an abridgment or compendium of the Gospel of Jesus Christ." It compels us, so to speak, to fix our minds on the various details of the history summed up in the words of the Evangelist: "*Et verbum caro factum est.*" It invites us to become familiar with the working out of the Divine plan for man's salvation. It is an easy and appropriate series of Bible lessons. How far more real and vivid the impression made by such a pious exercise as this than by that merely verbal study of the New Testament which prevails outside the Church. Contrast the intelligent knowledge of Our Lord's Life and Death and Resurrection possessed by a Catholic child who has been taught the Rosary with that of a mere Protestant Bible reader, and there will be no doubt whether of the two best appreciates the meaning and the value of the Gospel story.

But the benefits to be derived from the Rosary do not end here. They are not mere contemplations of a series of tableaux of the history of the past, they are not a mere pictorial narrative of the life of Christ and His most Holy Mother; they are not a mere illustrated diorama to remind us of Him whose life they represent. They have also a very practical bearing, which, if it is not the primary and immediate object of the recitation of the Rosary, may be said to be its ultimate aim, the real justification of this ceaseless repetition.

There is this difference between the King of Saints and his Blessed Mother on the one hand, and all those who follow in his steps on the other, that while in each of the Saints some one virtue was prominent before the rest, in Christ and in Our Lady they are all so perfectly united and blended together in such

absolute perfection that none of them can be said to be characteristic of them more than the rest. Other saints had a special and not an universal claim to sanctity; they were indeed endowed with all the virtues in a high and heroic degree, and yet in each there was one higher and more heroic than the rest. Abraham was a watchword of fidelity, Isaac of obedience, Moses of meekness, Solomon of wisdom, Elias of godly zeal, Peter of eager devotion, John of charity, James of perseverance in prayer. But in Our Lord and His Blessed Mother there is no such predominance of one above the rest. The variously coloured rays of the prism are blended into one pure white light. We in our purblind sight are dazzled by the brilliancy of this perfect light. We know that it contains in a supereminent degree the glory of each separate ray, but we find it difficult to break up the pencil so as to appreciate the separate beauty of each component ray. The Devotion of the Rosary is the prism which separates them for us, and puts them before us each in turn. They are not really separate rays, but it helps our feeble vision to contemplate them as such. The various mysteries of the Rosary put before us the scenes of the Incarnation as pictures of the various Divine perfections which we are called upon to imitate. Thus, on the first joyful mystery we blend with the scene of the angelic visitation a pious reflection on the unspeakable humility of Him who for our sakes stooped to be made man, while this humility is reflected, as in a perfect mirror, in her in whom He came to dwell. In the second joyful mystery we admire the charity of Christ Our Lord, hastening to begin ere His birth His divine mission, by the cleansing from original sin of St. John Baptist, while he too was still unborn, and of Our Lady in devoting herself to the care of her aged cousin St. Elizabeth. In the third mystery, the love of poverty is the virtue which is the natural lesson taught in the streets of Bethlehem, and so all through the series. Out of each scene there springs spontaneously a practical fruit of solid virtue, enforced by the looks, the words, the actions of the Holy Ones who take part in each. The Church, knowing human nature as she does, directs our thoughts (as their immediate occupation) to the pondering of the concrete mystery. It is to the meditation on the mystery that the indulgence is attached which is gained each time the Rosary is said. But none the less in meditating on the mystery the virtue is inculcated and impressed upon us. The mystery is the living body giving evidence of the soul within. We learn the character of a man from his words and gestures. The Rosary would be meaningless except in so far as each scene embodies its peculiar virtue, and our repetition of it loses its interest and its value, except so far as the perfect virtues of the Son of God are either explicitly or implicitly present to our thoughts.

Not that we would condemn altogether as a vain repetition the recital of the Rosary, even where no attempt is made to fix the thoughts either on the scene which each decade commemorates, or on the virtue illustrated by the scene. We do not say that this is a method of saying the Rosary to be recommended. In the case of the educated it would deserve the charge of being, if not culpably imperfect, at least a sorry mode of telling their beads. It would deserve the name, to some degree, of a mechanical devotion. But as it is better to come into the Church and kneel before the altar out of reverence to Him who dwells there, than to be altogether absent, even though the external act of the body may have little or no conscious devotion corresponding in the soul within, and the thoughts may be wandering here and there in uncontrolled and careless licence; so it is better to say the Rosary, even though it be said out of routine and mechanically, than not to say it at all. Man owes to God external as well as internal worship. It is better to pay the former without the latter, than neither the former nor the latter. When Our Lord condemns the Pharisees for honouring Him with their lips while their heart was far from Him, His condemnation does not fall merely on the mechanical mode of their worship, but rather on the hypocrisy which flattered with the lips One whom in their heart they hated. The words "your heart is far from me" do not mean simply that their thoughts were far away, but that they were divided from Him in heart; that there was a contradiction between the honour they paid Him with their lips, and the malice entertained towards him in their wicked and disobedient hearts. If a man says his Rosary merely from habit, to satisfy a pious resolution made long since, he still does an act pleasing to God in the maintenance of the custom, even though he may continually say it with scarce a thought of the scenes which it is intended to recall, with nothing but distractions from beginning to end. There may be much imperfection in his performance of the task. There may be deliberate carelessness, culpable negligence and indifference, yet the mere fact of the daily repetition is pleasing to God. There still lingers on something of the original intention; the loyal recognition of God's sovereignty over us, and of His Divine compassion, as displayed in the various scenes of the Incarnation, is a sincere act of homage to Him. Even though he who recites it may have fallen into serious sin, and be in a condition of rebellion against God, still the recital of the Rosary is a commendable practice, and a hopeful sign that all is not lost. It is a relic of happier days. It proves that he is not wholly reprobate. The voluntary act of worship and submission, even though performed half-mechanically, will, if persevered in, bring the grace of contrition at the

last. Experience teaches that the wanderer is sure to return sooner or later to his Father's house. When a man becomes reprobate, he is sure to cast aside his Rosary, and to feel an insuperable aversion or a total indifference to its recital.

I do not deny that the continual recitation of the Rosary involves the danger of its becoming almost a matter of routine. But this is the case with every devotion which recurs at stated and frequent intervals. The fact that the recital of our morning and night prayers is in continual danger of becoming almost mechanical is no argument against regularity in saying them. The danger lest the making of the sign of the cross become an almost mechanical act is not an argument for its discontinuance. All such practices may, through habit, be performed after a time *almost* mechanically, but they never can become *mere* mechanical modes of worship, such as our opponents ascribe to us. The pious intention is always there, however faint and feeble, and as long as the intention is not extinct, the act never becomes wholly mechanical. This is a point on which it is necessary to be precise. A mode of worship is wholly mechanical only when the continual action arises from no corresponding devotion of the heart. If a man recites parrot-like a formula of invocation to the Deity, and believes that in the mere recital of the words the virtue lies, quite apart from the thought that inspires them, or the object with which they are said, he would deserve the name of a mechanical worshipper. If he repeats words or sentences under the notion that they act as a sort of charm, to find favour with Heaven, even though his heart is full of iniquity and his will be in rebellion against the Divine law, he might justly be charged with vain repetition. If he believes that abracadabracadabracadabra, incessantly repeated, could move the heart of God by some mysterious influence that the sounds possessed, the gibberish devotion would merit the name of "superstitious formalism." But to assert the Rosary to be of this nature, proves that he who makes the assertion understands not that of which he speaks. To imagine that a custom approved by the Catholic Church, practised with tender devotion by saints and bishops, men of genius and leaders of the world's thought, is but a silly routine of childish babble, is to insult the common-sense of mankind and to run counter to the elementary facts of human experience. If this were the character of the Rosary, it would have died out long since, even if it had ever come into vogue at all.

From what I have already said, my readers will see that the Rosary of the Blessed Virgin Mary is but another name for a handy and convenient method of meditation on the birth and life and death, the Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. It is a device for persuading

men to keep before their minds in pious contemplation, for at least the short space of time required to say one "Our Father" and ten "Hail Marys," the various mysteries connected with the Incarnation. That this is the mind of the Church respecting the Rosary is shown by the fact that the Indulgences conferred on those who recite it, carry with them the express condition of a pious meditation on the mysteries of the Redemption. When the Rosary is said in public, a short prayer precedes and follows each decade, appropriate to the mystery, and calling on those present to turn their thoughts to the successive scenes which it commemorates. Thus we preface, *e.g.*, the First Glorious Mystery with the words: "Let us contemplate, in this mystery, how Our Lord Jesus Christ, triumphing gloriously over death, rose again the third day, immortal and impassible." What could better vindicate the Rosary from a charge of mechanism than this? I should like to ask those who attack this most practical and serviceable means of fixing our thoughts on the leading scenes in the life of Him who lived and died for us, what method they can suggest which will ensure, as this does, the pious remembrance of the love we owe to Him and the inestimable benefit He has procured for us? I should like them to tell me how many calling themselves Christians outside the Catholic Church spend each day the ten or fifteen minutes occupied by the recital of the Rosary in any holy thoughts such as are suggested by the contemplation of the mysteries which compose it, or what system equally efficient they can suggest for guarding against a complete forgetfulness of Him amid the distracting scenes of a busy life. It is easy to sneer at it as a mechanical mode of devotion, and to accuse those who employ it of degrading religion to a mere formal routine. You might as well accuse the mathematician, who is working out some intricate problem by the aid of lines and figures, of degrading a noble science to a mere mechanical method of investigation, because he uses those material means to enable him to realize the general truth of mathematical science. It is mechanical if you like, but it is a mechanism which is but the framework of a devotion adoring our King and God in spirit and in truth. It is a mechanism associated with the love and fervour of the pious intention contemplating the Saviour of mankind treading the weary path of His suffering and death. It is a mechanism which is the protecting shell containing within itself the kernel of spiritual worship, it is a mechanism which forms the most convenient setting for the jewels which it holds together, it is a mechanism which kindles the electric spark of the love of God in many a pious soul, and causes many a flame of holy aspiration to flash heavenward to the throne of God.

R. F. CLARKE, S.J.

## ART. IV.—CARLYLE.

1. *Reminiscences*. By THOMAS CARLYLE. Edited by J. A. FROUDE. London : Longmans, Green & Co. 1881.
2. *Thomas Carlyle*. A History of the first Forty Years of his Life. By J. A. FROUDE. London : Longmans, Green & Co. 1882.
3. *Carlyle's Life in London*. By J. A. FROUDE. London : Longmans, Green & Co. 1884.

WHAT more, at this time of day, can be said of Thomas Carlyle? Friends and enemies have uttered all they know. Mr. Froude has published his "Reminiscences" in two volumes, the "Letters of Jane Welsh Carlyle" in three, and the life of the Sage of Chelsea himself in four. Thus much may we turn to as evidence when we would judge the teacher by his actions, opportunities, surroundings, and most private bosom thoughts. As for his teaching, it is accessible to every reader in thirty-four volumes octavo, the library edition; and it is a known fact that we may explore them many days without encountering a tract of wilderness. Carlyle's genius was as extraordinary as it was incontestable. His pages are strange, wild, and picturesque, vehement and earnest, abounding in such a taking quaintness of thought and speech, that the reader, who is to find dulness in them, must have imported his own thither. As we study them now, they are a history and a prophecy stretching over fifty years. The first of his collected essays, on Jean Paul Richter, appeared in the *Edinburgh Review* of 1827. The last, a sketch not thoroughly revised, of the "Kings of Norway," came out in 1872. During that long period, praise and blame of no stinted kind were expended on his writings. Authors of the first rank declared they could not read them; they had tried, and the book had fallen from their hands. But some, like Mr. Froude, made him their standard in all things, measuring by his approbation their success or failure. Men laid bare their secret thoughts in commenting on his. Mr. Froude, Arthur Clough, Charles Kingsley, Dean Stanley, Emerson, John Ruskin, spirits of the most varied genius, took a deep impress from his teaching, and were proud to be called his disciples. Dickens worshipped him; and for a time John Mill under his influence seemed drifting into Mysticism. On that side he joined hands with the straitest sect of Radicals; on another, his strangely chequered friendship with Irving brought him face to face with that outburst of the preternatural which men call Irvingism, and its adherents style the Catholic and Apostolic Church.

The meditative Carlyle, looking down on mankind like his own Teufelsdröckh, from a garret-window near the sky, beheld most human phenomena; but, unlike Teufelsdröckh, passed sentence on them with such loud anathemas, that the multitude in the streets could not but pause and look upwards to discover whence the sounds issued; nor, on catching sight of the prophet's grotesque figure, did they refrain from emphatic criticism on the nature of the interruption to their business. An interesting theme any time these fifty years, Carlyle became still more so at his death. A whole literature has grown up round Mr. Froude's volumes; and what remains, it may be asked, except to keep silence until time has made him immortal in the sight of mankind, or, as perhaps it will, a forgotten prodigy?

Of a truth, on laying down the story of his life, one is inclined rather to think over it than to indulge in a funeral oration. Whatever Carlyle may appear when historical perspective reveals his true proportions, to us he is great and even portentous, a genius of the first magnitude; of such transcendent "insight and oversight," to quote Mr. Browning, that we cannot but think of him with astonishment. Was he a prophet? We will endeavour to find out that ere we quit him; but this is certain, that he put on the manner of a prophet, and thundered forth his enigmatic sayings as with a God-given authority, in such unexpected, overpowering fashion, that not to heed him is, for us, I say, impossible. And these four volumes show him as he lived, wrestling with the chaos outside and the tumult within; sad, thoughtful, melancholy, poverty-stricken, wild and fierce, a lover of mockery and laughter, and of the grimmest saturnine humour; despising, it must be briefly said, all men; hating the common run of mankind as fools; finding no light in any living mortal save Goethe; pierced through and through with a sense of the world's mystery, which at times drove him mad; at war with all religious and formulated beliefs; distrustful of science, disdainful of literature; heartsick and headsick, and altogether distempered; solitary and unmanageable; a terror to those that loved him, a burden to himself; praising in time of trouble "the Roman way" by which men fell on their swords and were quit of the whole miserable coil of things; an arrogant, sad-faced, broken-spirited man, who, in this world, had bidden farewell to hope, and did all he accomplished by dint of "judicious desperation;" everywhere restless, gloomy, and as under a curse; to sum up, the Swift of the nineteenth century. "You have just seen the most miserable man alive," said Archbishop King to a friend who encountered Swift coming from him. Carlyle, in his day, was "the most miserable man alive"—at least, of those that gave

vent to their misery in writing. There have been too many like him since the Revolution, fit companions at that lugubrious festal board described by Hawthorne, to which none were admitted but such as brought with them an incurable sorrow. The poetry of the age and its most enduring prose are steeped in melancholy. What sadder songs than those of Heine and Leopardi? What more discouraging eloquence than that of Obermann, or the stern and statuesque elegiacs of Matthew Arnold? A feeling of dreadful, irremediable blankness in things, as though the universe had no heart, is perceptible in the most famous writing of the century, and has at last invaded metaphysics, finding expression there as the creed of Pessimism. The want, the vacuity, the darkness which have thus shaped themselves into words, dwelt all his life long at the heart of Carlyle; his endless dissatisfaction with men was rooted in the despair that seized him whenever he looked abroad. The universe was either a Devil's world or given over to the Devil. He saw no ray of light anywhere. Again and again he writes in his journal, *Cor ne edito*, "Devour not thy own heart;" but for very rage and anguish he could not cease from devouring it. Mr. Leslie Stephen has said that Swift is the most tragic figure in the history of English Letters. But there is now a second, worthy in many respects to take his place by the side of that great unhappy man. Carlyle had not the hard masculine fibre of Swift; he had a woman's heart, and wept piteously over himself. Swift, indeed, thought no better of Swift than he did of his fellows; they were all despicable, base, and unclean, and himself among them; whereas Carlyle was borne up not only by a conviction of his genius, but by the sense of rectitude which never left him. This it was that tempered his extreme misery. Otherwise he, too, might have spoken of the savage indignation that tore his heart. How easy, then, and all unprofitable, to dwell on a life's misery, which has now, at length, grown quiet in the grave! Wretchedness on so great a scale fascinates like a story of murder; but it is not wholesome to think long of it, or to speak of it at all. It is a sorrow too great for words; too sacred for the noonday glare of magazine criticism; and the lesson it teaches is, at first sight, disedifying and unchristian. For what can it seem to many but an argument from experience, founded upon the facts of life, against the possibility of a God? No atheism is deeper than Swift's unconscious fierceness, unless it be Obermann's resignation, and the sadness of these in presence of the nature of things, finds its parallel in Carlyle. Must we not trace it to the same source? The jaundice of unbelief is infectious, bringing with it not only a dull and eating pain, but a cloud over the mind musing upon many things, and

disposed to interpret them for the worst. This is the sadness that has slain its thousands, overwhelming heaven and earth in one confusion, and tumbling all things fair and good into a common abyss. What profit, I ask, in speaking of it?

Nor would one feel tempted to speak when the judgment of the world, as now, is severe upon Carlyle. Mr. Froude has resolved, rightly or wrongly, that men shall know him *intus et in cute*; stripped of all "wrappages and enswathments" he stands forlorn before the gaze of the "twenty-seven millions, mostly fools," who at some time or other have visited the Thames Embankment in search of a statue erected to him by fatuous admirers. Carlyle showed no mercy to the average; on great criminals he had compassion, the men of September like Danton, and kings of terror like Robespierre; but conventional good men, or "gigmen," excited in him a loathing which he took no pains to hide. The gigmen have their will upon him now; they are delighted to be shown a Scottish and London interior as miserable as any section of Dante's "Inferno." The searchings of heart, the divisions and disappointments of Carlyle and his wife, seem to pull them down from their lofty eminence, leaving them in the mire to be trampled on. With surprise the reading public learnt that Carlyle was a despot of the hearth, and had almost driven his wife from him by what she considered unfeeling neglect, if not moral faithlessness. His biographer, candid and affectionate, conceals nothing, and apologizes where he may. But the world has turned a deaf ear to Mr. Froude's pleadings; it condemns both parties, Mrs. Carlyle for marrying where she did not love, and Carlyle for immolating on his domestic altar a radiant accomplished woman, whose thoughts he would not be at the trouble to comprehend. Critics do not fear that he will rise from his grave at Ecclefechan to transfix them with an epithet, and they speak their minds freely. Carlyle is dead; Sauerteig has died with him and Herr Teufelsdröckh will never again annihilate his enemies with the lightning which he carried about in his bosom. The freedom of the press has revived since Carlyle's right hand lost its cunning. Had he anticipated the future, he might, like Othello, have cried out—

I am not valiant neither,  
But every puny whipster gets my sword.

At such a time, those of us that feel indebted to Carlyle for wise teachings and much honest laughter would prefer to keep silence. If he was not wise for himself, he has been wise for others; the perplexities he fought and overcame need not concern us, but only the fruit he has gathered of many years'

thinking. Let us be silent and sorry. It is cold comfort to know that another great man has been proved no hero to his *valet de chambre*. Carlyle, says a witty friend, is one of the *dieux déchus*, a fallen Dagon lying with head and hands lopt off on the threshold of his house. Had he been nothing better than an idol, the thing were well done. But Carlyle's history and writings suggest another moral than that of arrogance scourging its own back and selfishness turning to ineffectual repentance. Neither is it necessary to swell by a single syllable the shout of condemnation that broke forth when Mrs. Carlyle's letters appeared. Is it not enough that she was the Stella of this modern Swift, and that he knew he had wronged her? To this day there are partisans of Swift and Stella; a hundred years hence critics may be still divided on the question of Carlyle's married life. It was most unhappy; a romance dashed with ignoble details. But a worse misfortune was that both husband and wife were endowed with a rare gift of writing and have painted the shadowy clouds of their sky as in everlasting fresco. Each has written for the biographer; their miserable dissensions are become the gossip of one generation, and must find a place in the literature of the next.

Such babbling no man, unless he hated the living Carlyle, will desire to increase now that he has passed away into the Great Silence. Let the silence make an end of whatsoever in him was not worthy to endure; let it burn up the chaff that mingled with the fine gold of his character and teaching. It imports us, however, to understand the principles he held, and to decide for ourselves how far we can accept them. And that seems a task which late reviewers have not taken in hand. "The form a rhapsody, the substance commonplace," this is how a shrewd critic summed up Carlyle to me. Mr. Venables, his old and intimate acquaintance, confesses that, whatever the sage may have taught, he, Mr. Venables, could not understand it; he knows neither the dream nor the interpretation thereof. "Obscure as an oracle," says another who does not believe in oracles, and thinks Apollo was a superior sort of *Times* editor, skilful at conjecturing how the wind would blow next. But Mr. Froude does not shrink from naming Carlyle in the same breath with St. Paul as one whom the greatness of the message he had to deliver did almost overwhelm and as the most fervent and inspired of latter-day preachers, oppressed with a mighty thought for the deliverance of his fellow-men. What now, we ask ourselves, was that message, not as Carlyle conceived of it, but as it is likely to appear when the thick dust of contemporary gossip has fallen, and time has done its work of sifting and appraising among the thirty-four volumes of this newest apostle?

The most important fact about any man, says Carlyle, is his religion. No Catholic will dispute that ; nor will the careful thinker. A man's religion turns upon his real innermost belief concerning the whence and whither of the universe ; its origin, meaning, and destiny. All minor questions are solved in principle, when these find their solution ; and, until they do, our sciences resemble the stones lying abroad over a field, which may be built up into a prison, a palace, or a shed for cattle. In vain will a man strive to hold no opinion, to believe that it does not signify to have a belief. As the French proverb runs, *Il faut qu'une porte soit ouverte ou fermée*, we cannot leave a door neither shut nor open. All our actions cannot be indifferent, nor all our beliefs a delicate scepticism. Carlyle's beliefs, at any rate, were not all scepticism ; they had body and substance, and determined his action as if they were articles of faith. He was nothing if not a religious teacher. His vocation, as he viewed it, is found in Amos : " I was no prophet, neither was I a prophet's son ; but I was an herdsman and a gatherer of sycamore fruit. And the Lord took me as I followed the flock ; and the Lord said unto me, Go, prophesy to my people Israel." Like Amos, he beheld the burden of the nations, especially of that England which had overthrown Napoleon. When, towards the close of his life, another and a different England was springing up, he felt that his vision had grown somewhat dim, nor had he the same confidence in the dreams of his youth. To Catholic nations, which he studied chiefly in books and knew only by hearsay, he had no message. But he might still be a prophet, though much lay wholly out of his ken ; and we shall not be justified in turning from him unless the incompleteness of his testimony makes it false or dangerous, for here, as elsewhere, *non addidisse est decerpisse*. And I will say at once that Carlyle, true messenger from the Ideal though I hold him to be, took away from the sum of religious knowledge more than he brought to it.

This great and noble spirit did not know Christ. In this way he fell short of the standard of truth and eclipsed the light of his fellows. He sank to the level of a heathen Stoic ; nay, he went back to the dispensation of fear which lacks the Stoic rectitude and calm. His law was that of Sinai, not of the Mount of Beatitudes ; the lesson he repeated oftenest rose no higher than that of the Jewish Testament interpreted without reference to the New. In his Bible there was no New Testament. And whilst it is a portentous fact that England still needs, at this stage of history, to be terrified into morality and religion by the threat of temporal retribution, it must be ever a lowering of Carlyle in the scale of greatness that he taught rather like his

own Mohammed than like the Master of Light. "What can you say of him," asked Ruskin, "except that he lived in the clouds and was struck by lightning?" A beautiful and true summary of the man's spirit in deed as in word. But struck by lightning he was; he could not wield it with impunity. How much less could he say to the storm raging all through his century, "Peace, be still!" He speaks mighty words, but he had little in common with that dovelike, brooding spirit which drew forth strength out of sweetness, and was able to hush the great waters and rebuke the waves. *Facta est tranquillitas magna*. That is the miracle which Carlyle never wrought on himself or any man that sought his aid.

I do not think it misleading to hold up this standard, the power and wisdom of Christ, as the only test of greatness in a community which has known the Gospel. Any other must, in the long run, prove fallacious. If we are to speak of religious teachers and to be guided by their words, let us never forget that the absolute teaching, as is confessed on all hands, remains that of Christ. The Old Law must be preached, indeed, to those whose training has made them incapable of receiving the New without it. But the teacher ought not to share their limitation and incapacity. Carlyle, it is impossible to doubt, was neither Greek nor Christian, but Old Hebrew. He never did get quite clear of Houndsditch, endeavour as he might; and though, with perverse ingratitude, he reviled the Jews and everything Jewish, even Mr. Froude admits that his chief merit was to read the world's history as a kind of Old Testament with himself for its Moses and Ezra.

Take him as a prophet in this kind, not a saint nor disciple of Christ, and the inquiry presents itself how he came *not* to be a Christian, and whether he held the creed of Moses with no difference or with any. To me he seems an arresting instance of what good and evil qualities were mingled in the Reformation, especially in that development of it which was created by Knox. He brings out the spirit of Scottish Calvinism under the influence of modern culture. He is a Puritan convert of Goethe; and he shows where Calvinism is strong, where it must for ever be weak, and by what process the moral element in the Reformation is being transformed into an entirely novel substance, the religion, namely, of those who, discarding Christianity, would fain transcend it, not merely join the unbelieving multitude. The time has gone by when a Knox or a Luther could establish formal churches; but Carlyle attempted a corresponding task, as great, though not so visibly great, as theirs. With justice has Mr. Froude likened him to the St. Paul of Protestant tradition. In the view of Protestants, Paul, Augustine, Luther, and Knox are the same

type propagated through the ages, differing only in circumstances of time and place. Luther, addressing the Romans, would have written, they think, like the apostle of grace and election. St. Paul, in the presence of our sentimental religiosity, rose-water moralities, self-indulgence, and love of comfortable things, would scorn and smite them as energetically as did Carlyle, in language chosen for its power rather than its considerateness. Certainly Paul of Tarsus was no Attic rhetorician, no Plato of the scented and perfumed mythology and the delicate or piercing irony. He was a Hebrew, fervid, impetuous, unsparing; and even such, it is said, was the peasant's son from Annandale, a spiritual kinsman of St. Paul through the line of Knox and the Cameronians.

This may serve by way of analogy towards comprehending the man. He was strictly the offspring of Protestantism, and to the day of his death a Cameronian he remained, the mood of rebellion and desert wildness strong within him. Wide as might be his culture, it was subordinated to a rugged spirit of fanaticism; from certain kinds of culture he held quite aloof. Physical science won small praise from him; with a curiously dazed look he admitted that he could not read the "Origin of Species" nor care for Darwinism. Poetry he affected to despise; and he dealt out to Greek and Roman literature somewhat of the contempt which divided earnest Reformers from Casaubon and Erasmus. The classics could not cure present evils. At the age of forty he learnt Greek from a crazy friend at Craigenputtock, but neither before nor after had his composition the sparkle of Hellenic light, or its mobile graceful airiness. How he judged the greatest of Athenians is well known. "Socrates," he said, "would have been terribly at ease in Zion." The earnest spirit must not descend to playfulness; it might indulge the large wild humour of Luther's "Table Talk," but to Carlyle there seemed not earnestness enough in the Socratic irony. He himself had a demon-given faculty of laughter, laughter huge, untrained, unkempt like that of Norse gods, not by any means subdued to ideal Greek proportions. And he expended it on most things modern. He stood out as an iconoclast against the deities men worship; he would not wear their dress nor conform to their mode of speech. When Scotland broke with the mediæval church, she seemed for two centuries to have turned her back on civilization. And this, the greatest of her sons since Walter Scott, hated the fine arts as the embodiment of irreligion, falsehood, and vice. He reminds us, not of the real apostle, but of M. Renan's St. Paul, thirsting on his way to the Hill of Mars for the ruin of the "fair-faced, marble gods." For he was chiefly an iconoclast, not a creator.

Carlyle, speaking of the "Hero as Poet," said, "all inmost things are melodious; naturally utter themselves in song;" and, "see deep enough, and you see musically; the heart of Nature being everywhere music, if you can only reach it." But as he had no eye for beauty of form, neither had he that secret of rhythm which makes the poet. Too often his utterances remind us of the jarring gates in Milton, they creak harsh discords, or rise to the painfulness of a shriek. Calvinism is all unmusical. "The inward harmony of coherence," which Carlyle attributes to the things of Nature and Reason, is alien to it; and no wonder. Under this feeling it was that the Puritan disciple of Goethe said again and again that he was not made for literature. Mr. Froude affirms, in like manner, that none of Carlyle's writings is a work of art except the "French Revolution," and perhaps the "Diamond Necklace"—the latter a vivid dramatic composition mixed of burlesque and tragedy. It was the same consciousness acting in a different way that led Carlyle to think and write so much about Voltaire, of whom he has given the best account we have in English. The contrast indeed was piquant. Voltaire, the most exquisite craftsman of words ever seen, handling language as though he had created it; easy, smiling, nimble, turning about in his periods with unrivalled grace and fluency; uttering the bitterest things with such a charming air that his very enemies were not quite sure, till they saw all the world laughing at them, that Reynard meant mischief. And Carlyle, nearly as awkward as his own Lord Protector, bursting with meaning, but, to use his favourite account of the man, inarticulate; dealing with words as his natural enemies; flaying, scourging, and otherwise torturing them until he had converted honest human speech into an unheard-of mannerism. Did he write English, Lowland Scotch, or a Babylonish jargon compounded out of his own head and Jean Paul? The origin of that strange dialect is at last known. Its savage energy came from his father, who "did not need to swear, the commonest words in his mouth sounding awful." Carlyle's mother contributed the sarcasm, the laughter, and much of the picturesque imagery; but what a world must that have been which found its natural expression in Carlyle! The root whether of strength or bitterness was undoubtedly Cameronian fanaticism.

It is a far cry from Ecclefechan to Geneva. But the "Latter-Day Pamphlets," like "Sartor," have that in them which recalls the "Institutes" of Master John Calvin. As specimens of the religious teaching of Carlyle they may be described in Mr. Froude's epigram, as "Calvinism without the theology." This is the sum of our prophet's lore. Now, though exhibited in terms of the New Testament, with the spirit or mind of Christ Genevan scholasticism had little to do. A shrewd observer might have

foreseen 300 years ago, that where Christianity did not root out Calvinism, Calvinism would root out Christianity. There is no room for Christ or free-will in the philosophy which interprets human life on the principle of God's absolute decrees irrespective of merit. Necessity is the tyrant's plea; and the "Institutes" might be condensed to a single sentence—"He wills that can, therefore his will is just." Everlasting harshness in the nature of God created harsh men and women to worship and reproduce it in their lives. It was of this God that James Mill told his infant son, that "men had gone on adding trait after trait of malice and cruelty to the divine character until they had made their Creator a very demon, and then had turned round and bidden their children adore him." This Moloch of theology, at once an abstraction and a devouring idol, had his priests and altars in Scotland, England, and America; their history may be read at large in Buckle's famous second volume. It was a sorry plight in which men found themselves on exchanging the "priests of Baal," as they called the Roman clergy, for priests of Moloch. But when Hume published his "Essays" the world knew that the days of theological Calvinism were numbered. The only question was, would religion perish with it? According to his temperament, a thinker might follow Hume into scepticism or "faint possible Theism," (which was an alternative Hume kept open); or he might retain the ethical fervour of his ancestors and become a Calvinist without the theology. If he was a religious man, he might, while putting aside the Redemption, the Trinity, and all Christian dogmas, shrink even more from the light unbelief of Paris than from the teaching of the Elders. Accepting Hume's arguments against miracles, and feeling that prayer itself, as demanding a miracle, was a sin against Reason, he might still hold by the infinitely sacred character of Duty as a clue to the universe. This is what Carlyle did. Duty, he said, was the law of God.

Brought up in a stern household, Carlyle never knew the time when he was not under law; and, though the growing spirit of criticism made theology more and more problematic to him, the result could only be a new interpretation of the law of God, not a denial that the law of God existed. When Calvin spoke of God's will he implied, and explicitly affirmed it too, that man lay under a necessity against which all his struggles availed naught. God's will was but a term borrowed from Christian theologians older than Calvin, to express the necessary concatenation of things in which creatures were immeshed, the antecedent fate that bound them fast. Free-will, on the other hand, was an empty name; for how could men be free against God? Now mark the consequence. From Calvin to Jonathan

Edwardes is a logical descent on which there is no pausing; down we must glide or run until we reach the undisguised fatalism of the New England divine. But it has not been observed, I think, that Jonathan Edwardes, David Hume, and Stuart Mill are at one in their principles and differ only in the application. The necessary divine decrees of the theologian are simply the physical laws to which Hume appealed as making miracles impossible; they are the laws of association which Mill substituted for *à priori* intuitions and axioms; they are the observed inviolable sequence to which scientific men trust when they scoff at the interference of a Divine Will in things. Strike out the word God and the conception of personality from Calvinism, and what is left but the modern doctrine that the laws of Nature can never be broken, and that they shape and govern the universe? A mind prepared by such cast-iron theology will readily close with a cast-iron philosophy; and this, whether he knew it or was too impatient to consider it, Carlyle did. He held that Christianity as an historical religion was false. Why? Because its miracles, including the Incarnation, were impossible, and the Gospel story, therefore, a myth. And why were miracles impossible? He gave Hume's reason; he said, "it is mathematically demonstrable that they never happened." In other words, they did not happen because the constitution of things forbade it. Now this is a question for reason, or, if you please, for metaphysics; and what is mathematically demonstrable is this, that the possibility of miracles depends on whether in God there is Free Will or no. Granting that Free Will, no one can urge that the Infinite has not the *power* to interpose miraculously. It was God's Free Will that Hume, and after him Carlyle, could not admit. But when Free Will is denied, personality in the long run will be denied too. Thus might a pious Cameronian student be brought by his very theology to reject the Christian Revelation and doubt whether there is any God save Eternal Power.

But he could not be an atheist, or stoop to the worship of matter and mechanism. When religion went out it left all things in darkness; a faint glimmer only was visible, or hardly visible, here and there among the deep shadows, a suspicion that the Hidden Cause was living, because greater than our minds, and good in ways unsearchable to us. Face to face with Eternity, Carlyle felt rather than knew that it was not unreal like the dream-things that make up human life and its surroundings. Real it was, but silent; a mystery beyond words, an abyss out of which the phantoms rose incessantly, only that they might sink back into its depths and be swallowed up in oblivion. One of his deepest convictions was that Time is an illusion; that it does not exist, but is merely the form under which we view things otherwise not

to be reached by us. Modern philosophy, as he believed, had proved as much; and never had it achieved a greater triumph. But it could not tell, nor could he or any man, what that Eternity is which Time veils.

And then he cried out, "Is the Everlasting good or evil, can it take pity on man, or heed his prayers?" The season came when he dreaded that it was evil and not good; that men dwelt in a Devil's Universe, and that all things were irretrievably flawed in their very nature. He thought lightly of Coleridge, who had but "skirted the howling wilderness of infidelity." His own experience went deeper. For seven years he dwelt in the shadow of the "Everlasting No," seeing within and without him evidence of ruin, pain, sorrow, sin, hideous disorder, hatred, malice, unreason, grim destructive irony; diabolic cunning that made only to unmake; and the Mystery of Evil disclosing itself as the Mother of the World. He has pictured these moods, these strange spiritual desolations, as no other man of the century could, with emphasis and reiteration and piled-up metaphor, and in a style as overwhelming as the subject-matter, in "Sartor Resartus." Their influence is perceptible in all he wrote. He never beat down the temptation, now so familiar to the European mind, which whispers or shrieks aloud, "May not God be the Evil One?" Call this Manicheism turned round, Ahriman made supreme and Ormuzd his ineffective rival, and we shall have named the suspicion that haunted Carlyle, the ghost he could not lay. Calvinism has everywhere paved the way for Pessimism; being that very doctrine, I say, in theological garb. And what could a poor, storm-beaten soul do at the best but remember the gentler lesson it had also been taught, that Right is Right, and that Wrong, though never so victorious, cannot cease to be Wrong. When the unhappy Teufelsdröckh was desperate, he one day bethought himself that, after all, be his fortune what it might and the Eternal as malignant as he feared, he could and ought to bear it like a man. This he called his defiance to the Everlasting No. But was it deliverance? Not quite, I think. A half-deliverance, amounting to Stoicism, not reaching the tender confidence of a child in his father. Teufelsdröckh knew of no father; he might never have learnt the prayer in which we are bidden to call God our Father, and to ask with confidence that His will may be done. How strange the language of heathen fortitude sounds on a Christian's lips; almost as strange as the language of despair with which it alternates in "Sartor"! I know such moods have been and will be; that they are exceedingly sad, and not to be dealt with harshly at all, being too often an inheritance against which a man must struggle as against disease. But how dreadful the

want of Christianity in the atmosphere that could nourish them! Either Carlyle's mental vision was diseased, or things are all askew and in confusion. The former alternative implies only that Calvinism is horrible and Carlyle not an infallible teacher; the latter would condemn us to lose heart and hope. For myself, I will say that I had rather trust the nature of things than the word of the greatest genius that ever lived. I cannot believe that Reason prompts us to rebel against the nature of things as unjust and cruel. In these matters it is well to be quite clear on which side we mean to stand. Grounds there are in abundance for the strong sayings of Pessimism: nevertheless, there may be, and I hold that there are, much more solid grounds for refraining from strong sayings, and awaiting in patience and hope the coming on of a larger light. To the thoughtful mind it is perhaps not astonishing that man should know so little; but astonishing in the highest degree that he should fancy his ignorance a justification for rebellious disdain and haughty unchastened discontent. The Everlasting No is utter Unreason from the first. How could a world in which Reason held no sway endure for a moment? Things *are* because they do not fall into contradiction with their nature or with the nature of other things. In so far as they exist at all, they do so by conformity with Reason, not in defiance of it. Mephistopheles himself could not exist, if he denied his own powers and set them to destroy one another. Carlyle might have seen, had he chosen, that although death comes out of life and life apparently out of death, it is the dictate of reason that life and not death is the origin of things; that death can originate nothing and is but a means to further ends, a secondary, instrumental, and subordinate phase in the universe, not the first or the last. He might have learnt from St. Paul the crowning, triumphant last word of the true doctrine, "Death is swallowed up in victory." There is no sound of Pessimism in that glorious cry.

From the "Everlasting No" Teufelsdröckh passed through the centre of Indifference, as he tells us, to the Everlasting Yea.

This year (1825)—says Carlyle in his own person,\*—I found that I had conquered all my scepticisms, agonizing doubtings, fearful wrestlings with the foul and vile and soul-murdering mud-gods of my epoch; had escaped as from a worse than Tartarus, with all its Phlegethons and Stygian quagmires, and was emerging free in spirit into the eternal blue of ether, where, blessed be heaven! I have for the spiritual part ever since lived, looking down upon the welterings of my poor fellow-creatures, in such multitudes and millions still stuck in that fatal element; and have had no concern whatever in

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\* "Reminiscences," vol. i. p. 287.

their Puseyisms, ritualisms, metaphysical controversies and cobwebberies, and no feeling of my own except honest silent pity for the religious or serious part of them, and occasional indignation, for the poor world's sake, at the frivolous secular and impious part, with their universal suffrages, their nigger emancipations, sluggard and scoundrel protection societies, and unexampled prosperity for the time being. What my pious joy and gratitude then was, let the pious soul figure.

This is a remarkable *Te Deum*, not easily to be paralleled in modern or ancient literature. What was the occasion of it? Had Carlyle been converted again to the Christian Faith of his childhood? Not by any means. "Looking into the western radiance," he confessed on a memorable evening to his friend Irving, that he could not think on these matters as Irving did; that he had ceased once and for all to be a dogmatic Christian. Had he then turned to the modern philosophers, and learned from them to believe nothing whatever but that fire burns and water quenches thirst and the brain is the man? Not that either, as he conceived. His old religion had been exchanged for a new, for one in accordance with Nature and Fact, not founded on imaginations or human tradition. A great deliverer had come to him. It was Goethe. The work, inspired by genius, in which his wonderful new Gospel lay written, was a strange artistic novel called "*Wilhelm Meister*." "I then felt and still feel endlessly indebted to Goethe in the business," wrote Carlyle in the passage I began to quote above. The "*Everlasting Yea*" is therefore to be sought in Goethe. I am not sure that it will soon be come upon by those that search. "*Wilhelm Meister*" is a production, as Goethe himself remarked, of an enigmatic character; the key to the riddle is nowhere indicated in its pages, and an ingenious commentator might derive thence, not one, but twenty "morals," each as justifiable as the other. Goethe delighted in parables, and Carlyle disdained formulæ. Hence it may seem a hopeless task to construe the oracular responses of either. "The Highest," they both said, "cannot be spoken of in words." In the Buddhist doctrine Nirvana must be experienced to be described, and is a secret to the unenlightened. It is a condition of the spirit beyond whatever means of explanation language may afford. Such too is the "*Everlasting Yea*." It is the true Mysticism of which religious systems are shadows, forecasts, or reminiscences. But in Carlyle's opinion to know it is salvation, and the only cure for unbelief and misbelief. We ask in vain, however, whether it is intuition of the Infinite, devotion to a person, or absorption in *Eternal Love*. "This is life everlasting," said the Master of masters, "to know Thee, O Father, the only true God, and Jesus Christ

whom Thou hast sent." Generation upon generation of Christians have found that word a reality. But what is the "Everlasting Yea?" Does it imply Optimism, the supremacy of spirit, the existence of objective and omnipotent Righteousness, or aught akin to these?

Carlyle, in the ninth chapter of "*Sartor Resartus*," coming to the very point where he must unfold a clear and definite meaning "to the profane reader," declines, on the plea that *Teufelsdröckh* is not only mystical but whimsical. He might perhaps have remembered that while criticism is by its nature ironical and may indulge in satire, prophetic teaching has too serious a task to confuse its speech with laughter. Did his heart misgive him lest, when he began to explain, it should appear that he was rehearsing elementary precepts of the Christian as indeed of every religion? What, for example, is the difficulty in believing that we "must do the duty that is nearest us?" The difficulty lies in doing it, not in believing that we ought. Or was it a novel truth, to be discerned only by the great genius of Goethe, that in every real thing, how mean and paltry soever, there is an ideal element which the conscientious man will disengage and make his own? Carlyle comes nearer the central mystery when he declares that man has another end than "happiness;" and nearer still when he speaks of the universe as "not dead and demoniacal, a charnel-house with spectres; but godlike and my Father's;" when he cries out, "with other eyes, too, could I now look on my fellow-men; with an infinite love, an infinite pity." And he comes nearest of all when he concludes in these words: "Even for his sufferings and his sins I now first named man my Brother. Thus was I standing in the porch of that *Sanctuary of Sorrow*; by strange, steep ways had I too been guided hither; and ere long its sacred gates would open, and the Divine Depth of Sorrow lie disclosed to me." This has not the colour of a theology founded on election and reprobation as Calvin had established it. From Goethe it was, as Carlyle believed, that he had learned so humane and touching a creed. Was it really so? one asks in amaze. Had he never read or meditated upon the New Testament, nor grasped its significance till light broke on him from one or two chance pages of "*Wilhelm Meister's Wanderjahre*," where these things are obscurely written? It is hard to believe that neither from father nor mother had this Christian child and man heard the doctrine of the Cross; or that, on the other hand, his chief or only teacher when he would understand how renunciation, *Entsagen*, was the secret of real happiness, was Goethe and the lines in "*Faust*," which are no more than a musical echo of a thousand years' preaching in European pulpits. These things strike one as strange and

fantastical. What meaning may lurk in them we will ask by-and-by, when we have ascertained what meaning Carlyle excluded from them and was determined never to allow.

Mr. Froude, in a significant paragraph,\* makes Carlyle prophesy that there was no hope for England except in a recovered sense of religion. "But *what* religion?" he inquires.

He did not think it possible [the writer goes on] that educated honest men could even profess much longer to believe in historical Christianity. He had been reading the Bible. Half of it seemed to be inspired truth, half of it human illusion. "The prophet says, Thus saith the Lord. Yes, sir, but how if it be not the Lord, but only you who take your own fancies for the word of the Lord?" I spoke to him of what he done himself. Then as always he thought little of it, but he said: "They must come to something like that if any more good is to grow out of them?" Scientific accountings for the moral sense were all moonshine. Right and wrong in all things, great and small, had been ruled eternally by the Power that made us.

This going out from historical Christianity he called in his figurative way the "Exodus from Houndsditch." For some years he had it in mind to write a book under that title, enforcing the conclusion that no honest man can sincerely accept as facts what are called facts in the Bible. Mr. Froude says for himself, and on behalf of his hero, that after the revolution in astronomy which dislodged the earth from its place as the fixed centre of the universe, another revolution was inevitable, that which in his opinion has reduced the New Testament to mythology, and made belief in a real Incarnation or Resurrection impossible. He has published in these volumes an unfinished paper of Carlyle's, intended to bring out his views, and called "Spiritual Optics." Its whole point is that Christianity falls with the Ptolemaic system of the Heavens. About this there can be no mistake. Carlyle was emphatically and decidedly no Christian, nay, not a member of any one of the *religiones licitæ*. He entered no church and submitted to no ordinance. The old Hebrew stars, he says in a savage outburst in his "Life of Sterling," were fast growing dim and would soon be quenched. If men desired to keep their Christian creeds a little longer, they must be careful to handle them tenderly. "Your rusty kettle," said he, speaking of the Church of England, "will continue to boil your water for you if you don't try to mend it. Begin tinkering, and there is an end of your kettle." He used the same contemptuous metaphor of the Roman Church in the first page of his "Latter-Day Pamphlets," at a time when foolish people spoke of Pius IX. as designing to furnish

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\* Carlyle's "Life in London," vol. i. p. 454.

forth a new Catholicism. Nor did he ever change in his opinion that the body of Christian belief was perishing; the question not yet decided, he thought, was whether the soul of that belief would perish too, or would survive in other forms. Certain it was to him that the nineteenth century, like young Mirabeau, had swallowed (or was sure in no long time to swallow) all formulas, including the Apostles' Creed. He did not deny that his own writings had helped on this consummation. For years, as we have seen, he thought of helping it still further and with more direct aim by publishing his reasons for an "Exodus from Houndsditch." Whatever his deliverance from the "Everlasting No," it was at least this, a rejection of the facts which have made Christianity something more than a sentiment or a philosophy, and have surely given it power to change the world. Carlyle disliked Strauss and spoke of M. Renan with loathing; but in the sum of the matter he cannot have been at issue with them. Their Christ was a myth, and so was his. True as the Religion of Sorrow appeared in his eyes, Christianity was but a passing form of it, subject like all forms to the Time-Spirit.

To this extent he agreed with and appreciated Voltaire:—

Sufficiently [he makes his Professor cry out to him] hast thou demonstrated this proposition, considerable or otherwise: that the Mythus of the Christian Religion looks not in the eighteenth century as it did in the eighth. Alas, were thy six and thirty quartos and folios, and six and thirty thousand other quartos and folios, and flying sheets or reams printed before and since on the same subject, all needed to convince us of so little? But what next? Wilt thou help us to embody the divine Spirit of that Religion in a new Mythus, in a new vehicle and vesture, that our souls otherwise too like perishing may live? What, thou hast no faculty in that kind! Only a torch for burning, no hammer for building? Take our thanks then, and—myself away.

We must, therefore, it would seem, investigate the matter on the clear understanding that, whatever he believed, historical Christianity to Carlyle was a convicted falsehood. Its fabric both real and supernatural had melted before his eyes into air, "into thin air." But are we instantly condemned, he asks, to live with no religion to guide or console us? Is there no fact left, at once natural and supernatural, solid beyond the possibility of doubt, immense and infinite and sacred? There is a fact left, answers Carlyle; the universe with the Power that rules it. We have but to open our eyes and we shall behold such a spectacle as will strike us dumb with awe and astonishment, with a deep sense of our dependence, of our infinite littleness and the infinite greatness lying all around. If Nature is not God, yet is it the very "Garment of God," woven in the roaring room of Time; whatso-

ever is true in systems, whether religious, social, political, or any other, has come out of the great first fact, "demonic-celestial," and rests upon it as an unassailable foundation. The "Divine Idea of the World," that is our seer's definition of the "Everlasting Yea." It is an "Idea," by which he cannot but mean that Thought creative and infinite has shaped all phenomena, and is their only stay as long as they abide. Scepticism then must be a diseased mood of the spirit, for it is blind to this great truth, which ought everywhere to be discerned, the essential reason, or intelligence and intelligibility of things : and materialism is, if possible, false, degrading as it does the ineffable to mere slime and gas, deluding itself with the notion that it is the printing-press which frames the poem and not the genius of the poet. Our salvation lies in recognizing this first of truths, that the world and its laws are no sham, but a reality ; real because it exists in and through reason, and is deeper and higher than any sense of sight or hearing can attain to. The universe is not mud, as the eighteenth century dreamt ; it is Life and Reason. "I should go distracted," said Carlyle to Mr. Tyndall, "if I were not sure that intellect is at the heart of things." The like assurance is repeated in many different forms by Mr. Froude ; and it is enforced with every variety of symbol and argument in the great essay on "Characteristics," the most profound and philosophical to my thinking that Carlyle ever published. Not a dogmatic Christian, but not a sceptic or materialist either ; what was he then after all ?

I am not sure that the prophet himself knew, or that any one can tell, further than I have said. The question turns on this, what meaning was there in Carlyle's mind when he not only spoke of the "Idea of the World," but called that idea Divine ? At times he did wish and even struggle to believe that the Power which upholds all things is righteous and benignant, the Father Everlasting. But to keep such a belief unclouded was in the highest degree difficult for a man whose temperament predisposed to melancholy, and whose bringing up had impressed him with a conviction that God was not so much a tender Father as a stern unforgiving Judge. Calvinistic instincts were not to be conquered by apologists proving "benevolence" from the marks of design. With hasty and, as I think, unreasonable scorn Carlyle flung from him the whole company of well-meaning sensible writers who had walked in the footsteps of Paley. They too were mechanical and at bottom atheistic. He demanded not proofs resting on careful evidence but an intuition clear and broad as sunshine, to make him see that all things are exceeding good. Strive as he might to believe it, he never did, either for himself or for others. Once and again in most moving terms he speaks as though a particular Providence were still conceivable ;

he seems persuaded that every man coming into this world has a task to perform; but his trouble returns and he cannot rest. Like all great men he was confident that a path had been traced out for him in which he must walk, a goal at which sooner or later he must arrive; he believed, or rather he hoped against hope, that his life would not be in vain. Consistently to hold this is given to few; it is belief in God made practical and the creed of every hour; nor can I suppose that Carlyle attained—for it is clear he did not attain—to the high serenity which would have banished doubts for ever. The silence of things appalled him; his heart broke at the apparent indifference of the hidden God to the ways of his creatures. Mr. Froude saying to him one day that he could believe only in a God whose existence was manifest by what He did, Carlyle with a cry of despair answered, "He does nothing." It was without reason or against reason as he said that he kept on believing in Providence rather than destiny. How plainly in that saying do we perceive the modern, which is here the Christian, thought striving to get its wings free from Calvinism! "Destiny," said the Elders with their frowning visages as of judges set to condemn mankind. "A benevolent Providence," said the "rose-water school," too lightly handling the greatest of Christian principles, as they began to reform political institutions and restore the golden age. Carlyle did not think they would restore the golden age; and he laughed Mazzini and the disciples of Rousseau out of countenance. He had little faith in the future. As years went on he became more and more anxious that standing forms, nay formulæ, should be allowed to last their time. What could he set up instead of them? His "Providence" seemed chiefly intent on setting fire to the world's four corners; things were rushing down to swift destruction, and men were infatuated. The old religions were dead; neither was there a possibility of a new one for centuries to come. The conclusion of his thoughts was no more definite or encouraging than that of "Candide" or "Rasselas." But in moral earnestness, though not in moral dignity, he was almost Johnson's equal, and it is saying little to affirm that he infinitely surpassed Voltaire.

Such, I am convinced, is the only adequate explanation of Carlyle's sadness, which, always recurring, and relieved by no change of sky and no success or growth of literary fame, must often have appeared as affectation, if not simple ill-humour, to the world. There is an inward vision to which the tranquillity of the spirit corresponds, the lack of which making darkness in the heart it is not wonderful that a man shows his friends a gloomy countenance. The sadness of life in Protestant nations is proverbial; in Scotland it is oppressive. Nor does it change

with latitude. If the soul abides in a spiritual desert it cannot but taste its bitterness ; and where shall we find so great a desolation as that of the fanatical or foredoomed Puritan, whose rage has made an end of ordinances, symbols, and lovely forms, and, when all else is destroyed, preys upon itself for want of sustenance ? Contrast the golden background of Fra Angelico's world or that of St. Francis with the infinite grey mists wherein Carlyle wandered so many days alone. He has contrasted them himself in "Heroes and Hero Worship," and in "Past and Present." Epochs of belief, he says, are fruitful, heroic, and joyous ; epochs of unbelief ineffective, languid, cowardly, filled with sadness. He knew as much as history could tell him, and no one will say that he was wrong. His lament over vanished Catholicism is very touching, the more so that it needed extraordinary sweetness and beauty to melt his Puritan heart contemplating what he had ever deemed idolatry. For himself, he lived in an epoch of unbelief, in Kedar, which is interpreted darkness. He believed that there was still joy for a good man communing with the Good Spirit, though solitary, but he lay under a heavy burden and could only repeat "Let us be sincere, at any rate ; let us not pretend that we see things when we do not see them." What were the things he could not see ? God's infinite goodness, the soul's immortality, the final triumph of the right. Yes ; though he affirmed that history is the true Bible and that a lie will not endure for ever, he still did not know or understand that the power which chastises nations and overthrows falsehood is Good, is not merely Evil committing suicide in fire and anguish. The Reformation and the Revolution, which he plainly perceived to be parts of the same tragedy, were to him "Truth clad in hell-fire ;" destroy they could and did ; they built up nothing. So it was in the universe at large. God was the Destroyer.

If we sum up the ideas that constitute revealed religion, we shall be led to the conclusion that there are three, everywhere combined but distinguishable—the idea of Power, the idea of Righteousness, and the idea of Love. The mode of each is infinite ; and I need hardly remark that to reconcile them in one consistent theory is beyond human reason ; for these in their distinction and oneness are analogues of the mysterious Trinity. Now it is possible to conceive of the scheme of things in the light of each idea as of all ; but likewise to view it under eclipse, so to speak, of one or the other. Carlyle felt and worshipped the infinite Power, and knew that it could not be the instrumental thing we call matter ; for what can matter do of itself ? But only in occasional flashes could he behold things in the light of Righteousness or Love ; his pencil painted only nocturnes, dim starry skies from which the sun was absent. When he

came to doubt of Christ the darkness fell ; henceforth God was indeed might and majesty, but His mercy and righteousness sank out of sight as into an abyss. It was almost the realization of Richter's dream. "Children," the dead Christ mournfully exclaimed, "ye have no Father." "He does nothing," said Carlyle. And truly, if Christ came not from God, He has done nothing. A sad conclusion, and a reason for endless sadness.

But still he comforted himself with the assurance that thought does not perish, that duty is sacred, and men are brethren. There was somehow, as Fichte expressed it, a Divine Idea at the bottom of appearances. This, though not all the truth men live by, is assuredly true, and firm ground on which to build as we can. It will bring salvation to a world wherein only lower truths have been, this long while, acted upon. Edinburgh, London, and Paris have fine things to show ; they prate day and night of their astonishing progress. Progress in what and to what ? asks Carlyle. There was progress at the French Revolution, when many lies were burnt up ; but what kind is this, he continues, which denies with emphasis on six days of the week a creed it sleepily recites on the seventh ? Is there any atheism comparable to the atheism of riches, self-indulgence, aristocratic idleness, and the enslaving of mankind to serve a few masters no better than the first men taken at chance in Piccadilly ? Of a surety there is that in the universe, call it God or Devil, which will judge these things and make an end of them.

Carlyle's heart-stricken doubts were by no means of one colour with an indifference to Eternity ; they came out of his dread of Eternity. Doubt as he might, his ingrained moral sense told him that the world of no religion was doomed to perish everlastingly. And he spoke with the strength of belief and of a mighty genius. The Eternal he knew was at least divine enough to smite wickedness with a sword of lightning. For a long half-century, this preacher of a new Apocalypse walked the streets of modern cities, crying in essays, histories, and lectures, "Yet forty days and London, New York, Glasgow, Paris, all the homes of industry and palaces of art, shall be destroyed." From the scaffolds of the Convention, from Napoleon's battlefields, from the three days of July, and the yet more sanguinary days of June, from the discovery of petroleum and dynamite, he drew auguries now in course of fulfilment as to the near approaching end of European civilization. What had been done in France would come to pass everywhere ; the old order was worn out and rotten ; it was dying and nothing could save it. The whirlwind of democracy that came up blackening the sky from nether deeps, was driving before it like autumn leaves dynasties, thrones, and sceptres, yea, the symbols of ancient things yet more august ; for it was

Christianity that was fleeing away. What fools, then, were heaping up treasure in the universal wreck? Could men go on spending their lives in hoarding money, or enjoying it, and not begin even now to think of that amendment of the heart without which they were but phantoms in human shape, not brothers or fellow-helpers, or believers in God.

Into the vitals of England, if of any nation whatever, corruption was eating; Mammon, adored of Britons, was a still more detestable deity than the French god Belial—Mammon, “the least erected spirit that fell.” In 1827 the Revolution had hardly crossed the Channel; German thought, known to De Quincey and Coleridge, was to most Englishmen no more than a name for the inscrutable. Catholic Emancipation, the repeal of the corn laws, reform and education bills, were yet to come, if they could prove their claim to existence. Philosophy and literature boasted of the *Edinburgh Review* as their organ, and Macaulay was announced as likely to become the greatest of living Englishmen. As for the Church of England, charitable persons were saying, “She is not dead, but sleepeth,” a sleep bolstered up with tithes and worldly decencies, but very doubtful of the resurrection. What could Radicalism, with its political nostrums, do for the inward corruption of which these things were a token? There was need of a very different sort of reform first. Atheism must be abolished, and a return made to belief in the living omnipotent God. Life, and religion itself, were governed by conventions which none questioned and not one in ten thousand held sacred in his heart. Insincerity, cant, and luxury were so common that it was a breach of manners to show them disrespect. What Englishmen *said* they believed in was the next world; what they certainly did believe in was the present, with a Pig Philosophy to explain it. They had an immense reverence for clothes; the clothes, especially the old clothes of morality, art, and revelation they worshipped with no less trembling than the Fijian prostrate before his fetish. But they had forgotten God, and they knew nothing of man as God made him. What were they, then, but wretched simulacra believing lies?

This teaching many heard with amaze and indignation. Was not England the most Christian of countries? But some few, when they heard it, understood; nor were these always Christians. It was a great awakening for young men here and there. To go back to conscience, to live by what they believed, to speak no falsehood, to fulfil the daily task like men to whom work is a sacrament, this was the beginning of a steady effort on the part of individuals towards perfection, and it has borne abundant fruit. Would it had borne more! It was an elementary but a

true Gospel. If, after nearly sixty years, it has accomplished so little, the reason lay deeper than Carlyle knew. The great shock, which was to convulse England, has not come; it has been broken into many minor shocks. A pacific revolution has taken place. German thought is at home among us; all the world has been emancipated faster than Carlyle desired; education will soon be universal, and the jaunty philosophies of 1827 have yielded before an earnest painful search after truth. But Mammon reigns supreme, and luxury has grown at an unexampled rate. The rich and the poor stand further aloof than they did before the Reform Bill. For much beneficial change Carlyle's writings must answer; but also for some of the quiet conviction with which it is now believed in many quarters that Christianity is a thing of the past. Carlyle has acted and reacted on all sections of public opinion; he has helped unbelievers to be more unbelieving; he has roused Christians to earnestness. The effects of the tremendous force that lay in him are complicated and incalculable.

No writer whose principle was revolt from the moral law has yet greatly influenced Englishmen. They look for a certain elevation of character, and an ethical gravity in their teachers, such as no one can mistake in Milton, and only the dim-sighted will fail to acknowledge in Shakespeare. If we compare Goethe, Carlyle, and Victor Hugo—the three conspicuous oracles of the century—we shall observe at once how much Carlyle exceeds the other two in strength of moral fibre. Goethe was an artist, and has so refined his morality that to the common eye it is almost invisible. Victor Hugo, intoxicated with his own imagination and the spirit of the age, parades a sentimental tenderness for right-doing, but is in fact the champion of a monstrous love and pity, which contrive to be melting and compassionate nearly always at the wrong time. He has as much morality as Rousseau, and no more. Of this vein some traces may be found in Carlyle too; he is always pitiful when he reflects, and, like Rousseau, he was wretched and suspicious however things fell out. But he held fast by the creed of retributive justice; and the English public has submitted in every age to be rebuked by its great men. Righteous indignation is a constant chord in the many-toned instrument of our literature. Swift and Pope and Cowper represent the tradition of the eighteenth century; Byron and Shelley, Carlyle and Ruskin and Matthew Arnold continue it down to our day, and have been worthy successors in this high moral tribunal to the authors of "Gulliver," the "Dunciad," and "The Task." Of the modern group, Carlyle is incomparably the strongest. Brought up as he was, all his antecedents fitted him to be a sort of Hercules Furens, armed with a brazen mace

that shivered his opponents to atoms. He had the power though not the grace of a finished student; and he inherited an untamed energy, accustomed to do battle for its beliefs and to mock at civilities. Chivalrous he hardly ever was; only at most compassionate. Moral conviction intensified by peasant obstinacy, unsparing sarcasm, humour so whimsical that it surprised at every turn, passionate rage and sadness, and a poet's felicity in striking out figures, names, and visible characteristics—and all this brought to bear on themes of the day—what a large equipment was here, and how sure to be effective in the long run? It will not be pretended that Carlyle has written anything so fine as "Gulliver," and he would have been the first to own that there is a delicate, sparkling mischievousness in Sterne which he could not come near. But for broad Hogarthian humour he has no equal, and his single strokes are miraculous. There is nothing he speaks of but he sees it before him; to the reader he makes things solid as well as visible. "He has a stereoscopic talent," it was said, when stereoscopes came in. Such a master of word-painting there never was in English literature. Carlyle's was a Dantean gift, and implied a most deliberative searching gaze with the eyes of flesh as of the spirit. He studied faces, hands, attitude, gesture, expression, as though his sole purpose had been to exhibit a man's outward bearing, his clothes rather than his thought. In this province, which may be called portrait-painting for books, he did marvellous things, though not the finest. He painted better than he drew; deep shadow, intense and lurid colour, pleased him. But he seemed incapable of giving the middle scale or any half-tones of mixed and varied harmony, and he could draw no straight lines; there is probably not a figure in all his books but has a touch of the grotesque. That enormous "flame-picture," the "French Revolution," is such an exhibition of the visual faculty in writing as certainly no other man but Dante could have attempted. It is an Apocalypse, "written in fire and tears." But who will believe that Mirabeau, Danton, Robespierre, or Marat were exactly such as Carlyle's imagination bodied forth? He was always studying the French character. I am by no means sure that he has ever faithfully reproduced it. In like manner his "Frederick" is a comedy of humours, not a bare history. But what he did see, he saw with the utmost clearness: his defective drawing and want of half-tones were due to the fact that what he did not see he ignored; to him it was nothing. Sarcasm is a fatal hindrance to understanding; and humour, which Carlyle thought the most godlike of qualities, is well known to be a faculty of exaggerating or diminishing according to the bent of our feelings; it is allied to caricature, and gives the mood of the spectator much more

than the reality of the scene. Humour interprets, but in its own dialect. It seizes on the strange, abnormal, and picturesque as a clue to the real. But the real is not always picturesque; and its strangeness may be compatible with a most unsuspicious commonplace look. Carlyle's accuracy of description, where humour did not warp it, is beyond all praise; witness his German battlefields, and his vivid faithful sketches of the countries with which he deals. It is when he comes to delineate men and women, especially in action, that he gives the impression of viewing them through an artificial medium. As M. Renan says finely of St. Paul, *un mot l'obsède*; no sooner has he caught a glimpse of his hero than he fastens an epithet upon him, and henceforth Robespierre is "sea-green," as in Homer Achilles, whether asleep or carving a joint, is "swift-footed." Carlyle, in spite of his genius, thus becomes conventional; he falls into a manner and condemns himself to view persons as if they did not grow or change. Does any one remember an instance of his dwelling on the development of character, or showing it in its various stages? I do not. His personages are not merely consistent; they are monotonous. I should think there never was an author of equal rank who so indulged in repetition. Carlyle fashions ideas as a smith makes a piece of iron into a horseshoe, by repeated and, in his case, rather furious, blows of a hammer. Twenty times in a page he will strike the same nail on the head; or, to change the metaphor, when he has shouted a thought till he can shout no longer, he will whisper it, sob over it, laugh at it, he will pray, beseech, and anathematize his audience, and when he has recovered breath will shout again as though he had uttered no syllable. A page of Carlyle's seems to scream at the reader in a frenzy of moral indignation; one is not surprised on hearing that the author described himself as composing in a "mental paroxysm," and his books as written with his heart's blood.

The consequence of which was that Carlyle became the most effective preacher of the century. He was endowed with the fire and fancy, the wealth of words, unwavering convictions, and genius of repetition which make a great preacher. He addressed the imagination; with his adversaries he never reasoned, but took it for granted that they were wrong and he altogether in the right. Add to this that, like Aristophanes and the old comedy, he held it lawful to satirize evil principles in the persons of those possessed by them; good-breeding with him meant speaking the unvarnished truth, or what he took for such; it meant tearing off the exquisite raiment worn by public men and showing them to the world as they were, poor and blind and naked, and immeasurably contemptible. At the touch of his disenchanting wand London society became the palace of truth; he felt privi-

leged to tell every man the secret that he was an ass ; and that not in jest, but with a sober seriousness that must have carried conviction to many an unlucky wight himself. Carlyle indeed, though peculiar and fanciful, saw a great way into men ; his literary "condemnations with costs" will not all stand ; but many of them will ; and a more austere age than the present will probably acknowledge that the celebrities whom Carlyle encountered in London forty or fifty years ago were much more like what he thought them than what they thought themselves. One or other illustrious exception must of course be made ; but when all things are reckoned, the question is not so much whether Carlyle was out in his estimate as whether he did not show a want of human feeling, and occasionally of gratitude, in manifesting his opinions. On this point the world is pretty well agreed. The sage of Chelsea was too miserable himself to be always mindful of others. God's world did not content him ; and the world of men and women roused his contempt as being, in the words he has somewhere quoted from Swift, "a pickle-herring tragedy, which is the worst of farces."

He considered his own teaching in the light of an "introduction to Goethe," or noviciate for such as would be disciples of that wisest of moderns. But Carlyle was a difficult novice-master. He kindled a fury and distress in the heart which Goethe would not soon have allayed ; his lightning scorched and blackened, making it a task of years for sun and rain to bring back fertility to the barren land. As Arthur Clough bitterly and not untruly expressed it, Carlyle "led men into the wilderness and left them there." He never seriously attempted to explain in what the message of Goethe consisted. Nor did he rise to the height of Goethe's idea. If anything is certain it is that Goethe, dismissing the problems of Eternity as Christians picture it, desired to make life an *art*, whereby all the elements of the world may be brought into harmony. Eternity and time, he said, were one ; God was the universal order, living, progressive, and fruitful : religion consisted in shaping one's conduct as a part of the cosmic law. The end of education when it became culture (which is the education given by a true knowledge of life), was the formation of a definite self-balanced character, depending on itself, independent of every other. The humble penitent attitude of a Christian towards his Maker, the closer walk with God in which saints have found their happiness, were to be exchanged for a conscientious loyalty to the laws of science, understood by Goethe in no narrow physical sense, and for delight in working artistically within the limits prescribed by Nature. Immortality and a future life are not governing elements in the theory of Goethe. He refuses before all things to be "transcen-

dental;" by which he means going out of the world of reality which we can grasp with senses and intellect. If God is not the world, we know God, he thinks, only in the world. Spinoza appeared the most enlightened of philosophers to him; and his own religion was nearer akin to Pantheism than to Christian Theism, for it tended to resolve the personality of God into unconscious though all-pervading Reason. It recognized as supreme the Ideal, not the eternal consciousness. Carlyle, I say, may have striven to reach this idea, which, inadequate and even false though it be compared with Christianity, has a wonderful calm and beauty in it; but he never did. There was too little in common between Teufeldröckh's stormy thought and the "System of Ethics," perhaps the most passionless book that was ever written. And the Goethe of mature life would have criticized "Sartor Resartus" as belonging to that period of storm and stress which his own more radiant genius, as sunny almost as Shakespeare's, had ended. "Sartor Resartus" is only the sorrows of Werther troubled about religion instead of about love. It is an outcry and a protest, not a creative doctrine. But much beyond "Sartor Resartus" Carlyle never went. He spent his life in storm and agony. The terrors of death encompassed him. Goethe's absolute trust in science, his enthusiasm for art, his serene poetry, tell of a region lying high and glorious, which the clouds of this earthly life would not suffer Carlyle to behold. He disparaged science, but feared that it might stumble on some dreadful truth and justify atheism. Art in every shape, how beautiful soever, as we have said, he scorned. True art he felt was the outward symbol of belief; it could neither be created where religion was not, nor survive when religion became extinct. I do not know how he accounted for the great achievements of Goethe, who was neither Pagan nor Christian; but he perhaps saw in them a prophecy of religions yet to be. For himself he professed no art in his compositions; neither did he think he knew more than the elements of that dimly guessed at worship which was to succeed the old. He moved behind Goethe, not in the same line with him. For art is indeed of one substance with religion, as religion, when it attains any degree of development, is a kind of art, but spiritual and having its roots in the soul. When therefore Carlyle disowned art, he was cutting himself off from the source to which his German master owed all he knew; and he was making the breach infinitely wider than there was need between Christianity and that future to which he aspired.

But he must have felt that no Goethe would suffice for the new creation. It was a frequent saying of his that the saints were the best men he knew; that a peasant saint would be of more

consequence in Europe to-day than all its fleets and armies; and that the divinest symbol was still "the peasant of Galilee," by whom had been bequeathed to us the Religion of Sorrow. Carlyle dwelt far from Catholicism. When its accents smote upon his ear in the cathedral at Bruges, he could but mutter that it was "grand idolatrous music." Yet he confessed to Mr. Froude that the Mass was the only genuine relic of religious worship left among us. A suggestive word, deserving of our deepest meditation! Whilst he said of Agnosticism that it offered us "ground glass under the guise of finest wheaten flour," and of Atheism that it was the "Everlasting No;" whilst he quoted with approval that dictum of Novalis, that "my belief becomes indefinitely more certain to me as soon as another shares it," and affirmed again and again that men must have a religion, nay a church, or go to destruction, it is wonderful that he did not seriously ask himself whether any pattern of holy living, to be hoped for in the future, can do for us that which Jesus Christ has left undone? Is a founder of religion conceivable who can go beyond the law of the Beatitudes? Is not Christianity, as exhibited in Christ, a religion not only of sorrow but of help? Carlyle has said that its symbols have an infinite significance; is not this much the same as admitting that their significance is absolute, is eternal? The sacred symbols he has in view are not sacraments only; he means the Incarnation too. With all this Calvinism has truly nothing to do. The Incarnation is the inheritance of that mediæval church from which Calvinism revolted. The whole Catholic edifice is built on the Incarnation. It was this that Carlyle could not receive, and would not teach. If his lifelong unrest, his dissatisfaction with the present, his despairing outlook towards the future, prove anything, they prove to my mind the one doctrine which has shaped the fortunes and moulded the great and subduing ritual, which has created the spiritual axioms, and given its undying moral power to the Christian Church; they prove that there is only one form of religion or revelation adapted to the needs, as it has been foretold by the aspirations of every son of Adam—the entirely human and therefore unspeakably divine form in which Power, Righteousness, and Mercy incarnate in the nature of man, tell him of the eternity he cannot as yet behold, and enable him, by the might of a most gentle grace, to transcend the shadows of Time. That, and no other, is the "Everlasting Yea;" it is the only principle which can fulfil that great saying of Butler's, "If conscience had power as it has authority, it would rule the world."

WILLIAM BARRY, D.D.

ART. V.—FURTHER REMARKS ON THE “TEACHING  
OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES.”\*

IT seems worth while to dwell rather more fully on the remarkable features of the ancient document entitled “The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles,” which was introduced to our readers among the Notices of Books in the last number of this REVIEW. As regards the external history of the MS. which is its sole depositary we are told little or nothing. Bryennius speaks of it as “The Jerusalem MS.,” found at Constantinople in the Library *κατὰ Φανάριον*, which conveys no clear idea to Western readers. It contains a number of distinct treatises from different sources, besides this “Teaching.” Its scribe was Leon, “notary and sinner,” and the date of transcription 1056 A.D. Jerusalem would then have been in possession of the Fatimite caliphs, but threatened by the Seljukian Turks—a period unfavourable, one would think, to literary activity there, but of course mechanical copying may have gone on at almost any time. The fact—if it is to be so taken—that it was there transcribed, gives no clue to any of the sources from which it was drawn. And the further evidence, consisting of one sentence cited from the “Teaching” by Clement of Alexandria, and of its title and the class given to it, by Eusebius and Athanasius, with the recognition by the latter of its usefulness for elementary instruction, is, taken altogether, so slender and vague, that we may be pardoned for pointing a little more fully to its internal evidence. Resting as it does on a single MS., the date of which is probably some nine centuries at least later than the archetypal material, it must have suffered all the usual accumulation of textual errors of oversight, with probably opportunities of intentional corruption. A certain portion of the “Teaching” has matter in common with the “Epistle of Barnabas” and the “Shepherd;” each might therefore, were competent criticism at work, operate as a check upon corruption. But incompetent criticism would tend to assimilate their texts and corrupt them all. Probably the latter is the more likely. And the same probability applies to the “Apostolic Constitutions” and the “Epitome of Rules (ῥῶν) of the Holy Apostles,” to each of which Bryennius shows matter common to the “Teaching” to belong. Thus we have substantially to rest on a single MS. of the year 1056, and must not be surprised if some corruptions or some *lacunæ* should be found past remedy save by conjecture.

The first thing that strikes one on a complete perusal is the

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\* See No. XXIV. p. 442, foll.

total absence of any rudiment of a confession of faith. Further, the Eucharistic sections (9, 10) are those only which contain the name of Jesus (thrice), as also in a doxology, Jesus Christ. The name "Christian" occurs once in (12), and there only. Nowhere is there any allusion even to Our Lord's life and personal work, save in the same Eucharistic sections, where we read, "which Thou madest known to us through Jesus Thy servant" ("which" being "Vine of David," "Life and Knowledge," and again, "Life, Knowledge, and Immortality.") It seems hardly possible to suppose that this total blank of *credenda* can have been the original condition of a document purporting to be a *vade mecum* of Christian "Teaching" in however rude a form. And when we look at the section on Baptism (8), we find a phrase which suggests a *lacuna*—"Thus baptize ye, having rehearsed (*προειπόντες*) *all these things*." Here the editor interprets the rehearsal of the previous rules as intended. But a rehearsal of rules *only* is opposed to all that is known of Christian practice. Something of a promise to keep them, and some recital of a Faith, seems further required. We shall see further, perhaps, reason for suspecting that the "Teaching" consists really of two original documents, and that their point of junction is probably at the end of the previous section (7). If this were so, "all these things" must have had a different reference, as, even without supposing this, seems most likely for the above reasons. But further, if we suppose this "Teaching" to have had—as is probable from what Athanasius and others say of it—a wide circulation among the early local churches, each church would probably draw up and insert its own formula—substantial agreement amidst much verbal variety being believed to be the character of such early formulæ. But when the Nicene and later controversies introduced greater precision, then, if not sooner, the simple older formula would be superseded, as lacking in precision, or perhaps in orthodoxy, and would be struck out in the authentic record of the "Teaching" itself; and "all these things" would be left without explicit reference, and with an implicit reference only to whatever formula was current and warranted. A few other textual errors may be noticed farther on; but this, being one which affects the character of the document, is noticed here.

There is in this "Teaching" one distinctly earlier element, consisting of the grand principles of practical duty, vices to be shunned and graces to be cultivated, under the ancient title of "The Two Ways," by which Rufinus (A.D. 410) cites it, with "The Judgment of Peter" as a second title. This appears in a crude, simple form in the "Epistle of Barnabas," (ch. xviii., xix., xx.), where they are called the "Ways of Light and Darkness." Yet even there the precepts of the former appear confused and trans-

posed from their natural sequence, involve repetition, and mix argumentative exhortation with the string of prohibitions which is their staple material. They probably existed in a yet cruder and simpler form still earlier, but if so, lost. In this "Epistle" they run wholly in the second person singular, like the Decalogue, and, like it, are nearly all negative. The "Way of Darkness" or "Blackness," after a well-moulded opening sentence, lapses into a mere string of the titles of sins or sinful characters, in single words or short phrases, and in this respect the "Teaching" most closely agrees. There is hardly any intelligible principle of grouping either in the precepts or the sins enumerated. The "Epistle" tacks them on to the rest of its material as an impressive *finale* of exhortation, introducing them with reference to the influence of good and evil angels. As the "Ways of Life and Death," they probably formed a stock-piece of early Christian ethics, and stood by themselves, distinguishable by their drily didactic character. The argumentative exhortations which breaks this rigid sequence of "thou shalt" and "thou shalt not," in the "Epistle" and the "Teaching" alike, are:—"The results which befall thee esteem thou as benefits, knowing that without God nothing comes to pass," and "Enjoin not anything on thy slave or thy handmaid in thy ill-temper—those who hope in the same God—lest they cease to fear the God who is over both; because He came to call, not by personal preference (*κατὰ πρόσωπον*), but on those whom the Spirit prepared." But the examples of clauses subjoined by *γὰρ* or *ἐπεὶ* are in the "Teaching" far more frequent, and form a chief feature of one section (3).

The opening chapters of the "Teaching" show either cross or non-corresponding divisions—"The way of life then is this: firstly . . . secondly . . .," under which heads are paraphrased the "Two Great Commandments of the Law." It proceeds, "And of these statements (*λόγων*) the teaching is as follows (*αὐτή*);" but then continues with a passage beginning, "Bless those who curse you," &c., following closely the language, first of St. Luke, then of St. Matthew, and then of St. Luke again; and so leading off into the duty of almsgiving, with a denunciation against wrongfully receiving. Section (2) commences, "And the second commandment of the Teaching is, thou shalt not kill, shalt not commit adultery," &c. Thus the "secondly" receives a double development, while the "firstly" remains without any. The form of address seems influenced by that of the unacknowledged quotations referred to, fluctuating between the singular and plural, much as do the precepts in St. Matthew vi. on alms, prayer, &c. Then follow two sections (3 and 4) much more precisely formulated, running in the singular form

throughout,\* and each string of precepts commencing with the phrase of earnest affection, "My child,"† and in section 3 every such precept having a reason of ethical tendency regularly annexed to it. This tracing of ethical tendencies is characteristic of and peculiar to these two sections, and more markedly of (3), and seems to raise the strain of teaching to a higher and warmer sphere. Yet all this, running off again into the duty of freely giving—this time with a lofty motive assigned—is still part of the "Way of Life" as it stands in the "Teaching." These strings of precepts, whether drily enumerated or set thus in higher tendency and motive, are cut across here and there by matter essentially foreign, though preceptive still. Thus in section 1 "Abstain from fleshly and worldly lusts" cuts in between, "Love ye your enemies," &c., and "If any one give thee a blow on the right cheek, turn," &c. In section 4, οὐ διψυχῆσεις πότερον ἔσται ἢ οὐ, bearing reference only to prayer and its issues,‡ comes between certain social duties and a re-inculcation of the duty of liberality. Thus we have in (3 and 4) a new stratum of precept covering a good deal of common ground with (1 and 2), but wholly different in style and presentation; while we find also quite incidentally several rules which might have formed the expansion of the "firstly"§ of (1), left now, as we have seen, blank. All this seems to show that we have here traces of a new recension, guided by a different spirit, of the older and simpler "Way of Life," deducible from the "Ep. Barn." The whole is, however, pervaded by an urgent stress laid on the duties of liberality and almsgiving in the almost textual expressions of the Sermon on the Mount and its Lucan parallels, which, when compared with section (8), on fasting and prayer—since there also precisely similar textual correspondence is found—seems to show that into the "Ways of Life and Death" was partly incorporated and partly annexed a summary of these three elements of righteousness,|| gathered from or assimilated to the actual words of our Lord. But then this has a further extension of a short directory touching Baptism, and a longer

\* With the single exception *ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ δοῦλοι* on p. 22, l. 6, 7, which again appears to be indebted for its form to Ephes. vi. 5; 1 Pet. ii. 18, which it condenses.

† The *τέκνον μου* of 2 Tim. ii. 1, perhaps.

‡ In the Ep. Barn. it is similarly found intrusively situated in p. πς', l. 3, of Bryennius' volume on the *Διδαχή*.

§ Such are the special prohibitions of practices as "conducive to idolatry, to blasphemy," p. 15, 17, N.B. the *βλασφημίαι* of the next clause seem rather "evil-speakings."

|| *Adtendite ne justitiam vestram faciatis coram hominibus*, Matt. vi. 1. The reading *δικαιοσύνην* is now fully recognized by Tischendorf, Alford, and other editors as the true one.

one touching the Eucharist, *between* which two the rules for fasting first, then prayer (thus deviating from the order in St. Matthew vi. 5, 16) are inserted. The reason for this insertion and derangement is perhaps to be found in the close of the baptismal directory, ordering, as it does, suitable preparatory fasting.\* Then the general directions, "But let your fasts not be," &c., in (8) arise naturally in sequel from this, and those for prayer follow instead of preceding. Before we pass from sections (1 to 4), it may be added that (1, 2) give directions suitable for all men towards all men; (3, 4) seem to regard specially a Christian society and its internal standard. Hence the rules of parental duty, master and slave (rather strangely none for the conjugal relation), find their place here, with the ethical tendencies before referred to, and those which regard teacher in the "Word of God," and taught, are specially dwelt upon. Almsgiving stands on higher ground and shines with a purer light,† when towards "Thy brother," as an heir of the same immortal hope. The "Way of Death" closes with the plural, "rescue yourselves, children, from all these."

Omitting the Sacramental, Dominical, and Eschatological sections (7, 9, 14, 16,) the duty of almsgiving seems to be the governing idea of what we may now call the new recension of the "Two Ways." It is dispersed over both (1, 2), and (3, 4), and it leads on, following the track of St. Matthew vi., to fasting and prayer in (8). It supplies a motive to the detection of abusers of it, whether spiritual or ordinary claimants of bounty, and suggests naturally the charge concerning maintenance by first fruits, &c., in sections (11, 12, 13). The direction in (15) for Church government by elected officers is introduced by, "therefore elect ye," &c., which, as it stands, springs out of the duty regarding "reconciliations, in order that your sacrifice be not defiled;" in short, out of needful discipline—in the previous (14); and there seems no sufficient reason to disturb this connection. It is possible, however, that the "therefore" in (15) may have a previous reference to the rules touching "apostles, prophets, and teachers," in (11, 12, 13). To this question we shall return, however, further on. The directory touching Baptism and the Eucharist, the Lord's Day and Elective Officers, seems to be a wholly distinct document, hanging well together; and that relating to the Ministry of Gifts (11, 13), and Maintenance is closely connected with it, although having a perceptible link also,

\* Intercessory fasting, *νηστεύετε δὲ ὑπὲρ κ.τ.λ.*, finds a place in section 1, a rare and noteworthy feature of Christian ethics.

† So it has a spiritual further motive, as a *λύτρωσιν ἁμαρτιῶν σου*. Daniel iv. 24 has been already compared by the editor. He might have added *Σοφ. Σειρ.* (iii. 30), *ἐλεημοσύνη ἐξιλίσσεται ἁμαρτίας*.

through the abuse of almsgiving, with the earlier document in its new recension.

The two documents thus united are set in a frame of earnest and affectionate exhortation, of which "my child" and "children," already noticed, are traces, of which section (5) (not before referred to) is a normal specimen, although perhaps defaced by a *lacuna*, and of which the crown and close is the eschatological section (16). This warm paracletic tone pervades the whole, redeeming the didactic dryness of the earlier document, as shown in the "Ep. Barn.," and the perfunctory terseness of the directory which here follows it. The sections (7, 12, 13), have a strong local colouring; and (11) contains a mysterious passage, the *crux* of all interpreters, of which anon. Taking the "Two Ways" as certainly earlier, the question remains, whether the later matter and the redaction of the whole are due to the same mind and influences? The affirmative of this seems probable. The same veins of thought, reflecting the influence of the writings of SS. Paul and Luke,\* although, as noticed earlier in this REVIEW, without any decisive quotation from the former, are traceable both in that later matter and in the setting which includes and impregnates that and the earlier, while the local colouring referred to harmonizes with the same. Our First Gospel and 1 Peter are probably to be regarded as non-distinctive on the question, as having early obtained general currency, and likely to have early leavened the whole body of Christian thought. Barely a trace of our Second Gospel is perceptible, and of the Fourth none at all, although some reflections of the language of S. John's First Epistle are found in the "Teaching," and a resemblance both in fact and in language to 2 John and 3 John. To those who suppose a pro-synoptic earlier narrative, this evidence will be proportionably weakened, but not effaced. Of the Epistle to the Hebrews† there appear traces which can hardly be accidental.

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In section 1 the distinct traces of S. Luke are the following: *ποία γὰρ χάρις, ἐὰν ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς*; cf. Lu. vi. 32, where the last clause, *ἐὰν, κ.τ.λ.*, leads, the close being *ποία ὑμῖν χάρις ἐστὶ*; also *ἐὰν ἄρη τις* (S. Lu. vi. 29, *ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος*) *τὸ ἱμάτιόν σου, δὸς αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν χιτῶνα* (S. Lu. *καὶ τὸν χ. μὴ κωλύσης*, but the order of *ἱμάτιον* and *χιτῶνα* is kept, which in S. Matt. is reversed). Again, *παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντι σε δίδου καὶ [ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος τὰ σὰ, S. Lu.] μὴ ἀπαίτει*, where *παντὶ* is not in St. Matt., and where the bracketed clause is represented by what immediately precedes, *ἐὰν λάβῃ τις ἀπὸ σοῦ τὸ σὸν, μὴ ἀπαίτει*, in the Teaching. In a later passage, still in section 1, founded on S. Matt. v. 25, the word *ἐν φυλακῇ* is changed to *ἐν συνοχῇ*, for which see S. Lu. xxi. 25, *συνοχῇ ἔθνων*. S. Luke in the Acts is further represented by *μακάριος ὁ διδούς κατὰ τὴν ἐντολὴν*, where the saying of our Lord, as ascribed to him by S. Paul in Acts xx. 35, *μακάριόν ἐστι δοῦναι, κ.τ.λ.*, seems clearly referred to as the *ἐντολὴ* in question.

† Comp. (4), p. 18, "My child, him that speaketh to thee the Word of

But besides the verbal correspondences cited in the last note but one, and the saying, which perhaps had proverbial currency outside Christianity, "The labourer is worthy of his hire" \* (S. Lu. x. 7; 1 Tim. v. 18), the mention of the chalice first in the Eucharistic Rule (9), p. 34 is also a clear trace of S. Lu. xxii. 17, 18. In (9), "Thy servant David," "Thy servant Jesus" (παῖδος in both places), recall Acts iv. 25, 27. The not accounting property to be one's own, ἴδια εἶναι, (4) recalls iv. 32. χειροτονήσατε, for "elect" or "appoint" (15), occurs in S. Lu. and S. Paul alone in the N. T. (Acts xiv. 23; 2 Cor. viii. 19).† The N. T. passages which bear upon the title "apostle" in its secondary sense have already been cited in our previous notice. They are all, except one (from Apoc. ii. 2), from the Acts and from S. Paul. The expression "speaking in the Spirit" † is found 1 Cor. xiv. 2. For the association of "prophet" with "teacher," cf. Acts xiii. 1, and for that of both with "apostles," 1 Cor. xii. 28, 29; Ephes. iv. 11. In 1 Thess. ii. 6 the higher and lower "apostle" are perhaps united, since S. Paul there associates Silas and Timothy with himself. The itinerant and provisional ministry had doubtless a wide range in the early Church. We trace it in 2 John 10; 3 John 6, 7—in the former of which passages the ministrant, if unknown, is to be tested, just as in the "Teaching" (11), by the "doctrine" which he "brings." A more noteworthy accordance with S. Paul is perhaps that in (4), on the duty of "keeping safe (φυλάξις) that which thou receivedst" (παρέλαβες); cf. 2 Thess. ii. 15, iii. 6, where the charge is to hold fast (κρατεῖτε) the traditions which ye have been taught, and to "walk according to" them (παράδοσιν ἢν παρέλαβον in iii. 6). As these are the only references to such "receiving" in the Pauline Epistles, the fact is of some weight. The following passage (also in 12) will bear close comparison with the same Epistles: "If any wishes to settle with you, being employed in a trade (τεχνίτης ὢν), let him *work and eat*: but if he have no trade, at your discretion provide for his not living idle (ἀργός) among you as a Christian." The italicized words, ἐργαζέσθω καὶ φαγέτω, in the Greek, coin-

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God thou shall remember night and day," with Heb. xiii. 7, μνημονεύετε τῶν ἡγουμένων ὑμῶν, οἵτινες ἐλάβησαν ὑμῖν τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ; and p. 20, where God is called "a good recompenser of reward," with Heb. xi. 6, 26, and x. 25.

\* "Food" (τροφῆς, not μισθοῦ) in the "Teaching."

† It should be noticed by way of contrast that in the Apostolic Constitutions, bk. vii., which expands a great deal of this "Teaching," the corresponding phrase changes this word to προχειρίσασθε, which also is followed by "bishops, presbyters and deacons;" see, Διδαχὴ, 'σελ. μθ' κεφ. 31.

‡ λαλῶν ἐν πνεύματι, (11); πνεύματι δὲ λαλεῖ, μυστήρια, l.c.

cide with the negative of S. Paul, εἴ τις οὐ θέλει ἐργάζεσθαι, μηδὲ ἐσθιέτω (2 Thess. iii. 10). But the whole spirit of the latter context (*ib.* 8–12) is reflected in the “Teaching.” It is that church-members should have a definite business to do, and do it; and so “suum panem manducent,” in contrast with those “nihil operantes, sed curiose agentes;” “ut vestrum negotium agatis, et operemini manibus vestris, . . . et nullius aliquid desideretis” (1 Thess. iv. 11). But there is a further caution of S. Paul to the same Church (v. 19–21): “Spiritus nolite extinguere. Prophetias nolite spernere. Omnia autem probate: quod bonum est tenete,” in which he seems to speak in language abrupt and therefore obscure, as if the manifestation of spiritual gifts had been in fact repressed and contempt brought upon the prophetic office, no doubt owing to some abuse of it, and not improbably some *such* abuse as we find it degraded by in the “Teaching”—that of impostors or spurious claimants of it, who came without credentials, but whose summary rejection *without test* the Apostle forbids. With his “probate” (δοκιμάζετε) compare πᾶς δε προφήτης δεδοκιμασμένος, and the various tests propounded in the “Teaching” (11, 12); also its phrases δοκιμάσαντες αὐτὸν γνώσεσθε,\* and, of an exceptional case, οὐ πειράσετε οὐδὲ διακινεῖτε. Again, in the detection of impostors, the appeal is to their own discretion, σύνεσιν γάρ ἐξετε δεξιὰν καὶ ἀριστεράν (12)—a remarkable phrase, which resembles two of S. Paul’s: διὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν δικαιοσύνης δεξιῶν καὶ ἀριστερῶν (2 Cor. vi. 7), and δώσω γάρ σοι ὁ Κύριος σύνεσιν ἐν πᾶσι (2 Tim. ii. 7). We may again, with the significant word χριστέμπορος in (12), compare νομίζοντες πορισμὸν εἶναι τὴν εὐσεβείαν, κ.τ.λ., 1 Tim. vi. 5, 6, and with προσέχετε ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων in the next clause, ἀφίστασο ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων in the text of S. Paul. Equally coincident are some ideas and language in the eschatological warnings of (16). The same Gospels are here tributary to the imagery and phraseology as in 1; compare S. Matt. xxiv. 42, S. Lu. xii. 35, 40, with the following key-phrases of the “Teaching,” γρηγορεῖτε . . . οἱ λύχνοι ὑμῶν . . . καὶ οἱ ὀσφύες ὑμῶν . . . γίνεσθε ἑτοιμοί . . . οὐ γὰρ οἴδατε τὴν ὥραν, κ.τ.λ. With ψευδοπροφῆται cf. S. Matt. xxiv. 11; with αὐξανούσης τῆς ἀνομίας, μισήσουσιν, κ.τ.λ., cf. *ib.* 10, 12; with καὶ τότε φανήσεται, cf. *ib.* 30. This last phrase, however, introduces not the Lord’s Sign or Presence, as in that Gospel, but “the world-deceiver as a Son of God,” who “shall do signs and wonders;” compare, therefore, 2 Thess. ii. 8, καὶ τότε ἀποκαλυφθήσεται ὁ ἄνομος, and for ὡς υἱὸς θεοῦ, *ib.* 4, and for σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα, *ib.* 9, ἐν . . .

\* This is used of an ordinary claimant of bounty in the name of the Lord, but seems applicable, by the tenour of the passage, generally.

σημείοις καὶ τέρασι ψεύδους; also for κοσμόπλανος, *ib.* 11, πέμπει ὁ Θεὸς ἐνεργείαν πλάνης.\* Thus the ἀποστασία πρῶτον of S. Paul (*ib.* 3) is represented by the "sheep turned to wolves, and love to hate" of the "Teaching;" for the first of which we may also compare his words to the Ephesian elders in Acts xx. 29, 30, λύκοι βαρεῖς . . . καὶ ἐξ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἀναστήσονται ἄνδρες, κ.τ.λ. The last trace of the Thessalonian Epistles is ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν· οὐ πάντων δὲ, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐρρέθη· ἡξεῖ ὁ κύριος, κ.τ.λ. With which compare 1 Thess. iv. 15, οἱ νεκροὶ ἐν χριστῷ ἀναστήσονται πρῶτον. The last part is a citation of Zech. xiv. 6, introduced by the word ἐρρέθη. The introduction of Antichrist—a person about whom the Gospels are silent—into an eschatology so largely drawn from the Gospels is a very striking fact. On this again, precisely as in S. Paul, the Last Presence of the Lord Himself supervenes, and sums up all things. Meanwhile, "the earth shall be delivered into the Deceiver's hands, and he shall do atrocities unexampled since the world began." The language here is peculiar, but the notion of the prevalence and success of the evil power for a time is deducible from the Apostle's description.† A few lines from the end we seem to find a trace of S. Mark's Gospel‡ (xiii. 13), ὁ δὲ ὑπομείνας εἰς τέλος, οὗτος σωθήσεται, ἡ δὲ ἐκκλησία ἐν τῇ πίστει αὐτῶν σωθήσονται. . . .

A good number of the above are verbal coincidences, but these, when the subject is the same, go much deeper than the surface of the language, as showing that the latter has dwelt in the memory for the sake of the thought which it clothed. Thus the most striking and characteristic of the features of the "Teaching" reflect the thoughts and language alike of the Thessalonian Epistles. The former, whilst essentially exercising the freedom of independent authority, yet, as we shall see, is most under the influence of those Epistles precisely

\* Cf. ὁ πλανῶν τὴν οἰκουμένην ὅλην, Apoc. xiii. 9; ὁ πλάνος καὶ ὁ Ἀντίχριστος, 2 Jo. 7.

† Other points of the Eschatology of the "Teaching" (16) may be illustrated from S. Matt. xxv. 8; Gal. vi. 9; Heb. xii. 3; 1 Pet. i. 5; 2 Tim. iii. 1; 1 Tim. iv. 1; S. Matt. xxiv. 21 and 10; 1 Cor. iv. 13; (τὸ πῦρ δοκιμάσει, cf. τὴν πύρωσιν τῆς δοκιμασίας of the "Teaching") 1 Pet. i. 7, iv. 12; St. Matt. xxiv. 30, 31; Apoc. xiii. 7, 8, i. 7.

‡ And possibly also in the "first sign" of the "Teaching," next following, called, if the text be true, σημεῖον ἐκπεράσεως ἐν οὐρανῷ. What is ἐκπεράσεως? Bryennius interprets it of the *flying up* to heaven of those who are alive and remain, "Qui vivimus, qui relinquimur, simul rapiemur cum illis" (1 Thess. iv. 16). But this is St. Paul's *concluding* feature of the great scene. Possibly the word ἐκπεράσεως is corrupt for ἐκπώσεως; cf. S. Mark xiii. 25, οἱ ἀστέρες τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἔσονται ἐκπίπτοντες, introduced in the earlier stage of the description, as the word πρῶτον here requires. S. Matt. xxiv. 29 has οἱ ἀ. πεσοῦνται ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.

where specialties of time, place, and circumstances might be expected to mould their own detail; and even, by the state of facts which it reveals, helps to explain an obscure passage in them. This seems to indicate a closer connection than common between those Epistles and this part of the "Teaching," showing the use freely made by its authors of letters which claimed venerable authority, although not yet consciously reckoned as "Scriptures." Let us now glance at the local features shown in sections (7 and 13). A difficulty is contemplated as possible in obtaining spring-water (*ὑδωρ ζῶν*) for baptism, and of any water at all in normal quantity. Permission is also given for warm water to be used if need be. These show a provision for remote and ill-supplied localities, as also for possible rigour of climate or seasons. Other regulations (11, 12) disclose a Church imperfectly settled, and in what we may call the larva stage of organization, as compared with the normal development of bishop, priest, and deacon, which ultimately prevailed. Intermediate between these is that of bishops (presbyters or priests) and deacons,\* which the Church is bidden to provide for itself in section 15. The scarcity of water suitable, together with the hint about warm water, might thus refer either to drought or hard frost. Yet the region is suitable for vine, olive and grain, and for flocks and herds. It might be visited by a travelling apostle, who is to harbour only two days, and be supplied for his next stage only. We are then taken as it were into the rustic store-chamber, with its potsherd vessels of wine and oil. The master of it, as he opens one, is to pour a "first fruit" for "the prophets." It is so remote or isolated that the absence of any resident "prophet" is possible, in which case his dues go to the poor. It is thus dependent to some extent on an itinerant ministry, and this opens a door to scandalous fraud. Hence we may deduce an absence of any direct dependence on a central organization to supply guarantees of character or maintain a check upon specious imposture. This might of course happen through such organization being dislocated by persecution, but such a contingency is nowhere alluded to. Thus the wayfarer professing a prophetic gift makes his experiment on their benevolence, and the Church makes its own on his sincerity and soundness. The tests proposed are simple and direct. One indeed is veiled in language obscure through our ignorance, but if it could be certainly explained, would probably be as simple as the rest. A typical specimen is the caution that, if the prophet asks for money or anything else of the sort, he is not to be listened to. The casual wayfarer (non-prophetic) is to

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\* As was the Philippian Church when St. Paul addressed his Epistle to it (Phil. i. 1).

be tried at the bar of common sense (σύνεσις) generally, but if he seek a settlement, by the labour test specially. The very workmen (ἐργάται) are said to be worthy, not of their "hire," but of their "food" (τροφῆς), as though payment in kind rather than money were the rule; thus agreeing with the test of the prophet aforesaid, and with the ordinary maintenance directly from the fruits of the earth. Still, in order to cover everything, "money, vesture, and every possession," is to pay similar first-fruits.

Now these facts, highly characteristic and definite, seem to point to an isolated rural community in a remote situation, a day's journey perhaps from the next outpost. Equally characteristic and definite, as we have seen, are the features which reflect some of the more peculiar passages in the Thessalonian Epistles, especially their *locus classicus* concerning the "Homo peccati, filius perditionis." Putting these two sets of internal evidence together, it seems at any rate probable that some missionary extension from Thessalonica as a basis, either directly northwards in the Pæonian uplands, between the basins of the Axios and Strymon, or north-eastwards in the direction of Thrace, is indicated as the site of the community for which these instructions were originally prepared. There the Thessalonian Epistles would be early known and deeply venerated, and would probably impart their own colouring to all acts of the local church, while the earnest warmth of exhortation, light yoke of disciplinal ordinances, and generous toleration of the weaker members' imperfection, strongly reflect the noble freedom of S. Paul. The only deduction that need be made from this, on the score of the fixing the days of fasting, as if any mere observing of days would fulfil the Lord's precept thereto relating, has been mentioned already in the previous notices (p. 446).

The absence of any precept against drunkenness in the ethical code would be astonishing if we supposed that code to have proceeded from the same source as the rules for baptism &c. But if those ethical precepts are taken over from the older document of the "Two Ways," merely with a large infusion of liberality in alms, as we have supposed, the omission ceases to surprise. At any rate, the omission is an equal difficulty to whatever local origin, so long as it be Gentile, we ascribe the later portion of the "Teaching." We can say little about the document of the "Two Ways." It may very probably have been as old as the Christian Church under S. James, whose spirit of loyal obedience to the "*legem perfectam libertatis*" (S. James i. 25) it somewhat narrowly reflects. The phrase οὐ δειψυχήσεις in (4) suggests his ἀνὴρ δειψυχός in i. 8, iv. 8. The rule, "In church thou shalt confess thy transgressions" (4), is perhaps an echo of his "confitemini ergo alterutrum peccata vestra" (v. 16); while the

theological view taken of the value of good works, and works of mercy in particular,\* approaches his standpoint very closely. The narrower attitude as regards idolatrous offerings has been mentioned already in the notice, p. 446.

The teaching is the oldest testimony to the custom of baptism by affusion. The duty of keeping the instruction or precepts delivered to them shows how early the idea of a *depositum*, in the custody of faithful members, had taken possession of the Christian mind, although not, as we have observed here, connected with any formal *credenda*. Another similar idea is that of the Church's essential unity imaged in the eucharistic bread, which, "scattered on the mountains,† became one," and which is to be "gathered from the four winds, as sanctified into Thy kingdom." The former phrase recalls that of S. Paul, "Unus panis, unum corpus multi sumus" (1 Cor. x. 17); the latter that of our Lord in S. Matt. xxiv. 31. The rules for eucharistic service, although liturgical in their nature, are far from the form of a complete liturgy, being probably intended to instruct the people in what specially concerns them. Its connection with the Agape seems marked in the phrase *μετὰ τὸ ἐμπλησθῆναι* (10, l. 1).

The five-fold recurrence of a doxology, longer or shorter, like a refrain closing each clause of thanksgiving &c., is remarkable; so especially is the close. The interposition of "If any one is holy, let him come; if any be not, let him repent," between "Hosanna" and "Maranatha," indicates a displacement of the text here. The order‡ in the Apostolic Constitutions, vii. 26, is "Maranatha, Hosanna . . .;" then this direction, "If any be holy," &c.; then the further one of "allowing the prophets [but there "presbyters" is substituted] to extend the eucharistic service at their discretion;" sinking, however, the *ὅσα θελοῦσιν* of this last phrase; and this is probably the true order. The whole then forms a testimony to the Lord's Presence really apprehended and adored by the people. It is proclaimed in "Maranatha," and recognized by the voice of homage, as when addressed to His actual presence in the Temple, by "Hosanna to the Son of David." The banning all save the "holy" is therefore obviously exactly in point with the occasion. In Chrysostom's§ time it had developed into "the deacon, the herald of the Church, standing and crying: 'All ye that are under penance, be gone.'"

\* With S. James ii. 17, 21, and especially 13, *κατακαυχᾶται ἔλεος* (probably here nearly = *ἐλεημοσύνη*, see the context *τῷ μὴ ποιήσαντι ἔλεος*) *κρίσεως*, compare (4), where the almsgiver is told *διὰ τῶν χειρῶν σου δώσεις λύτρωσιν ἁμαρτιῶν σου*.

† The phrase is found in the LXX. of 3 Kings xxii. 17; cf. Nahum iv. 18.

‡ Given by Bryennius, "Introduction," page *μη'*.

§ "Chrysost. Homil." in Ephes. iii. p. 1051.

In the "Teaching" the rule precedes (9) that none "may eat and drink save those baptized in the Name of the Lord;" also another follows (14), that "differences be reconciled, lest your sacrifice be defiled;" also confession of sins, no doubt *coram ecclesia* as in (4), is definitely joined\* to the Eucharist as a duty. There is in the closing eucharistic act of worship a phrase perhaps doubtful. It stands, ἐλθέτω χάρις καὶ παρελθέτω ὁ κόσμος οὗτος. Now χάρις seems unsuited to the whole tenour. It should probably be ἐλθέτω χριστός. These two words are commonly abbreviated in MSS., and their abbreviations easily confused. The word χάρις occurs nowhere else save in a quotation, and in a different sense, ποία γὰρ χάρις, in (1); χριστός occurs nowhere save in the doxological phrase, διὰ Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ (9). Therefore the antecedent chances seem balanced. But read χριστός, and see how the sense brightens up. The earnest appeal, "let Him come," is followed by the cry, "He cometh!" (Maranatha), and that by the voice of adoration to Him as *come*, in "Hosanna," &c.

The words, "We give thanks to Thee because Thou art powerful," may be illustrated by those in the "Gloria in Excelsis," taken from an older document:† "We give thanks to Thee for Thy great glory," power and glory being doxologically associated. Excommunication is entrusted to the people *to execute*, as in fact it always must be; "to every one who misbehaves (ἀστοχοῦντι) towards another let no one speak, let him not even hear from you, until he repent" (15). "Let every one having any (for τὴν read τινα) quarrel with his fellow not join your assembly until they be reconciled" (14). There can be little doubt that the reproof of mutual wrongs was also, in its last stage at least, a public process (ἐλέγχετε ἀλλήλους) (15), and that the words, "as ye have it in the Gospel," refer to our Lord's own direction in S. Matt. xviii. 15-17: "Si autem peccaverit in te frater tuus," &c. The election of bishops and deacons is to be by the people, as is shown by the word ἑαυτοῖς (15, l. 1), and confirmed by ὑμῶν after οἱ τετιμημένοι (l. 6), as it were "the *élite* of yourselves;" not therefore, as the editor would have it, by Church authorities—that would be reserved for ordination and perhaps ratification of those elected, but of these last ceremonies there is no trace. Observe here that they are to "perform for you the public service (τὴν λειτουργίαν) of the prophets and teachers," not of the "apostles" therefore, who were never supposed to be stationary, but always on their way to labour among the unconverted; comp. (11), where the apostle is to tarry two days at most. We now see the reason of the οὖν (referred to above, p. 95)—"therefore elect," &c. The rules

\* This is shown by προσ-εξομολογησάμενοι τὰ παραπτώματα (14).

† It is found in the Codex Alexandrinus as the 14th, or last in order among the Church Hymns there inserted in the Psalter. The words there (l. 8, 9) are, εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι διὰ τὴν μεγάλην σου δόξαν.

of Eucharist and of Lord's Day observance have just preceded. The latter closes with the cited (not by name) prophecy of Malachi i. 11-14—a good example of condensed quotation with hermeneutic extension. We may compare in respect of this οὖν the passage (Isa. lxvi. 20, 21) where an offering of the future Church is accompanied by a provision for priests and Levites.

On the whole, the state of the text is singularly good. Possibly in (1) the words οὐδὲ γὰρ δύνασαι are followed by a *lacuna*—"If any one take from thee that is thine, ask it not back, *for thou art not even able*," seems a maimed conclusion. The explanation, that legal proceedings in the heathen court were forbidden to Christians by apostolic authority (1 Cor. vi. 1, foll.), seems not fully to meet the case, because tribunals of arbitration were established by the Church, and hardly any society could go on without one of the two resources. Also in (1), on p. 8, there is perhaps a displacement or other error of the text.\* In (3, end), ἐνεργήματα in this sense is rare. That sense is not mischances or afflictions, but the word is *mediae significationis* (lit. "things wrought in thee"), meaning everything which takes place by which man is outwardly affected. In (6), again, a *lacuna* may be suspected. It begins with a caution against teaching that misleads (πλανήσῃ) as "drawing away from God." It continues, "For if indeed (μὲν) thou canst bear the whole yoke of the Lord, thou shalt be perfect; but if not, do that thou canst. But (δὲ) concerning food (βρώσεως)," &c. Now, this (μὲν . . . δὲ) suggests that there must have been some other subject of the rule before "food," correspondent with it—possibly marriage, when the "bearing the *whole* yoke" suggests S. Matt. xix. 11: "Non omnes capiunt verbum istud, sed quibus datum est;" or perhaps absolute renunciation of property (ib. 21), "Si vis perfectus esse, vade, vende," &c. On ταῦτα πάντα in (7) comment has already been given. In (7, end) προνηστευσάτω seems to mean on the day of baptism, as shown by the sequel. We may compare fasting communion. In (8) the only deviation from the standard text of S. Matt. is in τὴν ὀφειλὴν for τὰ ὀφειλήματα, but the word is itself from the parable of S. Matt. xviii. 32, πᾶσαν τὴν ὀφειλὴν ἐκείνην ἀφῆκά σοι. In (11), for δόγματα, in sense of rules, compare "Ep. Barn." on page ρδ, τρία οὖν δόγματά ἐστι Κυρίου ζωῆς. In (13), ἐὰν σιτίαν ποιῆς is paraphrased in Apost. Const. vii. 29, page μθ', by ἄρτων θερμῶν, "hot loaves," which has led some to render σιτίαν "a batch."† The objection is, that it was something

\* It might be read ὁ δὲ μὴ χρεῖαν ἔχων ἐξετασθήσεται περὶ ὧν ἐπραξε, ἵνα εἰς τί, ἐν συνοχῇ δὲ γενόμενος δώσει δίκην καὶ οὐκ κ.τ.λ., or perhaps in line 2, δώσει λογον might be read for δώσει δίκην without transposition.

† The classical συσσιτία, for a mess-company, is somewhat in favour of "a meal" for σιτίαν, not elsewhere found in Greek.

to which a definite commandment concerning first-fruits would seem to apply, as shown by δὸς κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν, such as Deut. xxvi. 2, foll., "tolles de cunctis frugibus tuis primitias," &c.; comp. Exod. xxii. 29, 30; xxiii. 19; xxxiv. 26. Probably, therefore, σιτία may mean a gathering of corn. The word καταθέματος in (16), p. 54, is very doubtful, and probably points to some corruption of the passage. It would stand on the last leaf of the archetypal MS., and therefore would soonest suffer. Neither of Bryennius' suggestions seems satisfactory (see his note *ad loc.*). Possibly τῆς ἀληθείας in the next line belongs really here, read after καταθέματος, when "shall be saved by that same Foundation of Truth" (referring to τῇ πίστει of the previous line) is the sense. Further, then for τὰ σημεῖα τῆς ἀληθείας, which again seems inadequate, read τὰ σ. τῆς συντελείας, the homoioteleuton causing the word to be lost. On ἐκπετάσεως, *mox infra*, remark has already been made. There remains only the obscure phrase on pp. 43-4 of (11). That passage consists of a series of rules, all under one heading, which is, "Now about Apostles and prophets according to the rule of the Gospel so do ye." These, in their original form, would be regarded as each distinct *not* as in continuous context with each other. Something turns on this, as will be seen. This rule would then stand, with the one next before, seventh in the list thus:—

VI. πᾶς δὲ προφήτης διδάσκων τὴν ἀλήθειαν, εἰ ἂν διδάσκει οὐ ποιεῖ, ψευδο-προφήτης ἐστί.

VII. πᾶς δὲ προφήτης δεδοκιμασμένος ἀληθινός, ποιῶν εἰς μυστήριον κοσμικὸν ἐκκλησίας, μὴ διδάσκων δὲ ποιεῖν ὅσα αὐτὸς ποιεῖ, οὐ κριθήσεται ἐφ' ὑμῶν, μετὰ Θεοῦ γὰρ ἔχει τὴν κρίσιν· ὡσαύτως γὰρ ἐποίησαν καὶ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι προφῆται.

Here, in VI., ποιεῖ means "does." But the context being discontinuous, need not so in VII. The whole turns on κοσμικόν, and the difficulty is similar to that in Heb. ix. 1, καὶ τὸ ἅγιον κοσμικόν. Here Schoettgen is cited as having ruled that קִנְיָא had become an established rabbinical term for "ornament." But being evidently transliterated from the Greek, it could be so only by having borne that sense in Greek first. Of its such use in Greek no example is known, but there is plenty of Greek analogy in its favour, as τὸ ἵππικόν, "cavalry," &c. In Heb. ix. 1 the "holy furniture" is at once enumerated in 2 foll., which fact favours that sense in 1. Let us try that sense here, since no one who adopts that of "making assemblies for a worldly or temporal mystery" has succeeded in showing even a plausible explanation. Then render VII. thus:—"But every prophet attested as true (*i.e.*, whose character is already established), who makes by way of secret-craft church-furniture, but does not show how to *make* what he himself *makes*, shall not be judged by you, for from (lit.

with) God he has his judgment: for just so did the *ancient prophets make* (or do)." The last reference is probably to Bezaleel and Aholiab. *They* had the Spirit for their works, and therefore rank as prophets, but its model was secret, according to the pattern showed in the Mount.\* Secret work breeds suspicion of honesty, and such profession might be a mere pretext of idleness. Therefore the prophet's own character is to be established independently. There is still something wanting to enable us fully to appreciate the spirit of the rule, but it arises merely from our ignorance of this obscure branch of Christian antiquities—the employments (just as S. Paul's tentmaking) of spiritual men in the first or early in the second century, and the Church furniture (there must have been *some*) at that period.

It remains to glance at the standards of authority referred to. These appear as though too familiar to those addressed to need precise reference. A knowledge and possession of them in the heart and mind seems implied, rather than any documentary allegation of them, as from a text external, required. They are as follow:—"The teaching is *this*" (1), and the sequel consists of precepts which we know as contained in the First and Third of our Gospels. The vague expression, "it has been said" (1), might apply to any mere proverb; but, when we compare, "The Lord has said" (9), and "as it was said" (16), where a citation from Zach. xiv. 6 at once follows, also "the [sacrifice] spoken of by the Lord," where Mal. i. 11, 14, is at once cited, the first phrase, though vague, requires a higher association. "The commands of the Lord, which thou receivedst," occurs in (4), "The yoke of the Lord" (His own phrase in S. Matt. xi. 29,) in (6), and "Give according to the command," *bis*, in (13). More full and more definite are the phrases, "As the Lord commanded in His Gospel" (8), "The rule (δόγμα) of the Gospel" (11), and "As ye have it in the Gospel," or, "in the Gospel of the Lord" (15). But in all the living and current authority of a Person known and loved seems to predominate, and to preclude any preciseness of reference to or (save in the Old Testament) citation from a written document. The whole idea is best expressed perhaps by "In novitate spiritus, et non in vetustate literæ," Rom. vii. 6.

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\* Compare, Ecce vocavit Dominus ex nomine Beseleel filium Uri filii Hur de tribu Juda. Implevitque eum spiritu Dei . . . Ooliab quoque filium Achisamech de tribu Dan: ambos erudit sapientia, Exod. xxxv. 30, 31, 34, 35: also, Inspice et fac secundum exemplar quod tibi in monte monstratum est, *ib.* xxv. 40.

## ART. VI.—CATHOLIC BOYS' CLUBS.

*Don Bosco. A Sketch of his Life and Miracles.* New York : Benziger Brothers. 1884.

EVERY age has, we may well suppose, its own pressing social problems ; none could seem to have been so over-ridden with them as our own. Those who interest themselves in the welfare of the community are beset at every turn by the number and complication of the difficulties which bar the solution of these problems. One of these problems, and one of the most important of them, has been, and is, and will be, the education of the young. The question is an old one, and an ever-varying one, because at various times the results aimed at in education have been different. The best system of education is no doubt the system which makes the best man ; but, as all are not agreed as to what are the notes or attributes of goodness, all will not agree upon the best means of producing it, and conversely as the ideals are innumerable, so will the training be indefinitely varied.

Without adopting a system of education as our ideal, we may recognize its excellence in achieving what it proposes, and in this sense we may well approve the systems of old Greece. The Spartan ideal was a purely physical one, and the athletic training, the plain living, and the stern discipline of Spartan education was doubtless well calculated to produce a race of robust and temperate citizens. But the Athenian education was of all the most approved of ancient systems. The Athenian philosopher looked to combine a mental with a physical training, and we find Athenian theorists setting down as their "Three R's," their elementary standards (in modern parlance), grammar, gymnastics, music, and drawing and painting. An Athenian boy had an education of the eye and the ear, of the body and the mind, unequalled perhaps in any other age. To him was open the public gymnasium, where not only did he practise many manly sports, but where also, in the cool arcades, he might listen to the instructions of philosophers, "hearing," indeed, "and asking them questions," and where he might hear the songs of the older poets telling the exploits of his race. He might hear the wisdom of Socrates and the epics of Homer ; he might see, too, the plays of Æschylus and of Sophocles ; before him were always the works of the great sculptors and architects of his country. Seldom, perhaps, was an education given more suited to producing the results which were then desired.

The education of the Jews was as unique as their own peculiar

type of civilization. It was wanting in much that made the beauty of the Athenian system, the gymnasia, the spectacles, the theatre; but it possessed the simple and noble music and language of the Psalms; it possessed the precepts of the Divine and moral law. To a simpler, more vigorous, training of the mind was added the strict discipline of the conscience. We must not omit a mention of the technical education given by the Jews in trade, for it was a precept that every child should be taught to earn his daily bread, "for he who teacheth not his son a trade, teacheth him to be a thief."

But as Christian people, it is the Christian system of education to which we turn with the greatest interest, to which we should look for guidance in the ordering of our own. If we admit the Christian ideal of a man to be the highest, we shall certainly expect to find the Christian system of education to be the best. And as the Christian ideal does not exclude, but rather embraces, harmonizes, and sanctifies what was true and noble in the old civilization, we shall expect to find the Christian education adopting some of the methods of the ancients. So we find St. Paul, when he writes to the Ephesians on the subject of education, using these remarkable words: *ἐκτρέφετε αὐτὰ ἐν παιδείᾳ καὶ νοουθεσίᾳ κυρίου*. Educate your children, he says, in the training (making use here of the current word which represented the Greek idea of education) and the moral discipline so characteristic of the Jewish educational system. These words we may take to be the keynote of the Christian education.

The system here indicated was developed and extended by the great teaching bodies of the Christian Church; nowhere was it more fully appreciated, more harmoniously and consistently developed, more zealously observed than in the schools, the monasteries, the Universities, founded by the disciples of St. Benedict. To the Benedictine education we may trace much, perhaps most, of all that was great and noble in the characteristics of mediæval Christendom. Not to speak of the clergy, how many of these noble characters, whose lives a juster and fuller historical knowledge is gradually revealing to us in all their beauty, are moulded in the Benedictine model? And those great universities of ours, wanting, as they now so sadly do, the spirit of their founders, yet retain some traces, fragments, glimmerings of their Benedictine origin. Well would it be for us had we some Benedict, some William of Wykeham, to plant centres of light and learning in the dark places of our foggy century.

But what of education, of the education of the people, the great mass of the community, now? Education; can we call that depressing, uninteresting, soulless thing, that has been set

up in our midst, education? What of education is there in the dull routine of the modern elementary school? What results can be expected but the production of soulless automata?

This education, so much talked of, for which we are taxed and taxed (and forbidden to complain); what is it at its best? We set aside the thousands, for whom it was said to be primarily intended, who never see the inside of the school-house, and take those only who pass through the ordinary curriculum, and are turned away as fitted to face the world; and see what they have got from it. They can read, spelling over the words of an unfamiliar passage tediously and painfully—a knowledge which may be developed later by the aid of the police reports and penny novels, those curses of youth—they can draw the written characters indifferently, they can write, that is to say, but cannot adequately commit their ideas to paper, or express themselves with intelligible sense, and they have a slight knowledge of the elementary use of numbers—that is all. Something, indeed, it is; we do not mean to say that we grudge them this knowledge, inadequate though it may be, but we hesitate to apply to its inculcation, the name of education.

There were in former ages guilds of working men, banded together by a sort of threefold bond, a common trade, social intercourse, and religious exercises. These guilds, apart from their influence on the men,—of which we shall say a word later—bore a considerable part in the education of the young. Their lineal descendants, we are told, are the companies of traders which still exist and dispense vast revenues. It would be well if some portion of the wealth of these companies, a wholly disproportionate share of whose revenues is, we understand, spent in the elaboration of gigantic feasts, was expended in training apprentices to the various trades which the companies are supposed, in some way or another (how, it is not clear) to represent. Certainly so far as we have been able to gather, very little benefit accrues to the trades from the companies, and their place has been taken by quite a different organization. It is no part of our business to inquire here, what are the sad causes which have resulted in the substitution, for the ancient guilds, of the modern trades union; we can but regret that these causes have had the effect of no longer uniting workmen into a social and friendly union for the extension and development of their trade, but of forcing them to band together to keep up wages and to keep down work.

But the absence of technical instruction is a minor evil of the present system of elementary education, considered at all events from the Christian standpoint. It would certainly have appeared as absurd to the old philosophers, as to ourselves, to assert that

education can be complete without a religious or moral training, in addition to the mere teaching of grammar. The modern secularists, however, gravely assert that while the State may concern itself to see that its members can read and write, it is no part of its duty to instruct them in morals, or in other words to make them good citizens. And this proposition is supported by them on the ground that, as unfortunately there are many different religions, the State must not teach one to the detriment of the others, and that, therefore, it must teach none. Accordingly they establish, with State aid, institutions where the rudiments are taught, but whence the name of God and Religion are wholly banished. In the State schools of this country, indeed, the attempt altogether to banish the Religious Idea has failed for the present, but the exclusion of definite religious teaching makes the advantage more apparent than real.

It is laid down by the best philosophers that morality must be based upon the Divine law, and the general experience of the world conclusively upholds this dictum; to base the motives for morality on mere human grounds, bringing it at once from the domain of duty to that of expediency, though it may suffice for some highly cultivated minds, has never succeeded, will never succeed, with the common run of mankind. It follows that these secular schools, however efficient may be their teaching of the rudiments, will never, unaided, produce honest, moral or noble, citizens.

It is hardly necessary to inquire in what light the Church views these secular schools. Such a theory, as that on which they are based, is of course directly contrary to Christian ideas of education, and such schools are emphatically and wholly condemned by the Church. The Church's course has been clear throughout. Having for fifteen centuries entirely educated the civilized world, and for three centuries longer all such as would receive her instructions, she has at least a right to be heard in the matter. But of her struggles, her rebuffs, her successes, her constant and untiring vigilance, it is no part of our purpose here to speak, nor of the questions at issue between her and the State, great and pressing though they be. We are rather inquiring what is the practical result of the struggle, so far as the education of the poorer classes at the moment is concerned.

There is no doubt, then, that the position in which the Church has been placed has not been for the general good of education. Compelled to vie in every place with State-supported secular schools, she has been compelled to sacrifice quality to quantity, and to aim rather at increasing the number of her schools than at reaching a high degree of efficiency. But though in the Catholic schools there may not be any attempt to excel in tech-

nical teaching the secular schools (we are speaking here of the generality, not of individual instances), the pupils in our schools have this incalculable advantage, that they are, at least, taught something of a moral law, they may get some glimmering of a higher life, such at all events as can be imparted to children of the tender age, at which they leave school. If they do not unlearn elsewhere what they learn at school; if the teaching of the streets does not keep pace with their training in virtue; they go into the world with a knowledge of right and wrong, and of the motives for cultivating the former and avoiding the latter. With this, at 13, they must face the world, full of temptations and with none of the checks of so-called respectability, with no knowledge of the intellectual life, and but little opportunity for the spiritual; so equipped, to struggle for their bread. In their fight for life will they remember the struggles of the inner man?

One would naturally doubt it, and experience tends to establish the contrary. A training completed at 13, however painstaking it may be, can scarcely hope to mould a child in such fashion as to prevent subsequent deterioration. These children are men and women of the world, before an idea of doubt, or of temptation occurs to the children of the richer classes; what trials of faith must they not endure in a city such as are our modern centres of civilization! How often the trial is too great, and the children fall away, we hardly venture to imagine. Every priest of experience in our cities will confirm the frightful fact that by far the greater number of the boys educated in our schools entirely discard their religion. We have ourselves had some experience of the matter. We have frequently had our experience confirmed by the far greater experience of others, and we are bound to confess that barely a tithe of the boys educated in our schools in London continue even in the outward practice of their religion after they leave the schools. This cannot be as it should be; there must be, somewhere, something radically wrong.

After such considerations as these it is a fact, as striking as it is consoling, that the one man, who at the present moment occupies a high rank, amongst those who live before the public, for his extraordinary sanctity, should have devoted his life to the care of boys. When at the jubilee of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul last year in Paris, the vast church was thronged with men and boys to assist at the Low Mass said by Don Bosco, there was given again that consoling testimony that never, when the Church has need of a man to defend some breach, to lead some attack, to head a forlorn hope, is that man wanting to her need. But, alas! not one Don Bosco will suffice, we want hundreds.

We do not propose here to give our readers any accounts of

the life or the miracles of Don Bosco ; we would for all that refer them to the little book, the name of which stands at the head of this article. We propose rather for a moment to consider his work, and then to proceed to such practical conclusions as may be deduced from that work, suitable to our present emergency.

No one who passes through the lower quarters of our large towns, can avoid shuddering to think of the temporal destitution of the thousands of children that swarm the streets—what is to become of them, how will they live ? is the thought that at once occurs to us. But when we turn to consider their spiritual condition, what despair overwhelms us. Not only that these thousands, hundreds of thousands, should drag through a wretched enough life in this world—a prospect sufficiently melancholy in itself—but that, even without the consolation of any hope for hereafter. The consideration might well stagger the most buoyant optimist. The consideration might well kindle the enthusiastic devotion of a saint. It has, at all events, worked miracles in Don Bosco. He, without means, without influence, began his work by collecting these waifs of the streets about him, at first chiefly with a view to imparting to them elementary religious instruction. Later, he found the desirability of taking many of them from their degrading surroundings. Starting from a little meeting in the open air, he progressed to a hired barn, and now presides over immense establishments of schools, workshops, and seminaries, founded by his zeal, governed by his discretion. Thousands of children yearly come under his training, to be changed from mischievous waifs to capable citizens. We need not here dwell on the difficulties with which he had at the outset to contend ; we would rather rejoice at the marvellous success which has ultimately crowned his endeavours. And whilst congratulating him upon the success of his vast enterprise and untiring devotion, we would draw the moral to which his work obviously points.

The habits of a lifetime are hardly changed, the dull routine of a merely mechanical existence will not develop into a thriving spiritual life, but boyhood may be moulded to the hand, noble aspirations may be implanted in youthful minds, the soul is most open to good impressions when innocence is uncorrupted and the path of virtue easy. In a word, youth is the time for education ; and though great sinners have at times become great saints, yet the ordinary and natural course of development is founded on the principle that the man will not depart from the training given to the boy.

How then, it remains practically to determine, is the difficulty to be met ? How, without a revolution of all modern methods, are boys to be so led that they will not descend to the dead

level of the common crowd around them? We have seen something of the education which they may expect in the elementary schools. We have seen the advantages possessed by those who attend the Catholic schools. So far as regards technical instruction, these are not very great, although in the elementary training of the earlier standards (the three R's of a former generation), the Catholic average is superior to that of other schools. We must except, too, in our own favour, some of the Continental schools where technical and artistic training of a very high class is given; but this is, of course, not the general rule. We must also except our middle-class schools, which are decidedly above the average. With these exceptions made, the advantages, from a temporal point of view, are not very great.

Taking these things as we find them, we must admit that something must be done to improve the condition of the children attending our elementary schools, if we hope to find a respectable proportion of them remaining true to their religion.

The first and most obvious remedy for the present state of things is to be found in a superior technical training by means of trade and art schools. It is to be feared, however, that this idea is chimerical. When we consider the great difficulties of keeping our elementary schools up to their present standard, when we consider the miserable results of the vast sums that have been spent on the School Board establishment, when we consider that even well-to-do artisans, much less their poorer neighbours, are unable to contribute more than they at present do towards the education of their children, we must admit that, except in the case of wealthy foundations, it will be impossible to hope for any large improvement in the quality of the education provided for the lower classes. It may be that our doctrinaire educationists will in time see the folly of their ways. The height of folly seems to be reached when we see the School Board offering scholarships to the children of the streets, not for their apprenticeship to a good trade, but to send them to Cambridge. It may be that in time it will become a recognized fact, though the idea sounds now somewhat reactionary, that the best education for the son of an artisan is the training in some branch of skilled labour, and not in the cultivation of a superficial scholarship. If such be the case, then some of the vast sums squandered by the School Boards may be diverted into useful channels, the wealthy trade companies may be induced to disgorge some of their riches for the benefit of the tradesmen, and large employers of labour will see the advantage of supporting schools which render their labourers more useful. This, however, is a matter of national importance, and we are rather concerned here with the mental and spiritual training of the poorer classes than with their

technical teaching. We need only note in passing that such an education as we have indicated would probably go far to solve the difficulties, which block the way of the mental and religious training for which we are contending, inasmuch as it is far more likely to develop the mental powers than the system at present in vogue.

We pass then, with regret, the question of improving the modern system, and accept that system as an established fact and a serious factor in the present problem. Assuming then that the average boy of the working-classes finally bids farewell to schools and teachers at thirteen or fourteen years of age; let us consider for a moment the nature of the existence upon which he embarks, and to which he is bound until death, or the work-house, ends it. He will live in one or, possibly, two rooms in town, or in a small cottage in the suburbs; he will work incessantly from morning till evening, except when he is out of work, when he will occupy the same time in tramping about to the places where work is to be found; he will return to his home late in the evening too tired for any greater exertion than sitting over his hearth or at the public-house, and this without prospect of change or variety (other than the variety of being out of work and possibly penniless). Once a week, true, he has a holiday, on which he remains in bed (unless he be a practising Catholic) until noon, when he rises for the meal of the week, after which he has the afternoon before him for recreation.

In such a life recreation should, one would imagine, form an important and vital part. We know how important is recreation to the city or the literary man, and with what zest he enjoys it. How still more necessary for the man of manual labour, whose work affords him none of the varieties or interests of a great business or a profession. What recreations then, one would ask, are open to the working-man? There are the public-houses, the gallery of the theatre (when money is plentiful), and the music-hall or penny gaff. We believe this is absolutely all! In the summer the parks and streets afford a cheap amusement. But the museums, the picture galleries, and all the sights of London are absolutely and for ever closed to him. "Closed at dusk and on Sundays," or, in other words, no poor man shall ever enter here. On Sunday afternoons (he can have his drink in the evening) there is absolutely nothing for him to do but to loaf in the streets or gamble, and he has many opportunities for that. We have omitted from our list of entertainments his opportunities for hearing music provided by the Popular Ballad Concert Committee and the People's Entertainment Society, because these excellent undertakings can, after all, but benefit an infinitesimal proportion.

Such, then, is the life to which he is destined—a life without any ennobling quality about it. How to put something of interest, some touch of life into this rapid existence, is the problem of philanthropists; how to keep such a life holy, to put something of religion into it, is the problem of the Church. The problem which the Church faces must needs to a great extent include the other, and it is to this general question that we now address ourselves.

Many means, we need not say, have been propounded to meet this great social problem, many with which we are not here concerned. Total abstinence has its countless adherents. We do not enter on that question here. An improvement in the homes of the poor is by some considered the key to the solution of the question, we need not say how cordially we are interested in that matter; it is certainly one of the most important moves in the right direction. This, however, is a large subject: we have discussed it in these pages before, and it is no part of our present topic. The particular means of doing something to relieve the dull monotony of working life, something to bring it into contact with higher things, which we now propose to deal with, is that class of work which falls under the designation of patronage—clubs, guilds, confraternities, and the like.

“Patronage work,” as we said in an earlier number of this Review, “embraces the care of boys from their early years when they are instructed for confirmation, or first communion, when they are taught to read and write, when they are induced to go to school, but *more particularly* from the time when they leave school at the age of thirteen or fourteen, until manhood.” We were then treating of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, and it is that Society which has introduced and developed the system of patronage. Of the various forms of patronage which we then specified, the one to which we here would draw particular attention is the establishment of clubs for boys. These are sometimes called school-room patronages, from the fact that the meetings are frequently held in the parish school. The method of their working should be something in this fashion. The best time for getting hold of the boys is the moment of their leaving school. From the good influences which have been brought to bear upon them, they will be still fresh; the teaching of their zealous schoolmasters, the warnings of their parish priests, will be still ringing in their ears. Whatever good resolutions they may make for the future, they will probably make then, or never. And as it is the most hopeful, so is it the most critical period of their lives. We have spoken of the dangers into which they plunge, we have shown the actual, the horrifying result. Every parish priest, every pious layman, will confirm us in saying that

then is the time for the exercise of a little supervision, a little kindly warning, a holding out the hand.

Coleridge somewhere says that if you bring up children in a religion which is not the religion of the country in which they live, they will turn out "ruffians or fanatics." There is a great deal of truth in this remark, for it requires considerable enthusiasm to remain true to one's religion, where that religion is abhorred or despised by one's neighbours, and on the other hand, one who is not true to his religion is then without let or hindrance; he is not restrained by the conventional morality of his fellow citizens. Of course the remark will not bear pushing to the extreme, but it occurs to us in this connection, because we find amongst our Catholic poor little of that outside respectability which passes for religion, no regard for appearances which makes up so much of the middle-class religion of our country, a thing indeed not perhaps to be deplored, but which makes it most important that the lapse from religious influences should be guarded against at the outset.

So hopeless does the task appear of upholding these boys in their religion, that one is tempted to think that it would be better to take them, for a time at all events, from their homes before they start in life. But where the children have parents, (it is of course different in the case of orphans), it would seem in the natural order that they should remain in their homes. A great work is no doubt effected by those admirable institutions devoted to the training of young lads who, from lack of parents, want of proper control, or early crime, have been taken from their degrading surroundings and trained in an atmosphere of piety. It cannot be expected that the results of any efforts to help youths who are living in their homes will produce such satisfactory results. Something of course depends upon home influence, but we have been astonished to find how little. We doubt not that the same experience has occurred to others, but we have found, again and again, parents of the most respectable life and best intentions, who seem utterly powerless to prevent their children from taking their own course, however bad. This would seem to result partly from the crowded state of the city dwellings, which makes it impossible for the family to remain in their rooms for much longer than the necessary period of feeding and repose, and drives the boys into the streets; and partly from a lack of mental and moral force, which is so observable in our London-bred poor. But whatever the cause, the fact is certain, and renders it imperative that some external influence should be brought to bear upon the children.

How this is to be done is no doubt a difficult question; if done, it must be done between the hour of leaving work, which varies from

six to eight or nine, and bedtime. The most obvious and simplest method seems to be to attract the boys into some room—and they are easily attracted, a good fire is sufficient in winter—and then, having got them, to bring such good influences as are possible to bear upon them. How this is to be done is to our minds a weighty question, and after considerable personal experience we do not pretend to have found a full solution. The London boys—we know no others, but imagine that in the Northern cities, at all events, the boys are of a better *calibre*, and more improvable—the London boys, we say, are very unimpressionable. We think it impossible to do very much beyond mere negative influence; that is to say, keeping them out of mischief, and at all events, making them behave and speak decently in their club-room; without the assistance of a priest. We are told that a parish priest in a large mission has his time fully occupied by his ministrations and sick calls; we can quite believe it, and there are besides the schools and many other matters of moment which require his attention; what possibility then is there of his doing much active work of the kind of which we are speaking, even though he may regard it with the greatest good will? And we are equally certain that a priest, unaided, will not be able to carry on such a work. If he have a band of energetic laymen about him, he will manage it; but how many priests have the materials at hand? We have said that this is especially a work of St. Vincent de Paul, but in how many missions is the conference of St. Vincent de Paul strong enough for a work of the kind? We believe that the conferences are giving more attention to the matter, and we hope that more will be done in the future; but we foresee many difficulties.

The greatest and most astounding difficulty is the want of energy displayed by Catholic laymen on these subjects. The Church of England and the bodies dissenting from it, are no doubt dependent to a great extent upon external influences of this kind for their development. We have the Faith, which is the great source of our strength and vitality; indeed without it how could a body like ours hold together for an instant? But granted that important factor, are not the other matters worth considering? If we had a small proportion of the energy which is expended by the sects in these matters of detail, we should indeed be impregnable. We were ourselves, when we came straight from that centre of life in the English Church, the University of Oxford, into the fold of the Church, simply astonished at the comparison. Indeed, there is much in it to dishearten one who has the zeal of a convert to the true religion. And the further we have gone the more have we found the difficulty which arises from the lack of efficient co-operation. Innumer-

able opportunities exist for all kinds of good work for men in London, but how impossible it is to find the willing workers. We have sought far and near and without success.

We are not now inquiring into the reason of all this; there may or may not be good reasons; we merely relate the fact, and lament it. We know how much energy the priesthood absorbs, we have heard a hundred other excuses. We believe, and it has been admitted to us by those who must know, that there may be a want of consideration of the practical part of religion in the teaching of our schools. We think it would be an excellent thing to establish in them a Conference of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul; not to perform active works of charity, that would be inconsistent with school discipline and beyond the capacity of the boys, but for the enrolment of honorary members, who would hold occasional meetings to hear or read of the active work of the Society, to learn its spirit, and in time, on entering the world, to become active members of its Conferences. We believe that in this way there would be that accession of youth to the Conferences which is so consistent with the history of the Society, so necessary for its vigour.

We have somewhat digressed, but the digression was rendered necessary, because it is useless to speak of work to be done if no workers are to be found to do it. To return: we have got the boys to our clubs, the question arises what to do with them? Harmless recreation must be provided, it is most natural the boys should want it, most useful for them to have it. A certain amount of instruction will be desired by some—it is necessary, without doubt, for them all. How religious influence is to be introduced is a question; we think that the priest should be asked to form some sort of confraternity, with simple rules, into which the boys might gradually be enrolled. It is certainly in our view an essential element; and if the boys are enrolled on leaving school the thing is easier; the longer the interval that elapses between the time of their leaving school and their enrolment the greater will be the difficulty of enforcing the rules.

As to the management of the club itself much will depend upon circumstances; as, for instance, whether a paid superintendent is employed; if the club is large and open frequently this will be necessary, it is always desirable, as it saves trouble and gives more time for other matters than the mere preservation of order. Whether a paid superintendent is kept or not, it is absolutely essential, in a club of this kind that some one beside the paid superintendent should be present. Otherwise, the club is certain to fail, and even, while it lasts, all those more important elements which make it more than a mere playground will be wanting. Whether it is better to begin with many or few is

another serious question. The opinion of many, whose opinion is worthy of respect, is in favour of a small beginning—Mr. Britten, for instance, who describes his own excellent little club in *Merry England*. In most cases we believe it to be the soundest course.

We have briefly indicated what we consider to be the essentials of a boys' club ; of the details we cannot treat here ; but we think we have said enough to enable those who are interested in the subject to develop the idea for themselves. The principal points to remember are the need of constant supervision, simplicity of rule, and the gradual introduction of the religious element. Above all, we would remind our readers that earnest workers are necessary for the work. We can only wish that we may draw the attention of some to these works who will undertake them with zeal and perseverance.

We have spoken at some length of work for boys, but we do not wish to conclude without saying some few words about kindred works for men ; we do not propose to do so at great length, as our space will not admit of it, but merely to point out what is to be done in this direction.

Firstly, as to the young men who do not fall into the scope of our work for boys, youths of a greater age and somewhat superior position. They form a very important class, and one for which some sort of assistance is most desirable. We are not so strong among the middle class as amongst the upper and lower, but there is yet a considerable section who fall into the first denomination. The Protestant sects have a considerable hold on the middle class of the country, and we have only to look at the Young Men's Christian Association to see the clue to a great portion of their success. These flourishing institutions offer a valuable model for any work which is undertaken in this direction. Exeter Hall, the old Polytechnic, and similar establishments, must be a great source of strength ; as they offer a great attraction to the young men who are respectable on slender incomes and with necessarily few pleasures.

The Catholic young men's associations have a certain degree of success, we believe, in the northern towns ; in the south they do not seem to flourish ; the association in London is not in a happy position ; we should like to see it reorganized, enlarged, and suffused with a healthier spirit. No doubt, the Little Oratory, itself a most excellent institution of the class of which we are speaking, drawing as it does many respectable young men from different parishes, impedes the success, as it obviates the necessity, of similar institutions. But there is ample room for another association of the same kind further eastward, and we hope in time to see some such in operation. Money in profusion is at the service

of the Protestant associations, and money is most necessary at the outset; without it there is little prospect of much being done. Where it is to come from we are at present at a loss to predict.

Next, as to the men. In practice, there is no great line to be drawn between the younger and the older men, and where there is a good young men's association the older men will probably use it; so too, where there are institutions for men, young men (but not boys) will take advantage of them. It is necessary to keep boys and men apart, because the boys require a closer supervision, and the men do not like their restlessness and noise; but when the boys grow into young men, they may, with great benefit to themselves and to the men, be introduced into the men's clubs.

The utility and necessity of working-men's clubs seems scarcely to require vindicating now; the political parties, the sects, the atheists, all see their use, all vie in establishing and extending them. If clubs are so important to them, they are much more so to us, in view of what we have said earlier of the difficulties of the position in which our working-men are placed. So important indeed do we consider them, that we shall devote the remainder of our space to dealing with them at some length. We propose to speak of three methods of associating working-men—"holy families," clubs, and guilds.

The "holy family" is another St. Vincent de Paul work; but though originated by that society, it is found in many places worked quite independently of the Conferences. It is a most useful and excellent confraternity, uniting the men in a weekly meeting and monthly communion, but is entirely religious in its character. So common, however, are the holy families, that we need not further explain their rules; we have thought right to mention them as being one of the best associations for men that have yet been established.

As the holy families, however, are exclusively religious, they do not interfere with, but indeed form an important aid to, working-men's clubs. These we should wish to see in every mission, forming a centre of usefulness in many directions. The club-rooms are an essential feature of the club, of course, and some initial expense will be incurred in fitting them up and providing games and furniture. After the first start, the weekly payments of the members ought easily to cover the working expenses. Again, the trouble of management of these clubs is infinitesimal as compared with the patronage-clubs, because the men do not require the constant supervision necessary for boys. The club-rooms, once opened, will afford convenient centres of other works, most important to the good of the mission. Temperance societies, guilds, confraternities, will use them as a

meeting and recruiting place; the priest will find them an excellent field for work.

Some few words as to the initial expenses. Of two clubs for working-men which we have assisted to form, one is considerably larger than the other. In the one case we had the advantage of free quarters, taking possession of some large vacant premises attached to the school of the mission. But the premises in question had been for years in disuse, and consequently required a considerable outlaying. The windows all required renewing, a staircase had to be built, the woodwork was ruinous, and the whole dilapidated. In addition we built a refreshment-bar, purchased billiard-boards, bagatelle-boards, games, and furniture, the whole outlay reaching £200. There we have had 200 names on our books, but the regular membership is about half that number. In the other case the club premises consist of two rooms only, which are hired; the preliminary outlay was consequently lighter, but amounted to about £50. There we have a membership of about 50 (nominally), with a smaller regular attendance. In the former case we have a paid superintendent, which costs us fifteen shillings a week; but we make a considerable profit by the refreshment-bar. In the latter case we have no paid superintendent and no refreshment-bar; so our expenses and returns are both proportionately less. In both cases, however, the clubs pay their way.

This has been done in these two instances in missions totally dissimilar in their circumstances; why should it not be done, and successfully, everywhere? Chiefly, we imagine, because of the lack of energetic laymen to undertake it, and the want of the necessary funds for preliminary expenses; that the clubs are wished for, that they serve a useful purpose, and that they can be made to succeed, experience has proved.

The mere club-rooms, however, represent but a fraction of what may be done in connection with the clubs. Libraries, savings banks, benefit clubs, literary and musical meetings, lectures, concerts, and temperance meetings may be organized there. The club-rooms should be the centre of much useful parish work. And there, as in the boys' club, we should like to see some sort of confraternity established which will unite the members for more than a mere social intercourse. And still further; these confraternities, or guilds we should like to see extended from parish to parish, forming a connecting link between the clubs, as means of exchanging mutual kindnesses, and for the transfer of membership from club to club.

The guilds indeed we regard as the kernel of the club system, the soul of the whole matter. Of their importance there can be no question; the Holy Father himself has recently expressed

his strong opinion of their use in view of the machinations of secret societies and socialism, as a means of mutual support and combination. How important they were in the Middle Ages, when every trade had its guild, bound together by common interests and not unmindful of the religious element, the student of mediæval history will testify. But if they were useful then, how much more necessary are they now, when men bind themselves together for every end but religion. What a stand might we not make with all the working men of every mission, united in their guilds, the guilds in their turn binding mission to mission.

The model for our guilds may be found in the association, which we believe is extensive in Ireland and in some of our northern towns, founded originally in Limerick by Archdeacon O'Brien. The main and fundamental rule of this association is Monthly Confession, and the other is the monthly attendance at a guild meeting. These rules are the only essential and binding rules of the guild, but they are sufficiently important to warrant careful attention. The monthly confession implies that all the members are good practising Catholics, none who will not undertake to comply generally with this rule are enrolled. The attendance at the guild meeting insures a certain interest in, and knowledge of, the work of the association, and affords a means of intercourse between the members.

The guilds can of course be formed where no clubs exist, but they are strengthened and consolidated by the existence of a club, because the members are brought more together, and the meetings can be much more frequently held.

The guilds should be bound together by a superior council which will meet from time to time for the interchange of experiences, the furtherance of the objects of the guilds, and the transaction of the general business of a large and extended organization. Separate clubs, or associations, and groups of clubs and associations will be represented in the guild council, and this will be the means of promoting an important part of the work of the guilds, we mean the transference of members. By means of these guilds, men changing from one mission to another, will have a ready introduction to good friends in their new homes.

Some such association we should hope to see established and flourishing in every mission. We cannot here speak of all the details of such a great organization; we would simply indicate the broad lines and general ideas; the rest must be worked out in time. How important are the results of such a work, how vast a vista of usefulness opens before it! What a void would it supply in the life of our working men! What interests would it open to them? They are not incapable of interesting themselves in mat-

ters of general Catholic interest ; they are the arbiters of many important questions ; but at present they have nothing to direct them to the consideration of these matters, nothing to guide them to a right judgment upon them. Bound together by the ties of religious and social friendship, meeting from time to time men who can inform their minds upon the questions of the day, they will form a very real and substantial support of Catholic progress. Is it a vain dream to look forward to the day when the guilds will have assumed something of their ancient solidity and grandeur ? That the working men will be one day more closely united, for good or evil, there can be no doubt, when we consider the immense strides which are being made in their organization, whether for political, or social purposes ; let us hope that it may be for good. If it is to be for good, it can only be by some such organization, under the direction of the Church, as we have here roughly and imperfectly sketched. Should not we then be up and doing ?

HENRY D. HARROD.

#### ART. VII.—ENGLISH HAGIOLOGY.

1. *The English Martyrologe ; conteynyn a summary of the Lives of the glorious and renowned Saintes of the three Kingdomes, England, Scotland, and Ireland. By a Catholicke Priest. s. l. 1608. (By JOHN WILSON. Second Edition, 1640. Third Edition, 1672.)*
2. *A Memorial of Ancient British Piety : or, a British Martyrology. London : Printed for W. Needham, over against Gray's Inn Gate in Holborn. 1761. (By Bishop CHALLONER.)*
3. *A Calendar of Saints of the Ecclesiastical Province of Westminster, who have been recognised as such by the Holy See. Compiled by RICHARD STANTON, Priest of the London Oratory. 1882.*

THE era of the persecutions before Diocletian which filled the pages of the early martyrologies presents for Britain a blank record. Whether it be that the British churches were so few and poor as to escape notice, or that the fury of persecution spent itself before reaching this distant island, tradition has handed down no names of martyred founders of British churches like those which head the episcopal lists of the more ancient sees in Gaul. Notwithstanding the rhetorical language in which Gildas

describes the destruction of sacred edifices and the crowd of Christian martyrs, the Diocletian persecution itself, if we may judge by the ecclesiastical fasti, found here but few victims. The names of Julius and Aaron are preserved by himself as suffering at Caerleon; those of Socrates and Stephen, and Augulus, bishop of London, appear in the most ancient martyrologies, and have thus entered into the common possession of the Church, though there seems to have been no trace of their special cultus in the land which witnessed their confession. If St. Alban has obtained a wider and more enduring renown, it may be questioned whether this is not due rather to the great mediæval abbey which honoured him as its patron than to his title of protomartyr of Britain.

For the next three hundred years the records of our native saints are confined almost entirely to the extreme west of the country. Whitherne preserved the memory of St. Ninian from early in the fifth century to the eighth, when, on the conquest of the district by the northern English, the cult of the apostle of Galloway was propagated among them, and his acts were put in verse in the schools of York. The fifth and sixth centuries are the era of saintship in Wales. The detailed legends extant are of much later date; and though, in the absence of other records, they afford valuable indications for the recovery of at least the outlines of a lost history, as biographies they picture only too faithfully the state of the society in which they took their present form. In these wild legends the saints themselves seem to share in a particular degree the spirit of vindictiveness which Giraldus tells us marked his compatriots in his own day; the numerous miracles, equally astounding and repulsive, are an outrage on all sense of truthfulness and sobriety; and generally they portray a people turbulent and lawless, vicious and superstitious, though here and there the picture is redeemed by softer touches of a peaceful and secluded pastoral life. The only record of the vast majority of the multitude to whom is attributed in Wales the glory of saintship consists in the churches which bear their names and which they are believed to have founded, or in the genealogies of more or less authenticity which the Welsh, in common with other Celtic races, have studiously preserved.

It is possible, however, to distinguish two main groups ranged in the genealogies under the respective headships of chiefs named Brychan and Cunedda, corresponding to the two great divisions of the Celtic race in southern Britain: the Goidelic, or Irish, Celts occupying Ireland and the westernmost shores of our island, and the Brythonic or British Celts. From the dim traditions that remain it seems agreed to be gathered that soon after the final withdrawal of the Romans in the beginning of the fifth

century, a Brythonic irruption took place from the North under the chieftain Cunedda, and that the invaders successfully effected a lodgment in Mid Wales among the Irish Celts. As years went on they gained ground and pressed forward until they reached the western seas. From the saints of the line of Cunedda, to which St. David and most of the greater names in the Welsh hagiology of the sixth century belong, the organization of the Church in Wales is derived;\* to them and the princes of their kindred is due the establishment of Menevia, St. Asaph and Bangor. But the independent traditions with regard to the seemingly earlier saints who group themselves under Brychan would seem too substantial and persistent to admit of the further suggestion that it was through the Brythonic Celts following Cunedda that Christianity was spread among the Irish Celts of Wales. To these latter belong St. Dubricius and St. Cadoc, and with them is connected the foundation of Llandaff and Llan-carvan. But traces of Christianity among the Goidels are found also elsewhere. Tradition in Devon and Cornwall presents another saintly progeny of Brychan whose recorded names differ entirely from those of his descendants in Wales. Four-and-twenty of his sons and daughters are said to have come from the opposite coast and to have settled in North Devon and Cornwall, and there to have led an eremitical life and died saints. We can hardly be wrong in recognizing here a migration of Christian Goidels in the fifth century, whether voluntary in search of solitude, or forced by pressure of the Brythonic invasion, and seeing in the legend a record of the evangelization of the extreme south-west of Britain by the Irish Celts of South Wales. Of these strangers the best known is St. Nectan. There is trace of his presence from Hartland, where his well is still pointed out, to Tintagel, where a hermitage on a high rock shutting in the upper end of an almost trackless valley running up from the shore, may perhaps have once been his dwelling-place. The villages of St. Endelient, St. Teath, St. Mabyn, Morwenstow, St. Advent, St. Clether—names occurring in the list of “brothers and sisters” of St. Nectan—bear witness to this immigration,† which seems to have spread over the whole north-east of Cornwall as far, at least, as Bodmin and the Allan river, where it is met by a series of saints said to have come from

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\* Rhys’ “Celtic Britain,” p. 245.

† It was continued in the second half of the sixth century; according to the legend still extant in the time of the topographer Risdon († 1640) St. Brannock came to Braunton “in the days of Malgo-Coname, King of the Britains;”—evidently Malgocunus, Maelgwn (“Survey of Devon,” ed. 1811, p. 337). The feast of St. Brannock, abbot, was kept at Exeter Cathedral on January 7.

Ireland who advanced up the country from the Land's End and the Lizard at the extreme south-west. Among these are St. Budoc, St. Rumon, St. Burién, St. Ive, St. Breage and St. Germoe. For the most part, as in Wales, these settlers in Cornwall, Welsh and Irish alike, are known only as giving names to places; some fragments of the legends of a few are preserved by Leland; some have found their way into the martyrologies, calendars and litanies of the church of Exeter. Three only, St. Nectan, St. Rumon, and St. Petrock have entered into the general stream of English hagiological tradition. The relics of Rumon were brought from the Lizard in the tenth century to enrich the newly founded monastery of Tavistock, where they were held in honour until its destruction. Petrockstowe at the same date was an outpost of English influence in Cornwall, its church was established on English models and followed the Roman rite;\* and the intercourse kept up with Wessex spread the fame of its tutelar saint.

The same early Welsh influence is attested in Somersetshire by St. Congar whose name in later legend was associated with the imagined see of Congresbury, and who is found as a local saint in the calendar of the church of Bath.† The hermit St. Decuman, adopted in the calendar of Wells, passed the Severn Sea to find a desert in the depth of the valleys filled with briars and thickets among the Quantock Hills. Though placed in the eighth century he may perhaps be classed with the earlier hermits. Glastonbury resumes in itself the saintly traditions, even the most ancient, of the primitive church of this island, and with the unbroken existence of its community is the connecting link between the churches of the Britons and the English. At Gloucester we find the British bishop St. Eldad, better known as St. Aldate.‡

These names seem dim and distant, the history is conjectural, the interest remote; but the missionaries sent by St. Gregory affect intimately the fortunes of our race and people and appeal

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\* The Bodmin Gospels, Add. MS. 9381, contains a *Capitulare evangeliorum* showing the ancient arrangement of the ecclesiastical year (Sundays after SS. Peter and Paul, Laurence, and Cyprian) as observed at Rome before the change, under Frankish influence, some time in the ninth century, to our present numbering by Sundays after Pentecost.

† See the Calendar of Bath (with some additions for the cell of Dunster) in Add. MS. 10628, ff. 1-6.

‡ In the thirteenth century English martyrology, MS. Reg. 2 A. xiii. at xiii. Kal. Aug. occur the entries: "In Britannia in ecclesia sancti Petri de Glocestrie [*sic*] Sancte Arildis virg. et mart. Item in monasterio eodem sancti Madmundi mart. v." [*sic*]. For Saint Arilda, who is said to have suffered in the seventh century, see Leland, "Itin." (ed. 1744), ix. p. 76, viii. p. 31. All this seems to point to some sort of continuity at Gloucester also. There is a Lademund among Malmesbury's British abbots of Glastonbury.

to us directly with force and effect. The work of the conversion of a nation is necessarily slow and must be marked by alternations of success and failure, here or there by retreat as well as advance. If after twenty years of labour courage for a moment failed, St. Mellitus and St. Justus retired to Gaul and Archbishop Laurence thought to follow them, the check was but momentary, the intention soon recalled; and, as in Kent, so too in the greater part of the country, it was from the Roman missionaries and their allies that the English first heard the Gospel of Christ. During the short years of the mission of St. Paulinus in Northumbria his converts were numbered by thousands, and the ground was in Deira at least prepared for the Scottic monks from Iona. The noble basilica of stone which he built in Lincoln, and in which he consecrated St. Honorius to the see of Canterbury, long remained a monument of his evangelistic labours in this and the neighbouring counties. Half a century later there were still men in those quarters who remembered Paulinus well, his tall stature, his thin emaciated face, his refined features and piercing eyes. When the preaching of Christianity was resumed in East Anglia by St. Felix the Burgundian brought over by King Sigibert, Felix passed as it were his missionary noviciate in Canterbury and brought thence it would appear teachers and masters for his own monastic schools.\* To Canterbury again the Apostle of Wessex, St. Birinus, fresh from Italy, would naturally turn and remain in close alliance with his countrymen there. By the middle of the seventh century when the faith was with difficulty establishing itself in East Anglia and Wessex, and its first preachers were being sent into Mercia by St. Finan of Lindisfarne, Kent had become in deed as well as in name a Christian country; the new generation represented a wholly Christian people, St. Ithamar, the first Englishman to be raised to the episcopate, had for some years occupied the See of Rochester, the last remains of idolatry were swept away, the time of lighter precepts and easy practice suitable for neophytes had passed, and austere observance such as that of the lenten fast could be imposed by public authority. "You," says the Northumbrian Alcuin addressing the men of Kent, "you are the first fruits, the very beginning of the salvation of the English; in you is the root and foundation of our Catholic profession; among you repose those who in their day were the brightest luminaries of our island, through whom the daystar of the truth has shone throughout the whole of Britain."† And the words of Alcuin find in the facts their full historical justification.

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\* Beda, "*Hist. Eccl.*" iii. 18.

† Jaffé, "*Monumenta Alcuiniana*," p. 370.

In correspondence with such peaceful progress, the founder and first protector of the church of Canterbury is inscribed in its calendars as a holy confessor. In the north of England the kingly promoters of Christianity were martyrs. St. Edwin fell in battle with the united forces of Penda of Mercia and Cadwallon the Briton, and in his fall was involved the temporary ruin of the missions among the English of Deira which were ravaged by the Christian Briton with a hatred and ferocity more merciless than that of his Pagan ally. Nine years later St. Oswald, whose cultus was specially cherished by the immediately succeeding generations, met his death in resisting the onslaught of the same Mercian hosts. St. Oswin, who seems to have been the first of his nation to show a pattern of all the more gentle Christian virtues, to which he united the most attractive natural endowments, was a victim of his kinsman Oswy's ambition.\* To St. Oswald belongs the glory of revivifying the missions of St. Paulinus in Deira and of bringing the first preachers into the country beyond the Tees. In his early years he had been in exile in North Britain and had received baptism from the Scottic (or Irish) monks who were carrying on in those regions the work begun by St. Columba. To these friends of his youth he naturally turned for the means of evangelizing his subjects. The first attempt had no success. The prelate sent from Iona was a man rigorous and inflexible, who proposed to his hearers precepts more suitable for the ascetics from amongst whom he had come. The people turned a deaf ear to his preaching; he lost hope, and returning to Iona with the report of his failure represented the English as a barbarous, stiffnecked and intractable race. Among the seniors who listened, anxious not to relinquish the work, yet discouraged by the missionary's account, was one who observed: "It seems to me, my brother, that you have been over-rigid with these uninstructed hearers, and, contrary to apostolic practice, have not offered them first the milk of milder doctrine until little by little strengthened with the Divine word they became capable of receiving more perfect counsels and walking in the higher paths of virtue." It was St. Aidan who thus spoke, and it was he who, specially endowed with the discretion which is the mother of all virtue, was chosen, or rather by his own words had unwittingly designated himself, as the fittest to enter the mission field. In the event, by his tact and gentle management as well as by the exhibition of his humility and

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\* Oswy is introduced by Wilson into the second edition of his "English Martyrologe" (1640) at Feb 15. He could not have found in Bede, or in Speed, whom he quotes, authority, for Speed does not mention the passage of W. Malm. ("de Pont." p. 254, ed. Hamilton) which might support his cult. Of several English martyrologies examined, Oswy occurs in one only (MS. Reg. 2 A. xiii.) and, singularly enough, at Feb. 15.

single-mindedness, Aidan brought the English north of the Humber into the fold of Christ.

St. Aidan of course followed the Scottic Easter; but it would be wholly erroneous to throw back to these earlier days the ideas and practice of a later time when the controversy had entered another stage; or to view in the Roman missions of the south and the Scottic missions of the north, two hostile, or rival, "communions." St. Honorius of Canterbury, St. Felix of Dunwich, and their disciples held St. Aidan in deep veneration. At the baptism of Cynigils, king of Wessex, by the Italian St. Birinus, St. Oswald, wholly Scottic in practice, was his godfather. It was with St. Aidan's encouragement that king Oswy sought in marriage Eanfled, St. Edwin's daughter, who had been educated in Kent. If she brought with her a chaplain thence and observed Easter according to the Roman, whilst her husband followed the Scottic, computation, there is nothing ever so slightly to indicate that this was regarded on either side as a breach of "communion," but only as a legitimate concession, on both sides, to the prejudices of early associations and education. St. Aidan was revered in later times alike in Ireland, in Scotland, and especially in England; but the English calendars and martyrologies contain no mention of his successors, St. Finan and St. Colman,\* under whom the paschal controversy grew to a head, and, so far as England was concerned, was finally settled. It is to be observed that the difficulties which arose cannot be traced to the influence of the successors of St. Augustine, whose policy seems to have been uniformly pacific. A wrangling compatriot of St. Finan, named Ronan, full of zeal and indiscretion, attacked him on the score of his Easter observance with all the vehemence of an undisciplined nature, paying no heed to his position and character, and only succeeded in embittering the aged bishop, troubling consciences and raising embarrassments for his successor St. Colman.

These Northumbrian disputes, which culminated in the assembly at Whitby, and the retirement of Colman and the Scots, with some thirty of their English disciples, raged, it is true, round the time of Easter and the form of the tonsure. But their ultimate cause lies deeper than in any question of ecclesiastical observance, namely, in the revolt of the generation of Englishmen now growing to manhood against the "rusticity" of their Scottic teachers—men without lands or possessions, or flocks or herds, men who led a life of poverty, who immediately distributed among the poor the gifts which they received from the rich, whose dwellings were humble, and whose little churches

\* They do not occur in the Durham calendars of which there are three at the British Museum. Are they in the Durham Martyrology (MS. B. iv 24) in the Durham library?

were simple; who not merely loved solitude and silence, but seemed to hold in aversion intercourse with the great and powerful, or indeed with people of lower rank except in so far as was necessary in the exercise of their pastoral duty. They made their journeys on foot; their perpetual meditation was in the Holy Scriptures; their fasts were long and severe; often they kept nightly vigil even in the depth of winter by the sea-shore, or the river's bank. Their virtues were indisputable, but even in their virtues there were qualities or appearances calculated as much to repel as to attract. The counter-movement must have dated from the lifetime of St. Aidan, when Wilfrid as a boy was sent by queen Eanflæd to Lindisfarne. Wilfrid had probably learned from James, St. Paulinus's deacon, who had never left York, or from Romanus, Eanflæd's chaplain, something of a more stately and cultured form of worship than that practised around him; and had compared with the wooden structures deemed sufficient by the Scottish clergy, the basilica of stone which Paulinus had been compelled to leave unfinished, and they had allowed to go to ruin.\* At Lindisfarne Wilfrid already began to speak of a journey to Rome to see the splendours of which he had heard, and even in Lindisfarne the boy had found ready and sympathetic encouragement of his projects.† By queen Eanflæd's instrumentality they were eventually realized, and a companion was secured of the same age, rank, and aspirations as himself. What wonder if their imagination was fired and that both Wilfrid and Benedict resolved to raise up in their own country something which should correspond to their newly found ideals of ecclesiastical order, greatness and magnificence. There can be no doubt that they interpreted rightly enough the instincts and aspirations of their time and people. England was no longer a merely missionary country; the loose organization of the clergy from Iona was no longer fit to cope with the new circumstances; men were desiring and needing the cohesion afforded by a hierarchical system. The building-up and perfection of this spiritual edifice must be the work of more than one generation; but a short time was sufficient for the energy of Wilfrid to erect Ripon and peerless Hexham. As men contemplated this vast temple,‡ built throughout of polished

\* The repair and completion of this basilica at York seems to have been St. Wilfrid's first considerable essay in church building (see Eddius Steph. c. 17.) The "whitewashing" within is apparently not a mere figure of speech.

† Beda, "*Hist. Eccl.*," v. 19: "*fratres laudaverunt ejus propositum eumque id . . . perficere suadebant.*"

‡ See the description of St. Wilfrid's Church at Hexham, embodied in Prior Richard's History (ed. Raine, Surt. Soc. 44, pp. 11-14); and compare the Northumbrian annals at 788 in Sym. Dunelm. "*Hist. Reg.*" sed Hinde (Surt. Soc. 51, p. 29.)

stone, its high towers, within its lofty columns, its numerous galleries, aisles, and chapels, the profusion of sculpture and painting, the mass of colour skilfully blended and subdued, and the wealth of precious ornaments, they could not but be convinced of the majesty and greatness of their religion. To the end, and after all his consuming labours and tribulations, Hexham and Ripon which he had so gloriously raised were dear to Wilfrid as the very apple of his eye. In his last journey back from Rome to England, past seventy years of age, when on his deathbed, as it seemed, at Meaux, the consolation which came to him in his troubled dream was not the promise of recovery of his episcopal see or dignity, but of those "possessions" in which he had striven to figure before his ruder countrymen something of the beauty of the heavenly kingdom. Though his own life was for thirty years a perpetual series of journeyings, persecutions, and labours in exile, his new way carried all before it. Even of those who did not share his tastes or hopes and still regarded their Scottic teachers with unabated affection and reverence, the greater number did not follow Colman but accommodated themselves to the changed circumstances. These were men formed in the school of Aidan and inheriting the incomparable simplicity and beauty of character of that gentle saint, his disciples most beloved, truly his joy and his crown: the humble St. Chad, St. Cedd his brother, St. Eata abbot of Melrose then bishop of Lindisfarne, most guileless and sweet-tempered of men, and St. Cuthbert's master, Boisil, who undertaking the rudest penances knew of nothing but mildness for others. St. Cuthbert himself from all his characteristics may be justly reckoned among Aidan's disciples.

The hagiological records of the seventh century offer, besides the missionaries under the influence of Canterbury and Iona, a third group of saints ranking with the apostles of their country. The part taken by women in the propagation and establishment of Christianity in England is noteworthy. They were generally of noble or royal birth. Ethelburga, daughter of Ethelbert, of Kent, opened the way for the preaching of Christianity in Northumbria in the reign of her husband St. Edwin; after his death she returned to Kent, founded and entered the monastery of Liming, and thus gave her people and kindred an example of self-renunciation. St. Ermenilda and St. Dompneva (or Ermenburga), of the same royal house, after their marriage with Wulphere and Merewald, sons of Penda, contributed to the spread of the faith in Mercia. Dompneva in her widowhood also retired to Kent, and following the example of her aunt St. Eanswith, who had established a religious house at

Folkestone, founded, along with her daughter St. Mildred, the monastery of Thanet. Of the four holy daughters of Anna king of East Anglia, St. Withburga founded Dereham. St. Etheldreda, the virgin queen of Egfrid of Northumbria, gathered within the walls of her monastery of Ely her sister St. Sexburga, her niece St. Ermenilda, and the daughter of this latter, St. Werburgh. Mildred's sister, St. Milburga, founded at Wenlock in Shropshire a religious house which kept up a regular communication with the more Christian land of Kent. SS. Kyneburg and Kyneswith, sisters of Merewald and Wulfhere, and their kinswoman Tibba,\* settled near Peterborough.

The house of Northumbria, which gave three king-martyrs to the English church, shows three virgin saints, St. Oswald's sister Ebba the elder of Coldingham, Elfleda of Whitby, daughter of St. Oswald's brother Oswy, and best known of all, St. Hilda. Those who, like Ethelburga of East Anglia, Hereswith, Hilda's sister, and Earcongota of Kent, crossed the seas to embrace a religious life at Chelles or Faremontier, helped to continue the relations of amity with the church of Gaul and the Frankish crown which had been so serviceable in the first days of St. Augustine's mission, and were to be so powerful an aid in furthering the efforts of Willibrord and Boniface to spread the gospel in Batavia and Germany. Though retiring from the world the influence of these holy women was felt both directly and indirectly. The intervention of Elfleda of Whitby may be traced in the elevation of St. Cuthbert to the episcopate,† her declarations before the final synod in the case of St. Wilfrid, as to the last intentions of her brother king Aldfrid, were decisive. From the school attached by St. Hilda to her monastery of Whitby, proceeded Bosa of York, Aetla ordained for the see of Dorchester, St. John of Beverley, and his successor the younger Wilfrid of York,‡ Tathfrid designated for the see of Worcester, and Otfar who actually succeeded to it. To the prudent counsel of this aged

\* They occur in the litany in the missal of Robert of Jumieges (Leofric's Missal, ed. Warren, p. 281); St. Tibba is in the calendar, 29 December (*ibid.* p. 280); their shrines seem to have been behind the high altar in Peterborough Abbey Church, disposed (perhaps like the reliquaries at St. Riquier or Laon; their altar was on the south side of the choir: "quatuor cerei ex opposito feretrorum dictarum virginum super magnum altare ponentur," "quatuor fratres . . . cantent versum ante feretrum virginum ad magnum altare." "Altare dictarum virginum quod ex parte australi situatur."—Peterb. Consuetudinary, 14th cent. MS., Lamb. 198, 6 March.

† This may be gathered from the anonymous life, § 28; in Bede's version, c. 24 (Opera Hist. Min. ed. Stevenson, pp. 95–8, 274).

‡ He occurs in a Winchcombe Calendar at 29 April.

abbess the princes of her house had frequent recourse.\* The indirect influence of these religious houses is not less marked. In the numerous visions † reported by Bede in connection with them, we may recognize how they helped to bring home the supernatural and eternal as an imminent reality, and to force on untutored minds the spiritual side of the Christian faith.

In view of the repute of the schools of Canterbury it is singular that they should have directly produced nothing more in the way of written memorials than the legislative and disciplinary enactments of St. Theodore. Their learning was perhaps in excess, and a hindrance, not a help, to productiveness. The works of St. Aldhelm so much admired in his day by his own countrymen, may be considered as an outcome of their teaching, and their literary tradition can be traced on to the early compositions of the schools of Heidenheim and Mentz.‡ It is to the north that we must look for the first essays in English hagiography—the anonymous life of St. Cuthbert, the life of St. Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus, Felix's life of St. Guthlac, and the anonymous life of St. Ceolfrid which goes under the name of "The History of the Abbats of Jarrow." In each case the biographer's hero presents a different type; in St. Cuthbert, a life partly monastic, partly anchoritic, united with that of an active missionary but disengaged from the world and its affairs; in St. Wilfrid, a career full of activity, a mind open to every interest, seeking to make all things conduce to the Divine glory.

\* So with St. Lioba, the relative and confidant of St. Boniface, a century later. "Pippinus rex Francorum et filii ejus Carolus et Carlomannus omni eam veneratione coluerunt, et prae caeteris maxime Carolus (the Great). . . . Amabant eam principes, suscipiebant proceres, episcopi cum exultatione amplectebantur. Et quia erat in scripturis eruditissima atque in consilio provida verbum vitae cum ea conferebant, et instituta ecclesiastica saepe tractabant."—*Vita S. Liobae*, in Mabillon, *Acta*, iii. 2, pp. 231–2, ed. Venet.

† Visions like that of Drythelm soon took a singular turn; they were made to serve political purposes. There seems to be a hint of such a thing already in Bede, v. 13; in the letter about the vision at Wenlock at the beginning of the correspondence of St. Boniface the idea is fairly started; it was developed and perfected abroad, under the Carolingian emperors. The vision of Wettin and the revelations under the name of Audradus are the best known examples; but there is a whole series.

‡ The influence of Aldhelm is manifest in the lives of St. Wunibald and St. Willibald by the nun of Heidenheim, doubtless a pupil of a nun from Wimborne where Aldhelm would be a model. The same characteristics (piling up of fine words, awkwardness, alliteration) may be observed, though they are less marked, in Willibald's life of St. Boniface (Mentz schools). There is no trace of them in Eigil's life of St. Sturm of Fulda. In the difficulties between Fulda and Mentz one is involuntarily reminded of Wilfrid and the Scots; the English were now the "rustics;" but Lul was a man who could hold his own.

Driven from his own diocese, he could find in Mercia, in Kent, in Sussex, in Friesland, opportunities for extending the kingdom of God; he was ready to renounce all things, incur all enmities, enter into seemingly hopeless conflict, rather than assent to a betrayal of what he believed to be justice. The struggles of St. Guthlac were neither with kings nor prelates; in his island solitude of Croyland, far from the abode of men, he wrestled with himself and with the powers of evil and darkness; his refreshment, refuge, and defence was in no earthly succour but in angelic ministry and communings. The life of St. Cuthbert bears all the marks of the "rusticity" of the Scottic school of Lindisfarne; in substance it is a collection of memoirs rather than a life; the style is a mixture of simplicity and involution; the writer everywhere betrays a scrupulous care to state nothing for which he cannot adduce trustworthy authority, and in his transparent sincerity and truthfulness he succeeds in giving, notwithstanding all drawbacks of form, a living picture of the saint, Eddius is not content merely to take this anonymous writer as a model, but goes so far as to appropriate his preface, and, maladroitley, apply to St. Wilfred the character, word for word, which the earlier writer had drawn of St. Cuthbert.\* Eddius, however, soon strikes out his own line; he says very little about the most interesting portions of Wilfred's life but throws himself heartily into the details of the great process as to the see of York; and here he seems to consider the textual copies of letters, state papers and conciliar decrees more proper for the justification of his friend and master, than the scriptural parallels with which, in imitation of his model, he concludes the earlier chapters of his work. From Eddius it would be vain to expect moderation; St. Balthild, who happens to come across his path untowardly, is a "most wicked Jezebel;" Colman and his friends are Quartodecimanian heretics.

In the life of St. Ceolfrid, the earliest historical production of St. Benedict's schools—more justly Ceolfrid's schools—of Jarrow and Wearmouth, we find the same ease and justness of expression, the same measured quiet judgment which mark St. Bede. Indeed, in this case, Bede's later version of the life of Ceolfrid cannot be said to be an improvement, like his life of St. Cuthbert, on the original. Ceolfrid, by birth, connections, and sympathies, was at one with Wilfrid and Benedict, by the former of whom he was raised to the priesthood in the monastery of Ripon. He next proceeded to complete his studies at Canterbury; on his journey back he turned aside to stay for a while with St.

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\* Eddius picks up and adopts occasional traits in the same way: the biographer of St. Cuthbert speaks of his serenity, "*nec . . . tristia ora contraxit*" (§ 29); Eddius follows suit for St. Wilfrid, "*tristia ora nunquam contraxit*" (c. 3).

Botulph in East Anglia. Invited to cooperate in the foundation of the monastery of Wearmouth and the establishment of Jarrow, he joined Benedict, whose most faithful companion and friend he henceforth remained. The plans which they had matured in common he was enabled to complete and perfect by his own succession to the abbacy of both houses on Benedict's death in 690. The twenty-seven years of his government showed how the administration of great possessions was not incompatible with monastic simplicity and quiet, and how the active pursuit of learning and science may be united with the exact observance of regular discipline. At length, worn and broken, he felt the necessity of transferring power to younger and stronger hands, and determined to end his days in Rome. It can be no other than an eye-witness, writing directly under the impression of passing events, who describes the secret preparation for this last pilgrimage, the tears and prayers of the monks who fell at his feet, when on the point of departure he told them of his intention, beseeching him with tears to tarry for a while with them even if it were but for a day, the Mass at Wearmouth, when he gave to all Holy Communion for the last time, the kiss of peace, a leave-taking interrupted by grief on both sides. Then taking up a thurible he proceeded to the oratory of St. Lawrence, the brethren all following him and singing the psalm, *Deus misereatur nobis et benedicat nos*, with the antiphon, "The way of the just is made straight, and the path of the holy ones is prepared before them." After offering incense they returned to the church; Ceolfrid gave as his words of farewell an exhortation to charity and peace. As the long procession wound its way to the river's bank, the antiphon and psalm were taken up again, but the chant was turned to a broken song of sorrow. Once more he gave the kiss of peace, said a prayer on the shore, then mounting the vessel, sat on the prow with the deacons by him holding aloft the cross. Surveying thus for the last time the great company of his spiritual sons, whom he had guided and ruled so long, as the sound of mingled psalm and lament was wafted over the water the old man broke down in tears and sobs. "Have pity on them," he repeated again and again; "O Lord Almighty, be Thou their protection. Full well I know them, and never have I found men of better will or more ready obedience. O, Christ, my God, be Thou their defence." The long journey was more than the old man's enfeebled frame could bear; he died at Langres, from whence, before Alcuin's time, his relics were carried back to Wearmouth.\*

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\* "Cujus corpus erat post tempora multa repertum  
Integrum penitus, patriamque exinde reductum."

Alcuini, "Versus de Sanctis Eboracensis Ecclesiae," l. 1298-9.

Within a century from the arrival of St. Augustine, the English church was already sending out missionaries to preach the faith in the still heathen lands from which their forefathers had come. The movement is intimately connected with St. Wilfrid; not only did he set an example by his early labours in Friesland, but the methods adopted by those who came after him show the influence of his genius and character. The solicitude with which the Scottic monks had shunned the court, and avoided intercourse with the great, though a proof of their disinterestedness, was calculated not infrequently to retard rather than promote their success. In this matter St. Wilfrid followed a directly contrary plan, he addressed himself to the prince, gained the countenance of the ruler, and obtained thereby more ready hearing from the crowd. The history of his evangelistic labours in Sussex, as detailed by St. Bede, illustrates his practical turn of mind. Though close to Kent, nothing had yet been done for the conversion of the South Saxons. At Boscama, in the midst of woods, and not far from the sea, there was indeed a small community of five or six Scottic monks leading a life of admirable poverty, but the people around showed no inclination to follow their example, or even to hear what they had to say. On Wilfrid's arrival he found the country suffering from a great drought, and the inhabitants reduced to desperation by famine. The day of the first baptisms was marked by a heavy downfall of rain. St. Wilfrid did not let pass the opportunity for improving the favourable impression thus created in the minds of the people. Whilst they were suffering from famine their rivers and coast abounded with fish, which they did not know how to catch. He got for them, perhaps showed them how to make nets, and taught them how to fish. Whilst helping them thus to supply their temporal wants, he instructed the chiefs, whom he had baptized, how to give a practical example of charity, making them divide each catch into three parts, a third for the poor, a third for the fishermen, a third for their own use. Thus, too, in the length and breadth of the great possessions bestowed on him by king Edilwalch for the foundation of the monastery of Selsey, Wilfrid enforced the lessons he taught by associating them with sensible benefits; he freed his serfs as well as baptized them.

When, after the first ineffectual efforts of Egbert and Victbert, St. Willibrord, who had been brought up from his tenderest youth to manhood in the monastery of Ripon, began his mission in Friesland, his first care, following his master's line of policy, was to enter into close relations with Pippin of Heristal, then supreme in Austrasia and Neustria, and practically the master of Radbod, the Frisian duke. During the remaining forty years of his life, Willibrord remained on the same good terms with Pippin

and his son Charles Martel; and to this fact is due no small share of the permanence of his work on the lower Rhine and Batavia, where the cult of his companions, St. Wiro,\* St. Plechelm, St. Adalbert, and St. Marchelm is an abiding memorial of these Northumbrian missions. A generation later St. Willehad, also a native of Northumbria, advanced through Friesland further to the north-east, and established the see of Bremen, long an outpost of Christianity. Here, during his short episcopate, he built a house of God of wonderful beauty, says St. Anskar, his successor.

The great mission from the south of England, headed by St. Boniface, was marked from its very beginning by the same intimate alliance with the secular power, which was used also as an efficient means for bringing about the reform of the Church of France. Whilst availing himself of every circumstance which could tend to promote his ends, few missionaries have been filled with such a consuming desire as St. Boniface that the word of God might "run and be glorified." His life was, as he was wont to call it, a long and unceasing "pilgrimage." Without rest or haste for forty years he was moving from place to place, now opening the way for his disciples, now settling new missions, now repairing losses caused by inroads of the heathen, now confirming and strengthening those who had already embraced the faith, now cheering and encouraging the fainting hearts and drooping spirits of those companions and friends who, for love of him, and fired by a zeal which he knew how to infuse even into the absent, had come to encounter the difficulties and hardships of the mission life. Boniface's was essentially a Wessex mission, from Somerset and Dorset and Devon. Its best known members, St. Willibald, St. Wunibald, St. Lioba, St. Tecla,† St. Walburga were connected with him by ties of blood; St. Lullus of Mentz, and St. Burchardus of Würzburg, seem both to have come from Malmesbury; St. Wigbert of Fritzlar, probably from Glastonbury.‡ Most of the nuns were from Wimborne, the foundation of king Ina's sister St. Cuthburga, the sole member of the royal house of Wessex at this period who is found in the calendars. Interest at home in the work abroad was kept up by active and regular correspondence. Volunteers pressed forward in continual relays,

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\* Alcuin settles the question of Wiro's English origin:

"Ast alii atque alii prae-fata ex gente ministri,  
E quibus egregii Suidbert Viraque sacerdos."

"De Sanct. Ebor. Eccl." l. 1071, 1073.

† Tecla was "consanguinea" of Lioba. "Vit. S. Liobae," p. 230.

‡ Mabillon's conjecture; Jaffé, "Mon. Mog." p. 246, note 3, dissents; H. Hahn, after some pages of interesting, if inconclusive, discussion ("Bonifaz und Lul," p. 141-6), leaves the question as he found it, open still.

and Boniface was thus enabled to make good the gaps caused by death in his ranks, and to meet the calls of his ever-widening sphere of labour until a generation grew up in Germany able to supply a native clergy.

Never had the Anglo-Saxon Church reached such a pitch of prosperity, never was it in higher repute abroad, than on the eve of its decadence. In the course of a single generation men had seen an English missionary, the aged Boniface, chosen to consecrate the transfer of the Frankish crown to a new dynasty; an English scholar, Alcuin, preferred to be the trusted counsellor and minister, practically supreme, in a department in which Charles the Great most interested and prided himself. Pilgrims of all classes visiting the holy city of Rome spread the fame of English piety, devotion, and open-handedness among the populations through which they passed.\* A zeal for religion had become the chief national characteristic. But coincidently with this advance in show of exterior greatness fatal abuses had grown up, whose beginnings had not escaped the keen eye of Bede, and whose development is shown in the letters of Alcuin. To enter the ranks of the clergy was the least troublesome and surest road to public esteem; to found and enter a monastery was not merely a means of obtaining present relief from secular burdens, but also, through reserved rights of succession or patronage, a means of securing in future a convenient *décharge de famille*.† It may be readily understood how in these circumstances ecclesiastical discipline was undermined, monastic observance relaxed. The more ancient and considerable religious houses kept up doubtless in some degree their laudable traditions. "All that I saw when among you," writes Alcuin to the monks of Wearmouth, "whether in your house or your mode of life, pleased me exceedingly; this is your praise among men that in your habit and discipline you keep in the ways your fathers established."‡ But his repeated monitions sufficiently indicated the prevailing abuses—vanity in apparel, garments of silk and ornaments of gold, neglect of study, carelessness in the education of youth, frequent and sumptuous entertainments for visitors of rank, private

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\* There was a reverse to the shield; see the strong expressions of St. Boniface in his letter to Archbishop Cuthbert.

† The monastery described in the Poem of Ethelwulf was of this kind, but a favourable specimen. Eanmund, the founder, had been compelled by King Osred of Northumbria (705-16) to become a monk and he became one in earnest.

‡ Jaffé's "Mon. Alcuin," p. 843. In another place he writes of Wearmouth and Jarrow: "Videte librorum thesauros, considerate ecclesiarum decorem, aedificiorum pulchritudinem. Quam beatus est homo qui de his pulcherrimis habitaculis ad cœlestis regni gaudia transeat" (*ibid.* p. 199; cf. p. 374. Hexham).

junketings, "which avoid as if the very pit of hell," he says—in a word the luxury springing from superabounding wealth.\* In this age, the second half of the eighth century, we must look for a continuation of the line of the saints to the anchorites Herefrid, Balthere of Tiningham, and Echa of Crayke, the solitary servants of God whose deaths are recorded in the Northumbrian annals, rather than to the communities of Jarrow or Hexham, Peterborough or Canterbury. The destruction of Lindisfarne was the first sign of the coming change. In June 793 the Northmen bore down unawares on the defenceless island; they killed some of the monks outright, tortured others, and threw them into the sea, whilst others were reduced to slavery; the church and monastery were pillaged, the altars thrown down, the treasury rifled. "Never since the English race has dwelt in Britain," writes Alcuin, "has such dread fallen on the land. The church of St. Cuthbert is stained with the blood of its ministers, and lies despoiled; the most venerable sanctuary of Britain is abandoned to the ravages of pagans who have trodden under foot the bodies of the saints in the house of God. The wolves have laid waste the chosen vineyard, the heritage of the Lord is delivered over to a people who are not His."† Whilst these piratical invaders were thus infesting their borders, the English kingdoms were a prey to domestic dissensions. In Northumbria the old royal race had died out; usurper succeeded usurper, men who had support or vigour enough to seize, but not enough to hold, the reins of power.‡ The death of the great Offa opened the way to the same scenes of violence in Mercia, which soon became involved with Wessex in a struggle for supremacy. The period of these disturbances is marked by a group of youthful king-martyrs, in regard to whom little of authentic detail has been preserved, though the perpetuity of their cult is certain. To all may be applied the words of the elegy on St. Edward the Martyr embodied in the contemporary chronicles a century later. "Men put them to death; God glorified them. In life they were earthly kings, now they are heavenly saints. The earthly murderers would blot their memory out of the land; but the Avenger above has spread it abroad in the heavens and on earth. Now may we understand that men's wisdom and devices and counsels are like naught against God's decree." Of these king-martyrs,

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\* Jaffé's, "Mon. Alcuin," pp. 191, 193, 198, 200, 367, 375 (there was evidently no sparingness in almsgiving), 840-2, 846; also pp. 616-7, Alcuin's anxiety, amusing and significant, lest Archbishop Ethelard and his companions should shock Charles, and scandalize the Franks, by their fine clothes and free ways.

† *Ibid.* p. 181; cf. Sym. Dun., ed. Hinde, p. 32.

‡ Cf. *ibid.* p. 371, 373.

St. Ethelbert of East Anglia, slain by procurement of Offa, or his wife, has remained, notwithstanding the canonization of bishop Thomas of Cantilupe, the patron saint of Hereford.\* St. Alkmund, king of Northumbria, who perished in the year 800, was honoured at Derby. St. Kenelm, of Mercia, whose cult became widely diffused,† was the victim of a sister's machinations; St. Wistan, the last offshoot of the same royal house, was honoured in the abbey of Repton, in Derbyshire, and, after the translation of his relics in the reign of Canute, at Evesham.

Could any reliance be placed on the pseudo-Ingulph, or were it possible to disengage the elements of truth from the mass of legend or invention, many names possibly might be added to the list of those who met the martyr's death in the Danish invasions of the second half of the ninth century. Authentic tradition is sparing. The name of St. Ebba, the younger, of Coldingham, is found in the calendars of Durham. Thorney preserved the relics of St. Thancred. The cult of St. Edmund the King, one of the three "incorrupt," is too well known to be dwelt on.‡ His brother St. Edwold,§ like Torthred and Tova|| brother and sister of Thancred, escaped death, and spent the rest of his life at Cerne, in Dorsetshire.

The next century, the age of the monastic revival, is essentially the era of the monastic saints. The movement centres round Winchester, which see was occupied in almost unbroken line by prelates whose names occur in the calendars of that church. In Winchester it has its immediate origin with St. Elphege the elder; and for its source we must go back to St. Swithin, "the most meek bishop."¶ Little is known of him, but in that little we can see a return to the simplicity of life in vogue in earlier and happier times; the chief feature of his character seems to have been humility, and aversion to a pomp which, as

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\* St. Ethelbert mart. occurs also in the calendars of Llanthony and Winchcombe.

† Of calendars which have fallen under the notice of the present writer, St. Kenelm occurs in those of Salisbury (early), Hereford, Canterbury Christchurch (*not* St. Augustine's), Exeter, St. Albans, Winchester, Westminster (?), Tewkesbury, Wells, Ramsey, Evesham, Barking, Bath, and (of course) Winchcombe.

‡ "Sanctus Edmundus . . . quasi rex et princeps patriae compatriotarum sanctorum primus."—W. Malm., "*Gesta Pont.*" ed. Ham. p. 153.

§ In Sloane MS., 1772, pp. 15—18 are eight lessons "in Natale Sancti Edwoldi" (12th cent. or early 13th).

|| St. Tova occurs in an early litany of St. Edmundsbury quoted in Rock's "*Hierurgia*," first ed. p. 786 (*not* in the 15th cent. litany Harl. MS. 5334); also in an Exeter litany of the 11th cent. (Harl. MS. 863, f. 111 a).

¶ "Dep. S. Swithuni mitissimi episcopi" (a Winchester calendar 11th cent. in Hampson, "*Medii aevi Kal.*" i. 428).

bishop of the capital city of Wessex, and the king's trusted friend, it was not easy for him to avoid. This spirit was inherited and continued as a tradition by his successors. St. Frithstan is reported to have had a special love of poverty;\* St. Birnstan was noted for his care for the poor, whose wants he served with his own hands. St. Elphege the elder came probably from the west of England. It was at his earnest prayer that his young relative Dunstan embraced the monastic life; through his persuasion Ethelwold joined Dunstan at Glastonbury; in Winchester also, and therefore under the influence of Elphege, Oswald determined to renounce the world and retire to Fleury. We shall hardly be wrong, too, in tracing back to the counsels of Elphege the resolution of St. Odo, when appointed to the see of Canterbury, to assume the Benedictine habit. From Winchester proceeded in the same way the impulse for the renewal of the religious life for women. St. Edburga, daughter of king Edward the elder, gave in the Winchester house of Nunnaminster an example of self-abnegation and humbleness of spirit and kindness of heart. St. Elfgiva, the widow of king Edmund, Edburga's brother, in the year 940 became a nun at Shaftesbury, a woman always given to deeds of charity, and after her death famous for miracles.† Romsey Abbey was one of the earliest foundations for women in Edgar's days: its first abbesses, Merwinna and Ethelfleda, are inscribed in the martyrologies and invoked in the litanies of the English Church.‡

This is not the place to discuss the part taken by St. Dunstan in promoting the renewal and extension of monasticism, but it may be observed that the more the case is examined the truer will Adelard's statement appear that under Dunstan's influence the episcopate was entirely composed of monks. The traditional English view in later days, that he was an arrogant churchman, as cruel and stony-hearted as he was ambitious, against which Sir James Mackintosh first protested, has within the last few years been so completely discarded as to be forgotten, though it was little more than thirty years ago that, to the judgment of Hallam, he appeared an audacious and insolent monk, whose

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\* "Pauperem vitam transegit" (Matth. Par. "Chron. Maj." i. p. 449, and note 1). This may have come from a life now lost but extant in William of Malmesbury's time ("Gesta Pont." p. 162).

† Ethelwerdi "Chron.," iv. 6.

‡ St. Merwinna is at 10 Feb. in the Syon martyrology (Add. MS. 22285) St. Ethelfleda occurs in two litanies in Add. MS. 28188, an eleventh cent. pontifical and benedictional, the origin of which lies between Winchester and Exeter (probably Exeter copying Winchester). Among the "nomina feminarum illustrium" in the Newminster confraternity book (Stowe MS. 960, early 11th cent.) are "Maerbynn abbatiissa hrumesig coenobio," and "Aeðelflaed abbatiissa hrumesig coenobio" (p. 41).

behaviour was an intolerable outrage of spiritual tyranny. It is well to recall the fact to appreciate the change. The greatness of Dunstan's character, his political insight, his pre-eminently statesmanlike capacities, even his moderation, are allowed and insisted on. But it may be questioned whether the views now in vogue do not leave out of sight the most marked feature of his character and habits of life. The institution of his religious cult immediately after his death, its almost universal diffusion throughout the country among his contemporaries, is a fact of the highest significance. It was neither the statesman, the prelate, the monk, the patriot—though he was all these—who was thus honoured and venerated, but the man in whom those who had conversed and acted with him, seen and known him, had recognized the features of unworldliness, humbleness of heart, and love of God, which in their minds were associated with the idea of a saint. This note is distinctly perceptible in the account given by his anonymous biographer—the more so when we compare it with the busy benevolence, and the exterior religious preoccupations, set forth in the life of St. Ethelwold. Thrown more than any other in the midst of the world and its cares, Dunstan walked in a sense alone; he felt the responsibilities imposed on him both by his position and his commanding character which necessarily made him a leader: others might rely upon him, he could lean on God alone. Recollection in God became thus the constant habit of his mind, so that when seemingly immersed in the tumult of secular affairs he could without break or effort pass on at once and enter face to face into the Divine Presence.

Of the generation following, St. Aelfric, archbishop of Canterbury,\* was perhaps a disciple of St. Ethelwold; St. Wulfsig of Sherborne and St. Elphege the martyr were disciples of Dunstan. From the monastery of Glastonbury came also St. Sigfrid, the second apostle of the north, the leader in the last great missionary effort of the Anglo-Saxon Church, on which, as closing worthily its record and the roll of the early English Saints, we may dwell somewhat more in detail.†

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\* At Canterbury Cathedral, St. Aelfric had a commemoration on the 16 Nov., the feast of the ordination of St. Elphege, an *in cappis*, there equalling third grade, feast. He is also invoked in the Cathedral litanies.

† As the story is complicated and obscure it may be proper in some measure to justify its presentation in the text. In Malmesbury's "Antiq. Glaston. Eccl." is a list of bishops taken from that monastery "tempore Edgari regis," in which is the entry "Nonas Aprilis obiit Sigefridus Norwegensis Episcopus monachus Glastoniae: hic misit quatuor cappas, ii cum leonibus, et ii croceas" (Scr. xv. p. 325). This is evidently taken from the Glastonbury obit-book.—The only contemporary source for the

Among the marauding Vikings who infested the English coasts in the reign of Ethelred was Olaf Tryggvesson, a descendant, but exiled, of Harold Fairhair, founder of the Norwegian kingdom. In the year 994, in company with Sweyn, the dispossessed king of Denmark, he entered the Thames with some ninety vessels, and made an attempt on London, but met with a resistance from the townsmen, as stout as it was unexpected.

Scandinavian mission is Adam of Bremen, whose main preoccupation is not the mission, but the jurisdiction of the Church of Bremen in the north. Theodoric the monk represents Norwegian tradition of the latter part of the twelfth century. The memorials, liturgical and historical, of the English apostles of Sweden are brought together in Fant, "Scr. rer. Suec." ii. 1, pp. 344-412; the earliest legend of St. Sigfrid dates from the beginning of the 13th century. The sagas are as late or later.—Adam of Bremen knows the English bishop who came with Olaf Tryggvesson under the name of John: Theodoric and the sagas call him Sigward or John Sigward. According to these last Sigward passed on Olaf's death into Sweden. St. Sigfrid's legend makes Sigfrid come to Sweden, through Denmark, in the reign of King "Mildred" (Ethelred). Of the identity of the Norwegian John, or John Sigward, with the Swedish St. Sigfrid there can be little doubt (see K. Maurer, "Die Bekehrung des Norwegischen Stammes," i. 496-8; Keyser, "Den Norske Kirkes Historie," i. 62, 71). More than this; Maurer argues (pp. 589-91) for two Sigfrids, an earlier, identical with Adam's John, and a later mentioned under the name of Sigfrid by Adam; Dehio ("Gesch. des Erzbistums Hamburg-Bremen," i. Anm. pp. 26, 27) follows suit. It is argued that the Sigfrid (John) who came to Norway in 995 cannot be the Sigfrid of whom Adam says "Duravit usque ad tempora nostra." Now the only known dates in regard to Adam are that he became scholasticus of Bremen in 1069 and had written a good part of his history by 1075; his intimacy with King Sweyn of Denmark gives the impression that he was at this time a man of mature years (he certainly showed discretion), and may have been born in 1030 or even 1020. Had St. Sigfrid lived, say, to 1040, Adam's expression would very well apply: and contemporaries of Archbishop Polding will not think a missionary episcopate of forty-five years incredible. Again: Adam mentions Sigfrid as bishop "tertio loco" in Norway; but in reading his history it is clear that he did not know (or care to know) much about the English mission, and that his ideas of contemporaneity and succession in this matter are very vague; this chance expression is not a basis strong enough on which to build up a new theory of two Sigfrids, both English, both bishops, both labouring in Norway and Sweden, one immediately after the other. To look at the question in another way, on the assumption that the "younger" Sigfrid entered on the mission about 1026; the "duravit" of Adam of Bremen implies a long episcopate; Malmesbury wrote the "Antiq. Glast. Eccl." 1130-40; it seems unlikely that the memory of a missionary bishop and benefactor, dying some 60 or 70 years before, would be so far forgotten in his monastery that Malmesbury could put him back into King Edgar's days a hundred years earlier; a confusion between Edgar and Ethelred was easy enough. There are many minor points and many difficulties which would invite discussion: but enough has probably been said to justify the identification in the text of the Norwegian bishop from Glastonbury with the second apostle of the north.

Thus foiled, the allies ravaged the coast from Essex to Hampshire, where they were met by envoys from Ethelred, offering to buy them off, if they would desist from their plundering: an agreement was come to; Olaf was conducted to king Ethelred, who had gone to Andover, and there, by the hands of bishop Elphege, he received the sacrament of confirmation. As later events proved, Olaf was sincere. After wintering at Southampton, he set sail next year for Norway, with the view of expelling Jarl Hakon, under first Danish, then Swedish, protection practically the ruler of the country. He took with him, besides priests, an English bishop, consecrated for this mission, known at Glastonbury from whence he came, and in Sweden where he died, as Sigfrid, in Norway as Sigward and John.\* Olaf's success over Hakon was immediate and complete: the country greeted him with joy, as a deliverer from a hated tyranny; Hakon was slain, and his sons retired for protection to Olaf, known as Skotkonung, king of Sweden. The five short years of Olaf Tryggvesson's reign were devoted to the establishment and propagation of Christianity in his country. The ground had been already prepared. Hakon, son of Harold Fairhair, had been brought up in the court of king Athelstan, and when called thence, in 937, to rescue his native land from the tyranny of his half-brother, Eric, he is said to have brought with him a bishop and priests from England, and to have retained, at least, some tincture of Christianity to his death. Later still, there is trace of an Irish Christian settlement at Selio, north of Bergen. Their settlements in England and Ireland had long brought the Norwegians into contact with Christian peoples. It needed but the man to bring about the triumph of the new faith. None was more capable of such a work, among such a people, as Olaf Tryggvesson; young, vigorous, brave, chivalrous, full of resource and resolution, bearing down all obstacles, ever successful in his undertakings, he united, in their eyes, all the qualities of a hero. After securing his recognition throughout the country, he christianized Viken in the south, the region round about the modern Christiania. In 997, he made an expedition along the coast, destroying the temples, and compelling the inhabitants, after the methods of a Viking missionary, to adopt the new faith; meeting with a check in Nordland, in the extreme north, he returned to Viken for the winter. In 998, he started on another coasting expedition, establishing Christianity in the very heart of Norway, and

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\* Double names are not uncommon. St. Elphege the martyr was called also Godwine. John it is true does not sound old English; but in the list of monks of Winchester Cathedral monastery (Stowe MS. 960, p. 28) occurs a case somewhat similar—a monk called Wulfstan Jacob.

founding Nidaros (Drontheim), afterwards the metropolitan see. The year 999 was marked by another journey to Nordland; the next year, Olaf Tryggvesson met his death, on his return from an expedition against the Wends of Pomerania, in the naval fight of Svolder (near the modern Stralsund), against the united forces of Olaf Skotkonung of Sweden, and Sweyn, his former ally in England, now restored to the throne of Denmark. The sons of Jarl Hakon returned, and for the next fourteen years ruled Norway under the suzerainty of Denmark.

On the defeat and death of his zealous protector, Sigfrid did not lose heart. He now devoted himself to opening a way for the faith in the kingdom of the most powerful of the victors, Olaf Skotkonung of Sweden.\* This Olaf may have heard Christian teaching, perhaps have been predisposed in its favour, whilst in Denmark with his father, Eric the Victorious. The transfer of his residence into Gothia from Upsala in Upper Swedeland, the ancient capital of the Swedish kings, the meeting-place of the great yearly popular assembly, and with its famous temple the chief seat of the pagan worship, may perhaps be taken as showing some indisposition to the ancient religion. It was to West Gothia that Sigfrid turned, probably coming south by sea, passing through Sconia, the southernmost part of Sweden, but then belonging to Denmark, and so penetrating into the interior; at Wexiö, in the midst of a fertile and populous country, he fixed his tent. Meeting with no opposition from the inhabitants, he and his companions raised a little wooden church; crowds soon flocked to him, attracted by the novel garb, especially the ecclesiastical vestments of the strangers. Sigfrid let curiosity do its work with the multitude; but in teaching he addressed himself particularly to the chiefs, the seniors and wise men—in a word, the twelve “law-men” of the district, the extent of whose influence with the people he doubtless knew from experience at home.† These law-men were his first converts; he baptized them at a spring under the hill of Ostraby, close to Wexiö, known to the year 1568 by the name of St. Sigfrid’s well. As being themselves but ill acquainted with the language of the country, the missionaries now used the services of these law-men for promoting Christianity among the people, and were guided mainly by their counsel.‡ Sigfrid’s

\* From this point, when Swedish ground is reached, the legend of St. Sigfrid fits well with authenticated facts, and with the probabilities of the case, and there seems no valid ground for doubting its substantial truth.

† See Green, “Conquest of England,” pp. 122, 442, as to the law-men of the Five Boroughs, and at Chester.

‡ “De primis ex Anglia huc accitis apostolis observatio sat memorabilis,” says the editor in Fant, ii. 1, p. 356, note z.

next step, being assured of a favourable reception, was to address himself to the king, who was then in the northern parts of Gothia, at Husaby, on the southern shore of the Wener lake (just under the Kinnekull hill, near Lidköping). There is no means of fixing the exact dates, but it seems certain that the conversion of Olaf of Sweden must fall in the early years of the eleventh century, and soon followed the arrival of the missionaries in the country. Nor does there seem to be any sign of persecution; the story told in the legend of the murder of Sigfrid's three nephews indicates not that the new religion was opposed, but that, whilst the faith was accepted, the commandments, or least the commandment, "Thou shall not covet," was found hard to practise. The sight of the priestly vestments, and precious altar vessels, was a temptation greater than some of the neophytes could withstand. St. Sigfrid's success in Gothia was so complete that he felt encouraged to attempt to gain a footing in Upper Swedeland and the country round the Malar lake. This region was divided from Gothia by a thick forest; though less fertile, its people were hardy and vigorous, accustomed to give the law to the lowlanders, and to regard them with something like contempt. Here the missionary and his protector, the king, met with a check. These Swedes were proud of their old religion; and, whilst they were ready to agree that the king might without loss of their allegiance observe his new faith elsewhere, they would not suffer its introduction among themselves. Sigfrid now concentrated his efforts in Gothia. He must have been reinforced at an early date by fresh labourers from England; Gotebald, whose chief activity lay in Sconia, is also said to have preached in Sweden. The English bishops, Bernard, Gerbrand, and Reginbert, placed by our king Canute in Sconia, Seland, and Funen, much to the displeasure of the Bremen curia, doubtless extended help to their countrymen further north. The martyrdom of another Englishman, Wolfred, about the year 1029, marks a second and a fruitless attempt to preach the gospel in the heathen districts of Upper Swedeland, the last, it would seem, for the next thirty years.

Whilst thus engaged, Sigfrid had not lost sight of his work in Norway. Under the rule of the sons of Jarl Hakon, it does not appear whether he took any part in directing the Norwegian mission; but the faith had been too firmly established by their predecessor to be affected by their indifference to its interests. After the death of their suzerain Sweyn of Denmark in the year 1014, Norway chose as king another descendant of Harold Fairhair, another Olaf, the saint and martyr. Olaf's reign on the one hand was a continual struggle with Canute, son of Sweyn, for his country's independence; on the other, he pursued at

home, with singleness of aim, the policy of finally completing its christianization, an object accomplished somewhat in the fashion in which it had been so effectually begun by his kinsman, Tryggvesson. In both endeavours he was successful, but at the cost of his life. Though details are wanting, Sigfrid is said to have aided him with his counsels, and we are told that he had with him many bishops and priests from England; some of them, we can hardly doubt, were refugees who could not accommodate themselves in their own country to the rule of Canute the Dane, and were glad to retire to the protection of his rival in Norway. Among these prelates was bishop Rodulph, a relative of St. Edward the Confessor. Rodulph, long after, at a great age, as his snow-white hair betokened, returned to England, and, by Edward's influence, was elected, in 1050, abbot of Abingdon. On the murder of Olaf, in 1030, he was buried in the church of Drontheim, by a nephew of St. Sigfrid, Bishop Grimkel; by whom also a year later his relics were taken from the tomb, and raised for public veneration.\* The same policy of obtaining bishops from England or France was pursued by St. Olaf's son and successor, Magnus, and by his brother, Harold Hardrader (1047-66), who at the same time refused to receive Thoolf and Sigward, consecrated for the Norwegian mission by archbishop Adalbert of Bremen. Such jealousy is easily explained: behind the archbishop stood the Emperor, with his vague, but dangerous, claims to supremacy; ecclesiastical dependence might in the future easily bring with it political complications. The Bremen party had to be content with seizing such of these stranger prelates as came within their reach, and exacting from them a promise of fidelity to the metropolitan, as in the case of Asgoth and Bernard, consecrated at Rome by the Pope. Adam of Bremen has little that is good to say of this English clergy; but the character which he gives, in 1075, of the race which they had converted, and to which they had ministered for so long, may be allowed to speak on behalf of the pastors. He describes the descendants of the terrible sea-kings of old, as, in his day, a people peaceful, truth-loving, content with, or even liberal in the midst of, their poverty, frugal, chaste beyond all other nations, holding the clergy in the highest veneration, hearing Mass every day, and making thereat a daily offering. The account given about the same time of king Olaf, son of Harold

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\* Harl. MS. 2961, an Exeter book, saec. xi., probably of Leofric's time (say 1060-70), contains (ff. 123-6) part of an office of St. Olave, doubtless the most ancient text extant, differing considerably from any of those printed by Storm (*"Mon. Hist. Norwegiae,"* pp. 229-70). It may not improbably be the original office, sent to England by Bishop Grimkel.

Hardrader, by the refugee, Turgot,\* afterwards monk and prior of Durham, tallies with what is said by the Bremen historian; Turgot describes Olaf as full of religion and piety, much given to reading the Scriptures, fond of learning; it was his wont to help the priest to put on his sacred vestments, and he frequently served Mass with great devotion.

The year of St. Sigfrid's death is unknown. The latest date at which he is mentioned is 1029, when he visited Bremen, to see the newly appointed archbishop Libentius, and report to him on his mission work—a characteristic trait, for he seems to have been of an amiable and conciliatory temper. He was then settled in Sweden, probably at Wexiö, the scene of his first mission work in that country, and the place of his death. In the reigns of Anund (1024–52) and Emund, sons of Olaf Skotkonung, Christianity kept within its old borders of Gothia. There was the same indisposition in Sweden, as in Norway, to admit bishops of Bremen ordination, and for the same reasons. The Swedish mission still continued therefore to be supplied chiefly from England; of the bishops, Meinhard, Adalbert, and Osmund are mentioned. This last, greatly favoured by king Emund, was a relative of St. Sigfrid,† and educated in the schools of Bremen; he afterwards went for consecration to Rome, and acted in Sweden practically as metropolitan. At last he returned to England, and remained some time at the court of Edward the Confessor. He is described then as a man far advanced in years, and of a particularly dignified demeanour. Charmed by the report which he heard of the monastery of Ely, he went there, was received into fraternity, and remained there till his death a few years after the Conquest.

With King Emund ended the ancient royal race of Sweden, the Upsal kings. His successor was Stenkil, son of a jarl in West Gothia. Such an election shows that the preponderance had already passed from the northern to the southern, from the heathen to the Christian part of the country. The church of Bremen now at length obtained the desired entry into Sweden of bishops of its

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\* Sym. Dum. ed. Hinde, p. 95. This account has been hardly dealt with by the critics. Why "legend" (*Ibid.* pp. xxvii, lxi.)? It is easy to conceive many reasons why Symeon should not insert in his *History of the Church of Durham* the story which the Prior used to tell of his early adventures in the world—reasons which would not prevent Symeon by-and-by, long after Turgot's death, from jotting it down "in the privacy of his cell" (p. xxxi.), as too good to be lost.

† Adam of Bremen says Sigfrid was Osmund's uncle; Theodorico, that Grimkel was Sigfrid's nephew. Others of these early Norwegian and Swedish bishops are represented as relatives. Probably it was much the same in the Scandinavian mission of the eleventh century as in the German of the eighth.

own ordination, Adalward and Egino, coupled with the expulsion or withdrawal of the obnoxious Osmund. Such a line of action was politic. Osmund stood alone; the archbishop of Bremen was a power, which it might be desirable for the founder of a new dynasty to conciliate, or dangerous to offend. But when the new prelates proposed to attack the still existing heathenism in its stronghold, Stenkil interposed; he had no intention of alienating any of his own subjects. His death, after a short reign, in 1066, opened a long period of disorder and violence. Adalward and Egino went home.\* In fact, the moment of the last conflict with heathenism was come. The new religion had already advanced as far as the southern shores of the Malar lake, though its hold in that part of the country was still precarious. Stenkil's sons, Inge and Halstan, thought they need no longer pursue their father's cautious course, but might press on the conversion of Swedeland itself. Of the actual series of events in the next ten or twelve years, little is known. A resolute resistance was certainly offered. The martyrdom of St. Eskill,† an English preacher, at Stregnaes, and of St. Botuid (a Swedish priest educated in England), near Stockholm, is at once evidence of the fury of the struggle, and a pledge of triumph. Inge and Halstan were driven from the throne, but emerging at length victorious from the long conflict, their first care after the pacification of the country was to send a bishop to Gregory VII.‡ to report the conversion of their people, and enter into direct communication with the centre of Christendom.

The churches of Sweden honoured in the liturgy besides these three, St. Sigfrid, St. Eskill, and St. Botuid, a fourth apostle of the country. St. David, who evangelized Westmannia, was an English monk; fired with zeal, he came to meet a martyr's death, but his quiet life in the observance of his holy rule, and peaceful death in the midst of his community, a martyr

\* "Persecutiones metuentes," says Adam of Bremen (iii. 52).

† As to St. Eskill see also Aelnoth's "Life of St. Canute" (written 1110-30), in Langebek, iii. 330. In Fant, ii. 1, p. 390, a curious account of an ostentatious pilgrimage of William Molteck, an Englishman of Swedish descent, in 1568; the wells of SS. Sigfrid, Eskill, and David were thereupon destroyed as monuments of superstition.

‡ "Episcopus vester," says Gregory VII. in his reply (Jaffé, "Mon. Greg." p. 488). The position taken up by Archbishop Liemar in the quarrel between Henry IV. and the Pope, makes it unlikely that he was of Bremen ordination. "Unde remur" (to adopt the words of the ninth century Fontenelle chronicler) "aliquem venerabilem virum de gente Anglorum, qui maxime familiares, apostolicæ sedis semper existunt. . . tunc temporis in Romana affuisse urbe." The metrical chronicle of the bishops of Skara gives a succession of three English bishops for the latter part of the century, Rodulward, Ricolphus, and Edward ("Mon. Hist. Vet. Eccl. Sueo-Goth.," ed. Benzeliuss, p. 73, and the notes coll. 221-3).

in desire, note the advent of less troubled and less heroic, but for the missioner perhaps hardly less trying, days.\*

The earliest biographies of saints written in England have been already mentioned. The lives of the missioners in Germany were written abroad; even Alcuin's life of St. Willibrord is dedicated to a foreign prelate, Beornrad of Sens. At home, from the death of St. Bede, there is a complete break for more than two hundred years, if we except an Anglo-Saxon martyrology,† assigned by the editor to King Alfred's days, containing amongst many others concise notices of some English saints. The first sign of a revival coincides with the beginnings of the Benedictine reform; about the middle of the tenth century archbishop Odo translated to Canterbury relics of St. Wilfrid; at his request, the life by Eddius was put into verse by Fridegode, whether priest or monk does not appear, who is said to have been tutor to Odo's nephew, St. Oswald. The sole interest of this versification lies in showing the character of the teaching when Oswald and Ethelwold and Dunstan were young. Pompous obscurity was the aim of the stylist. That a word was uncommon or derived from the Greek was enough to gain for it the preference; it is no wonder therefore that the manuscripts of Fridegode (and this holds good more or less of some of the works mentioned below) abound with interlinear glosses.

In the next generation Abingdon and Winchester are the most productive schools; Ramsey and Worcester, which may be grouped together as both under St. Oswald's influence, hold a middle place. Glastonbury, Westminster, Canterbury, produced nothing. Dunstan, no less than Ethelwold, was zealous for the honour of the saints of his country, each in his own way. Ethelwold's devotion to St. Swithin showed itself in the great minster he rebuilt at Winchester, its sumptuous fittings, the translation of the relics with its pomp and ceremony; Dunstan's eyes would fill with tears, as he told his disciples the story of the martyrdom of St. Edmund, which he had heard in his youth

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\* "Pater David stirpe clarus,  
Vita justus, arte gnarus,  
Digna proles Angliæ,  
Cur venisti de remotis  
In indoctis Suevis Gothis  
Viam vitæ quaerere?"

(9th Resp. at Matins of St. David's office, Fant, ii. 1, p. 411).

† Edited by O. Cockayne, in "The Shrine," pp. 46-157. The English saints commemorated are: Ethelburga (of Barking), Etheldreda, Ethelwold (of Lindisfarne), Aidan, Alban, Augustine, Benet Biscop, Chad, Cedd (of London) (26 Oct.), Coelfrid, Cuthbert, Eadbert (of Lindisfarne), Eastorwin, Guthlac, the two Hewalds, Higbald (14 Dec.), Hilda, John (of Beverley), Oswald, Pega (9 Jan.) and Wilfrid the elder.

from the lips of the saint's armour-bearer on that fatal day. Dunstan would seem to have patronized foreign scholars; Abbo of Fleury's legend of St. Edmund\* was mainly based on information supplied by him; of the contemporary lives of Dunstan, one was written probably by a foreign priest, who had taken refuge in England, the other by a monk of St. Peter's at Ghent. St. Ethelwold, it is conjectured, may himself have continued at Winchester one of the Saxon chronicles. Two of his monks celebrated the miracles of St. Swithin, Lantfred in prose, Wolstan in verse; the latter wrote also, in the beginning of the eleventh century, a biography of Ethelwold, as Aelfric of Abingdon had done but a short time before. Lantfred is the most turgid of the Winchester school, holding fast to the traditions of an earlier day; but it must be admitted that in his preliminary chapter, printed by Mr. T. Wright,† he is at his worst; some parts of the work, which abounds in dialogues, show that Lantfred could write in a straightforward way if he pleased. Wolstan shook himself free from earlier trammels, and if his style is (as Malmesbury says) but middling, it is at least clear—which is more than can always be said for Malmesbury himself. Wolstan has certainly the merit of making his works interesting; he was an observer. Of much higher historical value is the life of St. Oswald by an anonymous monk of Ramsey, lately edited by Canon Raine; the style is said to be "stiff," but it is intelligible, except on one or two occasions, when the author considered it prudent perhaps to hint at some recent events in phrases studiously vague. To the Ramsey school of this time may also be attributed (if we may judge by the style) the passion of SS. Ethelbert and Ethelbriht prefixed by Symeon of Durham to his chronicle.‡ It would seem likely that the (inedited) life of St. Egwin would be written by a Worcester monk; whatever may be the case as to the authorship, we have here an illustration of the unsystematic way in which so much of the English hagiological literature has been dealt with by editors; the best material in print for the life of St. Egwin (the pedigree is intricate) is a thirteenth-century revision of a life written in the twelfth, differing considerably

\* In the Lambeth MS. 362, a marginal annotator has divided it into eight lessons, as though for liturgical use.

† "Biogr. Brit. Lit. Anglo-Saxon Period," p. 470: the dedicatory epistle in "Memorials of St. Dunstan," 369-70. Lantfred's work seems to have been written in 994 or 995: "Ex quo die (the translation in 970) usque ad praesens tempus . . . jam sole vicesimum quintum replicante annum" (MS. Reg. 15, C. vii, f. 20 a).

‡ Ed. Hinde, pp. 1-8; the first eighteen lines, and the last two, "cujus gratia," &c., seem Symeon's own, and the end of the legend seems to be omitted by him.

their several capacities, bear their portion of its burthens ; all have a right to participate equally in its advantages, and even minorities have a right to representation and to equal justice. But the Voluntary Schools do not receive equal justice, and their representations meet with little attention from head quarters. A rival system, started under false pretences, with hypocritical professions of liberality, aggressive and intolerant, and possessing practically unlimited command of the public purse, threatens and thirsts for their extinction. But they cannot be extinguished, unless it be through the supineness and neglect of their supporters. The interest and existence of all the Voluntary Schools, of whatever denomination, are inextricably bound up together. Catholic, Church of England, Wesleyan, &c., must stand or fall with one another. There can be no exceptional legislation. People are beginning to see this, and to sink their petty and sectarian jealousies, and we, Catholics, must, by wise, prudent, and charitable co-operation with our fellow-citizens of the various denominations, strive to strengthen our own position, and theirs at the same time. We must lay to heart the moral of the old fable of the bundle of sticks, and stick together, supporting one another, and counting all who are not against us as being with us. We do not stand alone in our grievances, nor in our contention for equal rights ; but even if we were alone, with all our weakness and poverty, the just and generous nation in which we dwell so freely and so happily will not allow us to be unfairly treated and oppressed, if we can only make it understand our case. We must, then, use our best endeavours to teach it to understand ; in justice to our country, as well as to ourselves, it is our duty to make known our wants.

The religious instincts of the people have forced upon the School Boards, in nearly every instance, the recognition of the necessity of a religious education. These Boards, instituted to supplement the educational efforts of all classes and all creeds, and to supply deficiencies, are unable to give a religious education to the satisfaction of all. They endeavour to do so by watering down Christianity till it becomes colourless enough to take any after-tincture that may be poured into the little vessels that have received it. But this process of watering down cannot satisfy the consciences of any who profess a definite form of Christianity ; much less can it be tolerated as applied to the Catholic faith. Catholic children can never be allowed to submit to such teaching ; neither can Church of England men, or Wesleyans, who are sincere and earnest in their religious convictions, submit to it any more than ourselves. If they have any real belief in the doctrines they profess, or loyalty and attachment to their religious organization, if they have any sense of self-help,

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an obscure pilgrimage, might be visited at Lewes, and St. Cuthman at Steyning, on the road to Winchester, which, with its neighbourhood, came near to rival Kent. After Winchester, Wilton, Shaftesbury, Wimborne, and Middleton, with its relics obtained by King Athelstan from Brittany, might mark further stages westward. The journeys were now longer, to St. Sidwell at Exeter, St. Rumon at Tavistock, and St. Petrock at Bodmin. Returning northwards, after Glastonbury the sanctuaries follow in quick succession: Congresbury, Gloucester, which now kept the relics of St. Oswald the King, Winchcombe, Evesham, Malmesbury, Worcester, Hereford, Leominster, Wenlock, whence the pilgrim might turn aside to St. Chad and St. Cedd at Lichfield, and St. Edith at Pollesworth; completing the round the last stage was reached at St. Werburgh's shrine at Chester.

And here for the present we may end our survey.

EDMUND BISHOP.

## ART. VIII.—THE CATHOLIC EDUCATION QUESTION IN ENGLAND AND IRELAND.

### I. ENGLAND.—ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS.

IT becomes daily more and more evident that those who have the interests of religion at heart must be up and stirring in the cause of Christian education. We could not, did we wish it, stop the educational movement; but we do not wish it. We are as earnestly impressed as our neighbours with its necessity. We know full well that for weal or for woe its progress is inevitable, and it depends upon ourselves, upon our zeal, our self-sacrifice, our earnest and indefatigable labours, whether the advance shall be upon the lines of Christian faith and practice or turned into an opposite direction. Secularism is, amongst a large class of so-called Liberals, the prevailing fashion of the day. They are energetic and persevering, and have been enabled, through certain provisions of the Act of 1870, to gain great advantages on the side of their party. It must be the work of Christian men to counteract their efforts. This may be done first by stirring up Christian zeal, by promoting the Christian life, and setting good example; and, second, by carefully directing into Christian channels the fertilizing streams of education. In the children of the present day lies the hope of the church of the future, and we cannot fulfil our present

duties to God and to the church unless we do all that in us lies to promote the Christian education of the young.

Every one who is not hopelessly behind his age is impressed with the importance of this question ; it is not of merely private significance ; every parent and guardian who is alive to his duties must admit the necessity of securing the best education possible for those under his charge. But the State is also interested ; it sees the necessity of providing for its own welfare and safety by encouraging, and, where practicable, enforcing, the education of its citizens. In the family, in society, in civil life, in trade, and in warfare, the welfare of the community is bound up with the intelligence, industry, and aptitude of its subjects. This is now so fully realized that ignorance and neglect can no longer be tolerated. The race of the uneducated is fast passing away. Those who are in advanced life already perceive the difference, in a comparatively short period in the life of a nation, which has been made even by the imperfect methods hitherto followed ; but the science of education is in process of constant improvement, and the result of all the thought and labour devoted to it by the most earnest and able men of the time will be to bring it to such perfection that its effects will be of the greatest importance. We must strive to prevent those effects from being pernicious to the cause of Christian truth.

The advance of education need not disturb us if we do our best to keep up with it. Why should we fear ? We have truth and justice on our side. Is God's arm shortened ? Is His love less ? Is His providence no longer exerted in favour of His church and of her children ? There are difficulties in the way ? Yes : " But if ye have faith, but as a grain of mustard seed, ye shall say to this mountain, Remove from hence hither, and it shall remove, and nothing shall be impossible to you." God is not wanting, nor can His Providence sleep : we must work " whilst it is yet day." Our progress in the past has shown us what may be done even with our limited means. We may well take courage from the retrospect, and with the assurance of success, with the blessing of God, gird up our loins for continued effort and for further progress.

State aid and State supervision in elementary education have already been recognized as a State necessity. Previously to the year 1870 this aid and supervision were, with whatever imperfections in the system, administered with equal justice and impartiality ; but, with the passing of the Act of that year, a new state of things was inaugurated, fraught with hardship and injustice to the supporters of all Voluntary Schools. The boasted principle of English legislation is the freedom and equality in the eyes of the law of all subjects of the State. All, according to

their several capacities, bear their portion of its burthens ; all have a right to participate equally in its advantages, and even minorities have a right to representation and to equal justice. But the Voluntary Schools do not receive equal justice, and their representations meet with little attention from head quarters. A rival system, started under false pretences, with hypocritical professions of liberality, aggressive and intolerant, and possessing practically unlimited command of the public purse, threatens and thirsts for their extinction. But they cannot be extinguished, unless it be through the supineness and neglect of their supporters. The interest and existence of all the Voluntary Schools, of whatever denomination, are inextricably bound up together. Catholic, Church of England, Wesleyan, &c., must stand or fall with one another. There can be no exceptional legislation. People are beginning to see this, and to sink their petty and sectarian jealousies, and we, Catholics, must, by wise, prudent, and charitable co-operation with our fellow-citizens of the various denominations, strive to strengthen our own position, and theirs at the same time. We must lay to heart the moral of the old fable of the bundle of sticks, and stick together, supporting one another, and counting all who are not against us as being with us. We do not stand alone in our grievances, nor in our contention for equal rights ; but even if we were alone, with all our weakness and poverty, the just and generous nation in which we dwell so freely and so happily will not allow us to be unfairly treated and oppressed, if we can only make it understand our case. We must, then, use our best endeavours to teach it to understand ; in justice to our country, as well as to ourselves, it is our duty to make known our wants.

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plain reason is, and there is no use in blinking it, that they distrust the teachers, and dislike the whole tone, and moral and religious atmosphere. So well is this known that it was quite safe to make the declaration cited above, with the certainty that it would be approved by their hearers ; yet our scruples are derided or disregarded, and we are thought to be very unreasonable in making any objection to the forcing of our children into Board Schools ! Nonconformists and Secularists receive, on the contrary, every consideration, for it is a well-known practice of the Education Department that when Catholic or Church of England schools only are found in a district where there is an appreciable number of Nonconformists, although there may be in the existing schools places sufficient for the accommodation of their children, they are not to be considered "suitable," and a Board or a Nonconformist School proposed to be erected in such a locality would not be considered "unnecessary." Now, the conscientious objection of Catholics to the Broad Christianity of the Board Schools is much stronger than that of Nonconformists or Secularists to Catholic schools. If, therefore, the consciences of Nonconformists are to be so consulted, it is only just that the consciences of Catholics should be similarly protected from outrage. Yet cases are of annual occurrence in which the grant to new Catholic schools is refused on the ground that there is already sufficient accommodation in existing schools, and that the proposed Catholic school is therefore "unnecessary." This course of proceeding is manifestly unjust, and we can never cease our efforts until the redress of this grievance is obtained.

It appears most strange to us that the Education Department, which is so considerate to the consciences of Nonconformists and Secularists, should be so slow to perceive the equal claim of Catholics for such aid as will protect their children from the necessity of frequenting schools which violate their parents' conscience. All parents have an equal and inherent right to educate their children under those religious influences which their conscience lays down as true and necessary. This right is practically violated wherever the State refuses to give to a Catholic school aid on the same conditions, and equal to that which is given to the Board or any other school.

But the injustice and hardship of the present system do not end here. Whilst the religious bodies are prevented in School Board districts, by the withholding of the annual grant, from building at their own cost, schools for themselves, they are compelled, in their character of ratepayers, to contribute to the erection of Board Schools, on which the outlay is often most extravagant. This outlay is frequently incurred not only to supply existing wants, but very often for the purpose of blocking

out the possibility of erecting future denominational schools, by preoccupying the ground.

One of the many false pretences under which the Act of 1870 was passed was, that the educational efforts of the supporters of Voluntary Schools having failed to provide for the wants of the poorer classes it was necessary to supply deficiencies by "supplementing those efforts." It was professedly in the interest of the poor that the Act was passed—for the benefit of those who could not afford to pay for their children's instruction without State aid. To such a scheme, fairly and justly applied, there could be no possible objection; but this primary intention has been shamefully ignored. The poorer children have in many cases been left to be dealt with by the charity of the religious bodies, whilst the School Boards have adopted an ambitious programme, enabling them to compete with the higher and privately conducted schools. These the School Boards can ruin, because they are enabled, out of the funds which should go to the education of the poor, viz., the rates, to undersell their rivals. In some instances the powers contained in the Act of 1870 are stretched so as to make it possible to draw from the surrounding country, outside the School Board district, the children of parents well able to pay for their schooling at adequate rates; these take railway contract tickets for their children, who get their midday meal in the towns, and often by means of an expensive apparatus provided in the schools themselves; by these means they secure a superior education at the cost of a few pence per week, so that it is for them a paying speculation. This is rendered possible by means of the ratepayers' money, which, having been thus spent, the School Boards must then have recourse to the public purse again, to supply additional schools for the poorer children, who should have been the first considered. If they had been so considered, the schools in question would have been "unnecessary."

The "central school" in Manchester is a case in point. In this school it has been shown that nearly 40 per cent. of the children come from places outside the School Board district, whilst the Board finds itself, after having found accommodation for these outsiders by building at the rate of £30 per head, compelled again to supply a lower class of schools for the use of the poorer children resident in the immediate locality, for whom, at the very time they were building for higher-class children, there was not sufficient accommodation available. Struggling shopkeepers and other ratepayers of small means are thus plundered in order to pay for the erection of an expensive middle-class school, and when this has been done, are then compelled to pay also for schools for the really indigent, in

whose interest the Act was passed! No denominational schools may then be commenced in that neighbourhood, because the Department would rule them to be "unnecessary." There are other objectionable features in these proceedings which go to intensify the wrong, but without further specification, quite enough has been said to show the extravagance, injustice and tyranny of the system. Those who are interested in the maintenance of the Voluntary Schools have frequently pointed out and complained of the favouritism shown to the School Boards by the Education Department; but it unfortunately appears to be the policy deliberately adopted under the present *régime* to support their aggressive tendencies wherever practicable, and the only resource left is in combination and agitation. The supporters of Voluntary Schools are quite able to vindicate their own rights if they will assert them, and in this country the only way to secure the redress of grievances is to make them known, and then persistently to urge the claim for justice.

It is assumed that the quality of the teaching in the Board Schools is superior to that of Voluntary Schools, and this is supposed to be proved by the larger number of "passes" on examination. But there are certain conditions of the contest which place in a more favourable light the results achieved by the Voluntary Schools when compared with their rivals. Many of the former are small country schools. It is admitted that small schools are more expensive and less easily worked than large ones, whilst the Board Schools are mostly large and attended by town children. These are naturally sharper-witted, and more readily take instruction than country children; besides that many of the latter must necessarily, owing to distance and other adverse circumstances, be less regular in their attendance. Another circumstance having an adverse influence on the Voluntary Schools is that they contain a larger proportion of the children of the very poor, whose homes and habits are unfavourable to educational progress. A single fact in illustration of this which has special reference to Catholic schools is that whilst the Board Schools contain only 4·07 of free scholars, in the Catholic schools no less than 12·33 per cent., in consequence of the poverty of their parents, pay no fees whatever. Notwithstanding these adverse influences, combined with the limited resources from which our means of support are drawn, we find that at an expenditure of £1 10s. 9d. per head in Catholic schools, they have "passed" an average of 66·01 per cent., whilst the School Boards, at an expenditure of £3 5s. 5½d. per head, have only succeeded in passing, throughout the whole of the country, 69·63 per cent. (See pp. 90, 91, 215, of Educational Report for 1884.)

With equal pecuniary resources, the poor, ill-clad, ill-fed

children who attend the Catholic schools would, under the care of their zealous pastors and teachers, beat all the Board Schools in the kingdom, notwithstanding the better circumstances of the parents and the advantages afforded by the superior homes of the well-to-do class attending those schools.

But the plea of greater economy with equal efficiency is not the only claim which the Voluntary Schools possess for consideration. They were for more than half a century before Board Schools were known, engaged in the efficient discharge of the duty of providing for the education of the poor; they were in possession of the ground; they were called into existence by the charity and zeal of their managers and supporters; their charges were generously and cheerfully borne by the religious bodies, at a time when Nonconformist and Secularist efforts in the cause of elementary education were, with the exception of carping and cavil, *nil*. These schools began to be recognized and parsimoniously assisted by the State in the years between 1832 and 1847: at the latter period they began to be more efficiently aided, and up to the year 1870, when the Education Act was passed, they performed practically the whole of the work of elementary education throughout the country. In that year the State favour, under the hypocritical pretence of supplementing their efforts, was unjustly transferred from them to the Board Schools.

The supporters of Voluntary Schools are reproached with greediness, because they ask for increased support to enable them to compete with their unfairly favoured rivals. But in this case, as in all others where work has to be done by temporal efforts, money means power, it means better teachers, more of them, better apparatus, better buildings. Free the Voluntary Schools from unjust competition, give them larger grants, which will enable them to secure a sufficient staff and apparatus, and it will soon be seen how groundless are the praises which are heaped upon a system that obtains its successes only by means of lavish expenditure and State favour. That this is true is proved by a statement made in the month of November, by the chairman of the Preston School Attendance Committee. In this town there is a large Catholic population. There being no School Board, all the schools are Voluntary, and the results of their teaching are far ahead, both in economy and efficiency, of the average of all the School Boards in the kingdom, which only earned 16s. 6d. per head on examination, whilst the Preston Voluntary Schools earned 17s. 8d.

But the Catholic schools are not the only sufferers from a system which, as shown by the statements made above, presses with peculiar hardship and injustice upon them. The hardship and injustice bear heavily upon all denominational schools alike, whether of Church of England, Wesleyan, or other religious

bodies. The ratepayers also suffer. Many of the ratepayers, whilst contributing their share of the school rates in their districts, are also subscribers to the Voluntary Schools belonging to their own religious body. They are thus twice taxed; but in addition to this, by a refinement of injury and insult these Voluntary Schools, supported by the reduplicated taxation of their subscribers, are themselves compelled to pay a portion of the school rate; so that the conscientious ratepayer may be said to be thrice taxed on this score: first, he pays his school rate, second, he subscribes to his denominational school, and third, a portion of that subscription is again demanded for the support of the Board School. If he were only a Secularist he would get off with one payment, and that a comparatively small one, but as he is a Christian, with a definite religious creed, he must pay three times.

The tables given below have reference, the first to the cost per head in the different classes of schools, the second to the public aid per head given out of rates and taxes to these several schools, and the third shows the comparative income and expenditure of all the elementary schools, Board and Voluntary.

## I.

		£	s.	d.
Board Schools, Educational cost per child (see Report, pp. 90, 91) .		2	14	11
Church of England Schools	“ “ “	1	15	2½
Wesleyan Schools	“ “ “	1	15	0½
Catholic Schools	“ “ “	1	10	8½

But the public aid per child, given out of the rates and taxes, to which all alike contribute, is as follows:—

## II.

	Rates.	Grant.	Total.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
School Boards . . . .	0 16 1	0 16 6	1 12 7
Church of England Schools . .	Nil.	0 15 10	0 15 10
Wesleyan Schools . . . .	Nil.	0 16 6½	0 16 6½
Catholic Schools . . . .	Nil.	0 15 8½	0 15 8½

But in addition to that expenditure upon maintenance which covers the annual educational cost per child in the Voluntary Schools, there are in the case of the Board Schools many expenses inevitably incurred in the working of a great public system, but still further aggravated by its extravagant and ambitious working, as the following table shows:—

**VOLUNTARY SCHOOLS (ENGLAND AND WALES).—A YEAR'S INCOME AND EXPENDITURE.**—2,098,310 Scholars in Average Attendance.—[Report of the Committee of Council on Education, 1883–84, pp. 204–6.]

INCOME.			Per Scholar in Average Attendance.			EXPENDITURE.			Per Scholar in Average Attendance.		
	£	s. d.	£	s. d.		£	s. d.	£	s. d.		
Endowment.....	150,779	3 3	0 1	5½	Teachers' Salaries, 2,879,947	8 1	1 7	5½			
<b>VOLUNTARY Con-</b>					<b>Books and Appa-</b>						
<b>tributions .....</b>	715,669	8 5	0 6	9½	<b>ratus .....</b>	216,836	12 1	0 2	0½		
School Pence .....	1,169,171	16 8	0 11	2	Miscellaneous .....	588,337	9 3	0 5	7½		
Government Grant	1,620,877	10 6	0 15	5½							
Other Sources.....	39,048	18 7	0 0	4½							
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>£3,695,546</b>	<b>17 5</b>	<b>1 15</b>	<b>2½</b>	<b>Total .....</b>	<b>£3,685,121</b>	<b>9 5</b>	<b>1 15</b>	<b>1½</b>		

INCOME.				Per Scholar in Average Attendance.			
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	
Government Grant	855,812	10	3	0	16	7½*	
RATES .....	1,990,162	19	9	1	18	8½	
School Fees and Books sold to Children .....	514,742	14	11	0	10	0	
Endowment .....	3,778	10	11	0	0	0½	
Contributions in aid of Industrial Schools .....	18,011	9	8	0	0	4½	
Other Sources .....	31,908	4	2	0	0	7½	
<p>* Paid in the Educational Year ending Sept. 29th, 1883.</p>							
<p>£3,414,416 9 8 = 3 6 4½</p>							
Loans .....	1,036,643	13	8				
<p>Total for the year £4,451,060 2 11</p>							

EXPENDITURE.				Per Scholar in Average Attendance.			
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	
(a) ADMINISTRATION :							
Election Expenses	21,343	2	10	0	0	4½	
Salaries of Officers of Board .....	193,900	17	3	0	3	9	
Legal and other Expenses .....	74,816	10	0	0	1	5½	
(b) MAINTENANCE :							
Maintenance of Public Elementary (School Board) Schools .	2,311,075	17	10	2	4	11	
<p>(This item is mainly Teachers' Salaries, Fuel, Light, and Books, but the details are not now published in the Official Report.)</p>							
Repayment of principal of Loans...	199,602	19	11	0	3	10½	
Interest on Loans.	469,655	12	7	0	9	1½	
Industrial Schools	88,903	14	4	0	1	8½	
Other Expenses ...	7,690	3	3	0	0	1½	
<p>£3,366,988 18 0 = 3 5 6½</p>							
(c) CAPITAL CHARGES :							
1. Purchase of Land and Erection of Buildings or Alterations ...	1,114,612	18	11				
2. Furnishing School Buildings	48,639	16	10				
<p>Total for the year £4,530,241 13 9</p>							

The above tables, though they show in the clearest light the extravagant scale of expenditure upon which the Board Schools are conducted, do not by any means tell all the story. In page xxix. of the Report of the Education Department for this year, it is shown that, of the current income of Board schools for 1882-3, 34·5 per cent. is paid by the Government grant, on the same terms as in Voluntary Schools, but 58·9 per cent. comes from rates. The managers of Voluntary Schools cannot, in the nature of things, pay such salaries as will enable them to compete with rivals who can afford to pay any price for the highly skilled labour necessary to enable them to "rig" the market. The teachers also of Voluntary Schools suffer a pecuniary injustice, a robbery, through the partiality shown towards the favoured ones, who have no other claim to higher payment and greater distinction than the fact that they have no particular religious principles to consult in their choice of employment. It is impossible within the limits of this paper to enter fully into details, but another salient point may be selected by way of further illustration. The accommodation provided in the Voluntary Schools and approved of by the Government was furnished at the rate of £5 7s. 7d. per head, which was mainly supplied by the subscribers, but that in the Board Schools cost at the rate of £12 3s. 1d. per head. The reason for the difference is, that the School Boards were spending the ratepayers' money—the promoters of Voluntary Schools were spending their own. When the Government were making building grants, which they have now ceased to do, they succeeded in obtaining, in return for grants to the amount of £1,767,035, places for 1,233,000 children; but the School Boards, after spending of public money £14,721,650 in eleven years, secured accommodation for only 1,298,746 scholars.

The Board Schools are thus, as we have seen, supported and subsidized on the most extravagant scale, whilst the Voluntary Schools are treated with a parsimony as ungrateful as it is unjust; ungrateful, because the whole of the educational work done in the country was done by the religious bodies exclusively up to the year 1870, and it originated entirely in their zeal and self-sacrifice; unjust, because all who pay their share of the public rates and taxes have a right to an equal share of benefit from them, according to their needs.

There is one signal instance of the parsimony exhibited in the case of the Voluntary Schools which is so shabby and so galling as to rouse the most intense indignation wherever it occurs. By an ingenious application of "the screw" to the pockets of the supporters, if their contributions, along with the school pence and other sources of income should fail to raise an amount equal to

the grant earned by examination, no matter how poor the children or the neighbourhood may be, no matter how excellent the work, no matter how great the hardship, discouragement, and actual loss, the Government will not pay one penny beyond the limit of 17s. 6d. per head, more than is met by an equal contribution from other sources which, in the case of poor schools, do not exist. In the Board Schools all deficiencies are at once supplied by a call upon the ratepayers, so that there can be no loss to the managers. Last year a Catholic school in Manchester was defrauded of £50 of hard-earned money by this shabby process. The managers, though the school got the mark of "excellent" in every department, were fined £50 because it was in a poor neighbourhood, attended by the poorest children, and was conducted by managers who, although they were themselves poor, had not hesitated to secure the services of the best of teachers at high rates of payment.

The whole system of public elementary education, as administered under the Acts of 1870 and 1876, is full of shabbinesses. Here is another, of daily occurrence: a poor man wishes to send his child to a school in which he knows that its religion will be safe; he sends it to the Catholic school perhaps, but he is unable to pay the school fee; there is a provision in the Act that it is the duty of the Guardians of the Poor to pay it (provided it does not exceed 3d. per week), if the Guardians are satisfied of the parent's inability; but the parent must appear before the Guardians, often at great inconvenience, and at the loss of a day's wages. He is dragged before them like a pauper—in many instances treated like a pauper—and very frequently does not succeed after all. The parent on the contrary, who sends his child to a Board School is subjected to no such indignity; the Board has the power of remitting the fee, which it generally does with great liberality, and then it is recouped out of the pockets of the ratepayers, whilst the Voluntary School must often lose the fee or refuse to admit the child; and this after the school itself having been compelled to contribute towards the support of its rival by paying the school rate of the district!

Surely enough has been said to rouse the friends of the Voluntary Schools to immediate and persevering efforts. The religious bodies, each acting for themselves, but in unison, are numerous enough and powerful enough to enforce compliance with their demands. Those demands are reasonable and just. We Catholics, at least, are bound to take our share in the agitation. We have waited long enough, and too long. The "Catholic Poor School Committee" and the "Catholic Union of Great Britain" are the main central organs of Catholic opinion. It should be their work to instruct, to excite, and to direct in the agitation of this question

of questions. Their Lordships the Bishops, by the resolutions adopted at their last meeting in Low week, have already signified their sense of its importance, and at a signal from headquarters the whole of our population would be aroused. Our demands have no party significance. It so happens, indeed, that the party at present in power has ostentatiously lent its support to the School Board system; but even the present Government would be compelled to obey the wishes of the people if expressed through their representatives in Parliament. The Catholic vote is very important in several of our large towns; throughout the country it exercises considerable influence, and will be found worthy of the respectful consideration of candidates. It should be the aim of every Catholic elector to secure the insertion of his own name, with the names of any others whom he may be able to influence, on the list of voters. The Voluntary School Association, several branches of which have been established in the Catholic dioceses, furnishes an example of organization such as might be adopted with great advantage, and a prominent feature in its action should be to direct and assist in the work of registration, so as to produce the greatest possible effect in the event of a Parliamentary election. Candidates for seats in Parliament should be made to understand that support will only be given to such as will pledge themselves to endeavour by their votes and influence to secure justice.

The chief points to be pressed with a view to immediate relief may be thus summarized:—

1. To obtain an increase of the grant on average attendance.
2. An abrogation of the present 17s. 6d. limit on the grant.
3. Obligation of the Local Educational Authority to pay the school fees of the children attending Voluntary Schools, where poor parents are unable themselves to pay.
4. The removal of the restriction on the payment of the grant in the case of newly erected denominational schools, on the ground that they are "unnecessary."

One of the arguments chiefly relied on by the friends of the School Board system against our claims is, that their concession would tend to the perpetuation of an anomalous state of things which forms an obstacle to the extension of a national system. This assumed title of "national" begs the whole question. British nationality has never had for its meaning the reduction of all creeds, opinions, and parties to a dead level of uniformity. Its meaning and its proudest boast hitherto, has been the union of all its citizens, with a respectful recognition of their freedom of opinion, under the protection, and in the service and support of the State. The new doctrine of State omnipo-

tence has its essence in bureaucratic centralization. It is but another form of despotism, and its power is exercised through the wire-pullers of political parties. Generally speaking the most democratic will prevail, and the loudest professions of liberalism expressed with the greatest energy, always induce the mass of voters to support the party which makes the highest bid for their suffrages. So far, English statesmen, with the moderation and spirit of justice of their race, have generally been more fair and candid than the mass of their supporters, and have carried this spirit, as far as they were allowed, into the legislation of the country; but there are symptoms abroad that the spirit of Continental Liberalism, with its intolerance and tyranny, has begun largely to affect even English politicians. The present working of the Education Acts of 1870 and 1876 is an illustration of this. It has endeavoured to establish a system which in its uniformity is regardless of the opinions and even of the consciences of large and important sections of the community. The religious bodies form an aggregate both large and important. The strength of their opinions is exemplified by the zealous and generous support which they give to their own schools, and by the general dissatisfaction and soreness engendered by the action of the Department. The bearing of those Acts was *at first* only imperfectly understood, but it was realized in course of time by experience of their effects. These are now manifest. The hollow pretences of their promoters are seen through; and those who in good faith accepted their assurances, and loyally and in good faith endeavoured to work under the new system, find that it is illusory and impracticable. Their dissatisfaction has at length begun to find expression, and will prove formidable. We, though few in numbers and poor, must act with our brethren, and thus we may appreciably affect the result. On the score of nationality we have as good a right to be heard as anybody else. We form a part of the nation, and our schools are a portion of the "national system" of education.

The opposite party endeavour to affix upon the Voluntary Schools the title of "Sectarian," while they call the Board Schools "National." This title in no sense belongs to them. They may with truth be called "Municipal," and under that designation they may be recognized as constituting an important element in national education.

All efficient public elementary schools as they are recognised by the State, whether they be Board or Voluntary, are truly "national," and the latter, if preponderance in numbers may be accepted as a test in a country where the majority rules, are certainly the truly national ones, for of these there are 20,304, as against 7,026

Board Schools, whilst their average attendance is 2,098,810, but the Board Schools have an average of 1,028,904.

But the latter are, after all, truly "Sectarian" schools. The religious instincts of the country have forced upon the School Boards religious teaching. This they have endeavoured to supply by the invention of a new scheme of religion, which endeavours to eliminate everything that belongs to any Christian body. This scheme has been well named by one of its inventors, "Broad Christianity." "Sects" have always been understood to be parties dissatisfied with existing systems, who endeavour to mend them, or evade their difficulties by setting forth one of their own. Dissatisfaction and reconstruction have always been accepted as the characteristic of sects. This new religion of Broad Christianity is to all intents and purposes a new sect, and one of a most aggressive and intolerant character. Its aggressiveness, under which we all suffer, is a matter of notoriety, and its intolerance is shown by its passionate opposition to every claim for justice on the part of its opponents. It is only one in addition, amongst a multitude of sects, which have a common origin in the desire to accommodate Christian doctrine to human fancies.

But besides the danger involved in the actual teaching of this fatal abnegation of Christian doctrine, there is a further peril in the possible unbelief or hostility to religion on the part of the teachers appointed by those who are themselves indifferent. Where the teacher is unbelieving, the children must become habituated to a careless estimate of Christian duty, or even opposed to the very principles and foundations of Christian doctrine; they breathe an atmosphere of infidelity, and are infected by it.

The whole course of the arguments urged, however feebly, in this paper, tends to place in the strongest light the duty and the necessity of immediate and energetic action in the cause of Christian education. Religion, freedom, justice and equality before the law are bound up with the existence of the Voluntary Schools. Let us recognise this and act accordingly.

JOHN KERSEAW.

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## II. THE IRISH UNIVERSITY QUESTION.

The Bishops of Ireland at their annual autumn meeting, held at Holy Cross College, Clonliffe, last October, had the Education Question under consideration, and adopted a resolution, the importance of which cannot be exaggerated. Dr. McGettigan, Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of All Ireland, occupied the chair, in the absence, through indisposition, of his Eminence Cardinal McCabe. The resolution was as follows :—"We call upon the Irish Parliamentary party to urge generally upon the Government the hitherto unsatisfied claims of the Catholics of Ireland in all the branches of the Education Question, and we earnestly hope that the lovers of justice and fair play in the House will co-operate with them." A resolution of this kind, unanimously passed at a full meeting of the Episcopal body, and couched in such terms, has a deep significance. Their lordships call upon the Irish Parliamentary party to urge upon the Government the hitherto "unsatisfied" claims of Catholic Ireland in a question in which they have the deepest concern, and which lies nearest to their hearts. This is indeed a mark of confidence of which the party led by Mr. Parnell cannot but feel proud. And they have not been slow in giving public expression to the gratification they feel at the honour bestowed upon them, and their pride in the trust committed to their safe keeping.

The question is thus brought within the range of practical politics, not only on account of the eloquence and irrepressible energy with which it is sure to be urged, but also because it seems to have reached that state of maturity which makes a satisfactory solution and a permanent settlement of it more feasible than ever. The experience of the past, the fate of the many plans put forward, and the failure of so many attempts to grapple with a question so fraught with difficulties, will not have been without their useful lessons. The wrecks of so many former schemes with which the strand is strewn will, let us hope, serve as a warning to the statesmen who have now to deal with the question. They will point out to them in what direction lie "the rocks ahead," and where the breakers are to be dreaded. The depths have been fathomed ; the ground is better known. The wants, let us hope, are better understood, and the rights better appreciated, the prejudices, too, which dimmed the sight of our legislators, have been toned down, if they have not as yet entirely disappeared. The Catholics of Ireland may now ask to have their legitimate claims satisfied, not simply because they are the majority of the nation, but also because they have given proof, unquestionable and unchallenged, that they can and will

make the best use of such State endowments as their numbers entitle them to.

The bishops, it may be noticed, include in their resolution the whole education question in its threefold aspect. Space will not allow us to treat of the inadequate payment of the masters and mistresses in the Irish National Schools—of the wretched, quibbling, red-tape formality about their retiring pensions, which renders legislation on the subject well-nigh illusory—of the still more inadequate and unfair treatment of the nuns who teach in the convent schools on a salary little better than a mere starvation allowance—of the ungenerous, stinted, half-hearted way in which an instalment of justice has been doled out towards the training of Catholic schoolmasters and mistresses, and of the unfair partiality with which the mixed training school in Marlborough Street is treated in contrast with the Catholic training Colleges—nor of the injustice done to the Catholic intermediate schools which have been deprived of one-half of the results fees secured to them by Act of Parliament, whilst the Royal and other endowed schools still remain in undisturbed possession of State-aid, for which, in most cases, they show but very poor results. We shall confine ourselves at present to the University question. Their lordships do not deny that some attempts have been made to meet the claims and wants of Catholics; but they declare that such provision as has been made in any department is inadequate, and that their just claims are as yet “unsatisfied.”

Scarcely three years have elapsed since Parliament legislated on this same University question by passing a measure which may seem to have been, in some sense, accepted by the Bishops; since two of their number have consented to act on the Senate and to co-operate in the working of the Royal University. Is it not strange, then, to see them so soon again asking Parliament to spend its valuable time in a new consideration of that much-vexed question? If every three years the question rises like a ghost to disturb the dreams or trouble the peace of the British Parliament, the fault lies not with the Irish Catholics, but with Parliament itself. If the question had once been dealt with in an honest, generous, and practical spirit, it would have been settled for ever. The Bishops, it is true, to some extent, tacitly accepted Lord Cairns' University scheme. But nothing could be farther from the truth than to represent them as having accepted it in any other sense than as an instalment, and a very meagre instalment, of what they have a right to claim.

It is just because they have been so conciliating in the first transactions, that they are entitled to be heard with more consideration and respect. We shall endeavour to prove that if the Bishops declare their claims still “unsatisfied” it is not without

reason; that the provision contained in the present scheme in aid of Catholic higher education was unsatisfactory from the very beginning; that it was rendered still more unsatisfactory by the action of the University Senate; and furthermore, that the working of the Royal University is unsatisfactory to Catholics as regards the selection of the Senators, the Constitution of the Standing Committee, the appointment of Fellows, and the manner of conducting the Examinations.

If justice means full recognition of the rights of nations and individuals, if justice means giving each man his due, we must confess that from the very start it looked as if the Catholics were not to expect much justice in the Royal University.

It was founded expressly for the benefit of Catholics, and in order to meet their wants, which the Queen's University had failed to satisfy. This has over and over been publicly acknowledged by the powers that be.

When the O'Connor Don introduced his University Education Bill in 1879, the Procurator of the Presbyterian Assembly of Ireland and a deputation of Presbyterian Elders waited on the then Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Stafford Northcote, to urge their objections to the O'Connor Don's Bill, on the plea, chiefly, of its being unnecessary, considering the great success of the Queen's Colleges. The Chancellor, in his reply, stated that, "though the Queen's University was established principally to meet the wants of the Roman Catholics, it did not *satisfy* them, and that something would have to be done." This something, the Government, on rejecting the O'Connor Don's Bill, attempted to do, by founding the Royal University in the same year. When the Bill proposing it, which is known as Lord Cairns' Act, was passing through Parliament, it was from first to last discussed as a Bill intended for the benefit of Catholics.

The Royal University being founded for the express purpose of meeting the wants of Catholics, it was evident that the endowment of the University should, in order to be a fair settlement of the question, be *at least equal* to the combined endowments of Trinity College and the Queen's University, the Catholics numbering more than four-fifths of the whole population; and that the Catholics should be put, in every respect, on a par with their fellow-countrymen as regards university endowments.

In the discussion which followed the second reading of the O'Connor Don's Bill, Mr. Forster, then in Opposition, expressed himself to the following effect. In reply to the member for Calne, Lord E. G. Fitzmaurice, he said:—

My noble friend remarked: How much better it would be to affiliate the Roman Catholic Colleges to the Queen's University; and

I am not sure that it would not be the best plan ; but does my noble friend purpose to give the Roman Catholic Colleges the same State aid which is now given to the Queen's Colleges ? Without that, I must be permitted to say that the Irish members would be offered *a perfect mockery*.

Much as it seemed to shock the feelings of high-minded Englishmen, on the 26th of June, 1879, this mockery was not only "offered" but carried out.

The Right Honourable W. E. Forster has since held the responsible office of Chief Secretary in Ireland, and he has not only seen this mockery carried out, but he has defended it when the Irish members in the House of Commons protested against the unfairness of leaving the Catholics unendowed whilst the Queen's Colleges were so munificently aided by the State, although making so poor a return for the money spent on them.

The Chief Secretary seemed to have lost Mr. Forster's love of fair play and justice. When out of office, in June, 1879, Mr. Forster said, "*I cannot see why a Roman Catholic student should not obtain quite as much State aid, in the acquisition of high university culture, as the student who is not a Roman Catholic.*" When one year after he was Chief Secretary, he said in the House of Commons, "he could not see why the scholarships" [exclusively given to Queen's College students] "should be open to Catholic students as well, as such a step was not calculated to advance the interests of education ; he could not, therefore, approve of any change in the present arrangements." And thus the "mockery" condemned in 1879 was sanctioned and continued in 1880.

The Queen's Colleges enjoyed then, and are still enjoying, an endowment of £36,000 per annum, for the benefit of those persons who are supposed to prefer secularist to denominational education. These, as is notorious, are a very small fraction of the population. We make bold to say that if the whole country were polled on the subject, there would be 95 per cent. of the whole population found in favour of denominational education. We have then £36,000 for 5, or, let us say, 10 per cent. of the whole population. Was it not a mockery to offer £20,000 per annum as an adequate provision for the remaining 90 per cent., more especially when we take into account that the 90 per cent. are the poorer portion of the community, and that they have been deprived in time past by the State of the munificent endowments which their forefathers had made for education ? Let it be remembered that out of this £20,000, £5,000 are spent on the working of the University, as distinct from the Colleges. There are, then, £15,000 for the settlement of the Catholic claim, against £36,000 for the secularists. We must not omit to mention that

this £20,000 is taken from the Irish Church fund, and that this sum has to bear all the University work formerly done by the Queen's University, *now considerably enlarged*, and that the working expenses of the late Queen's University used to figure in the public estimates. We shall see farther on that even this paltry allowance was pared down, and that, practically, the endowment strictly and exclusively Catholic amounted to £5,200. Was this not "mockery" of the most cruel and unblushing kind?

Parliament cannot have foreseen that the £20,000 intended as an endowment, however indirect, of Catholic higher education, was to dwindle down to £5,000; yet the original £20,000 was considered, and considered truly, as most inadequate by a very large number of the members of Parliament.

When Lord Cairns' Bill passed through the House of Lords, great stress was laid on the want of provision made in the Bill for Museums, Libraries, Laboratories, &c., in Catholic Colleges.

Lord Spencer said :—

This Bill, I quite admit, as far as it goes may be a good measure, but it is at present totally inadequate. A Roman Catholic would under its provision be able to go to any Roman Catholic institution and get his education, and after that he could obtain a degree from the examiners of the new university. But this would not remove the grievance. What the Catholics say is this, "We have to compete in a race in which we are too heavily weighted. The Protestants are able to get the best possible education at colleges endowed with State money and where, as at Galway, Cork and Belfast, the State has provided magnificent libraries and all things necessary to increase the educational advantages of these places; but we, Roman Catholics, are entirely dependent on private munificence, and such facilities are with us entirely wanting." I think that the grievance is a real one, and that the Catholics are handicapped so severely that they have no chance.

In conclusion, I protest against the attempt now made to carry a totally inadequate measure, and I urge Her Majesty's Government to so alter the Bill and make it larger and more comprehensive, and one that will be worthy of Parliament.\*

Lord Inchiquin and Lord Donoughmore spoke much to the same effect.

Lord O'Hagan said, "It is a solemn confession of the need of improvement, and it leaves things no better than they were." The Earl of Kimberley said, "I cannot help feeling that it [the Bill] is not worthy of the serious attention of your Lordships."

It is only right to say that, since these speeches were made in the House of Lords, the very inadequate grant of £20,000 per annum was added, removing some of the objections, but leav-

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\* Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, Session 1879, 5th vol.

ing the principal grievance standing as it was before. Earl Spencer has since been called upon to share the responsibility of Mr. Gladstone's Ministry, and to govern Ireland as Her Majesty's Viceroy. During his eventful reign it has fallen to his lot to preside at the opening of a new session of the Royal University. He there proclaimed that the University, which in the House of Lords he protested against, as being unworthy of Parliament, as leaving the Catholic grievances unrelieved, and Catholic students so handicapped that they had no chance in the intellectual competition, was a great boon to the country, as it established equality among all classes of Her Majesty's subjects in Ireland. His lieutenant, Mr. Trevelyan, graced with his presence the opening the next session. He, too, had words of comfort; he found that the Irish Catholics should congratulate themselves on finding in the Royal University "*la carrière ouverte aux talents*"—"the tools," as he paraphrased it, "to those who can wield them."

Farther on we shall see how far this is really applicable to the Royal University.

The very least that might have been expected in the constitution of a University confessedly established to meet the wants and claims of Catholics is, that the Catholics would have a working majority in the governing body or Senate. Instead of that, those empowered to draw up the list of Senators, balanced the eighteen Catholic Senators by an equal number of Protestants and Presbyterians. These thirty-six Senators are so selected as to counteract one another, and are supposed to play at a sort of "See-Saw." Moreover, among the Catholic senators several, from their official position, cannot attend very regularly, and, as a matter of fact, they have but rarely attended any of the meetings of the Senate; and thus, however ornamental their names may be on the list, they are the reverse of useful in practice, and only serve to impair the strength of the Catholic party on a division; others, such as the actual President of the Queen's College, Cork, and his predecessor, although counted as Catholics, represent interests antagonistic to the interests of Catholics. In all questions involving Catholic principles and Catholic interests, the Catholics are absolutely at the mercy of a majority representing non-Catholic interests, and thus it is no wonder that from the first the Senate seemed to be more anxious to make things comfortable for the Queen's Colleges than to do justice to the cause of Catholic education, and to the Catholic people who looked to them for redress.

It was felt that the Queen's College students who had matriculated in the Queen's University up to the 6th of December, 1881, had a vested right to the low standard which was tra-

ditional in the Queen's University, and against which the Royal Commission of 1857 had deemed it a duty to remonstrate. This right was to be respected; the Queen's College students were to be allowed to proceed to their degree on the old lines, untrammelled by the requirements of the higher literary standard of the new University. Thanks to the action of the Senate as constituted, a double programme of examination was adopted—one low and easy—the old Queen's College University programme, for the benefit of the Queen's College students,—the other, strict and exacting,—for the benefit of the conscientious Catholics, whose rights to educational equality had been for centuries left in abeyance. It is probably owing to this inequality in the two standards of examination, that the President of the Queen's College, Cork, reported in 1883 that the number of University matriculated students who entered his College in 1882 was but 13, as against 135 who entered in October, 1881, on the eve of the abolition of the Queen's University. In his report for 1884 he alludes again to the abnormal number of students who in 1881 entered his college. He says that they were attracted in such "large numbers to his college by the protection guaranteed to Queen's University students by Act of Parliament." What that "protection" meant has been explained in an able pamphlet published in 1881 by the Very Rev. Dr. Walsh, President of Maynooth College.\*

In spite of the protests of some of the Senators, compromise, so-called, became the order of the day. The See-Saw principle adopted by the Crown in the appointment of Senators was eagerly seized upon, and carried out through every detail of the organization of the new institution.

There was to be a Standing Committee of Senators, whose duty it was to watch over the details of the working of the University, whose influence was to be considerable, if not paramount. Half of the members of the Committee were non-Catholics. But the Catholic half included those very members who, in any question where the Queen's College interests clashed with the Catholic interests, were most likely to be found in direct opposition! It could hardly be expected that the president and ex-president of the Queen's College, Cork, who are members of this Standing Committee, would vote in opposition to their own College. The Standing Committee is elected every year, and notwithstanding the fact that the University matriculated students in Cork and Galway have dwindled down

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\* "The First Matriculation Examination of the Royal University of Ireland." A Letter to the Members of the Standing Committee of the Senate of the Royal University.

to a mere handful, and that the President of Cork has repeatedly declared in his reports that his College has no connexion whatever with the Royal University,\* and that he will not take any further notice of the successes (!) of his students in the Royal University, there are as many as four out of sixteen members of the Standing Committee representing the Colleges of Cork and Galway. On the other hand, not one of the Catholic Colleges which have been so successful, and have each more than twice their number of undergraduates, has found a place for a direct representative on either the Senate or the Standing Committee.

A large portion of the funds of the Royal University (£20,000, a very meagre allowance, it must be confessed) was to be used for the foundation of Fellowships. These Fellowships were to be an indirect endowment for the Catholics, and they were the greatest, if not the only inducement the Bishops had in accepting the Royal University. The Queen's Colleges were amply provided for; they had £36,000 against £20,000, and needed no additional endowment. They never had asked for it. When there was question of introducing a change, they were eager to be let alone, and clamorously, and even angrily, demanded it.

Yet, fully one-half of these Fellowships was given to the Queen's Colleges. All this was done, we suppose, on the plea that life is impossible without compromise, that we must make concessions, give and take. That concessions were made in this transaction is but too clear; but they were all on one side. The Queen's Colleges took all they could get, and they got more than they had a right to; *but what did they give?* What concessions did they make? What did they yield? A compromise implies mutual concessions; it is an adjustment by means of concessions on both sides. When the giving is all on one side, the transaction cannot be called a compromise. Being in a minority, the Catholic Senators seem to have had no choice but to withdraw altogether, or to make the best of a bad bargain. And a very bad bargain it was!

The Fellows were appointed not only to teach in such colleges as would be approved of by the Senate, but also to conduct the examinations of the University. Great as was the injustice of having the Fellowships divided equally between Catholics and non-Catholics, and of having the allowance originally meant by Parliament for Catholics alone, or at least for those who, for conscience' sake, refused to enter either Trinity College or the Queen's University, diminished by the amount that would be required to raise each Queen's College

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\* Report of the President of the Queen's College, Cork, for the Academic Session 1882-3.

lecturer's salary to £400, independently of lecture fees, there was an injustice far greater than this. It was to invite all the Catholic Colleges to a competition with the Queen's Colleges, for honours and a few money prizes, and to hand over to the Queen's College professors the all but exclusive control of the examinations. The non-Catholic Fellowships were distributed among the different Queen's Colleges, and most of the professors in the Faculty of Arts, who had not been elected to a Fellowship, were appointed Examiners, so that each of the Queen's Colleges was fully represented on the Board of Examiners, and to an extent which neither the proportions of their numbers nor any other principle could justify. The Catholic Fellows were all attached to one single College, and that College numbering below sixty undergraduates. The number of undergraduates coming up from the other Catholic Colleges amounted to over 200. Thus the apparent equality to which Catholics had been admitted was completely neutralized by the exclusion of the vast majority of Catholic students from the unquestionable advantage of being examined by their own teachers.

Lord Spencer, in his speech in the House of Lords, warmed into indignation at the very thought that Catholics should be subjected by the State to the injustice of having to compete with the students of the Queen's Colleges, without being provided by the State with *all* the means of qualifying themselves for the competition, when those means had been so lavishly granted to the Queen's College students. What if he had imagined that not only were these Catholic students to be deprived of the valuable help of State-paid professors, of libraries, museums, laboratories, supplied by the State, but that they were actually to be examined by the Queen's College State-paid professors, in a competition with the very pupils of these Examiners, pupils who had been sitting at their feet for ten months of the year, were thus acquainted with their style of teaching and putting questions, were admitted into their confidence, knew their favourite textbooks, were most familiar with their idiosyncrasies and with all their pet questions?

If Mr. Forster thought it a "mockery" that Catholic Colleges should be incorporated into the same university with Queen's Colleges, without getting the same State aid, how would he have qualified the policy of asking Catholic students to enter into a competition for university honours under such conditions as these?

Just on the eve of the election of the Royal University Fellows the London *Times*, giving expression to the rumours, then very general, wrote "that the Catholic bishops would insist that at least two-thirds of the whole number of Fellows

appointed, should be persons enjoying their confidence and teaching in Roman Catholic institutions," and added, "that if this pretension be admitted, a great injustice would be inflicted, as the teaching staff of the Queen's Colleges would be deprived of any control over the examinations to which they would have to send up their students."

If it would have been an injustice towards such of the Queen's Colleges as send up but a handful of students to the examinations, how can it be just to ask the Catholic Colleges to send up their students to examination under these same conditions?

Facts have come to light within the last year, which show to what great inconveniences this system is open. A Professor of one of the Queen's Colleges forgot, whilst setting an examination in English literature for the Royal University, that he had put the same questions three months before, in a paper given to his class at a sessional examination. The Chief Secretary assured the House that, in so doing, the learned professor, who was an honourable gentleman, had no intention of giving an unfair advantage to his own pupils over others. This is only one instance. We could quote, among other cases, that of an Examiner, who set in an examination paper three or four questions on the peculiar reading proposed by a recent German editor, of certain passages in one of the authors prescribed.\* Questions of that sort which might be very fair in an examination given by a lecturer to his own class, or by an examiner to a class for whom a particular edition of an author had been prescribed, are open to the gravest possible objection when given at an open competition, such as the examinations at the Royal University; and this, we believe, was the opinion entertained by those members of the Senate who were in a position to take an impartial view of the case. But the condemnation by individual Senators did not change the award, nor give any redress to the students who were unacquainted with the examiner's peculiar requirements, and who, therefore, must have found it hard to come up to those requirements in answering his questions.

The *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* for November contains a paper by the Rev. Dr. Magrath of Clonliffe College, which opens a question that is far more serious and important, as it touches

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\* Either the Examiner who in his College lectured on that very author, called his pupils' attention to the various readings of this editor or he did not. If he did, the injustice of the proceeding is most flagrant; if he did not, he failed in his duty to his pupils in not calling their attention to a matter which he thought so important as to deserve a prominent place in an examination paper which was to test the scholarship of the candidates at the University Examination.

upon points of Doctrine. The rev. gentleman makes out a very strong case. It would appear that at the recent Autumn Examination of the Royal University, the paper set in Metaphysics contained, out of nine questions, eight which were taken *verbatim* out of such authors as Bain, Mansel, Herbert Spencer, and other textbooks followed in the Queen's Colleges. To select, in an examination of that kind, authors of one particular school, to the exclusion of those of an opposite school of opinion, was certainly inflicting a great wrong on such of the students as use their right in not adopting opinions which they believe to be wrong, and in not devoting themselves to the study of works which to them seem full of error.

The conclusion which Dr. Magrath draws is that the Catholic students who wish to distinguish themselves in Metaphysics in the Royal University must practically *discard the Catholic textbooks*. And this conclusion is borne out by the results of the examinations referred to, which show that *of the eight* persons who obtained honours *seven* were non-Catholics, and that *all the exhibitors* were non-Catholics also. Such a state of things as this is intolerable, and must not be permitted to exist.

It may be remembered that Mr. Gladstone's Irish University Bill of 1873 was wrecked principally on this very rock of Metaphysics and Mental Philosophy. We forecast for the Royal University very much the same fate, unless things are considerably altered.

The Bishops could not remain indifferent to a question of such magnitude. We are not surprised to find that they adopted the following resolution, which, under the circumstances, is very moderate :—"Resolved : That considering the danger to which Catholic students are exposed in the Royal University, as revealed by the questions set for their examination in Metaphysics—questions practically necessitating the reading of anti-Christian works most dangerous to Catholic faith—we request that a meeting of the Episcopal Education Committee be held as soon as possible to take such steps as may prevent those dangers in future."

We must not be understood as wishing to imply that Catholic students should remain ignorant of the theories and principles of the Positivist, Theist, Agnostic, or any other recognized school of philosophy, however false and erroneous we may hold them to be. No Catholic professor can be regarded as doing his duty to the students entrusted to his care if he neglects to discuss these theories with them, to show them the two sides of every question, to point out to them where the error lies, and to supply them with an answer to the conclusions which Catholics deem to be false. What we object to is, being compelled, either

directly by a decree of the Senate, or indirectly by the requirements of the examiners, to eschew our Catholic textbooks and to adopt those of the opposite schools. Our opponents would certainly object to being forced to adopt St. Thomas, De Lugo, Liberatore, Newman, Ward, Harper, Klutgen, as their ordinary class textbooks; by what right do they pretend to impose on us a burden they are unwilling to bear themselves? If they consider that our theories are those of obscurantists, we know theirs to be destructive of all truth. Our opinion is at least as good as theirs. They claim freedom of thought and have it, we claim freedom of conscience, and they are inclined to deny it. We are consistent—they are not.

In a University like the Royal University, in which students are invited from all parts to compete for prizes and for honours, it was, in our opinion, a very great mistake to have made the teachers of any particular Colleges in that University the Examiners in the open competition. If the teachers of the Colleges are to be the Examiners of the University, then justice requires that all the Colleges sending up a certain number of students to the examinations should be represented on the Board of Examiners in proportion to their numerical importance. At the late Queen's College Commission an ingenious but not altogether disinterested apologist of the present system quoted in support of it a report of the *Times*, according to which the prohibition of teachers from examining their own pupils, in a competition with outsiders was held in Oxford to be "useless and antiquated." The instances quoted above prove that the prohibition is not "useless." In so modern an institution as the Victoria University, where "antiquated" notions can scarcely have had time to take root, the authorities seem to object to the "modern system" of having teachers examining their own pupils even inside the University, since they advertise for *External Examiners* in all the subjects of the University programme. (See *Spectator*, 21st November, 1884.) A mixed institution like the Royal University must be guided by principles of justice even at the risk of passing for "antiquated," if it is to gain the confidence of the public. No one is a judge in his own cause. What would the Yorkshire farmers say if they were invited to take part in an agricultural exhibition or cattle show in which the prizes were to be awarded by judges who themselves are among the exhibitors? Suppose the laureateship were to be open to competition, would it occur to any one to place among the jury, who are to make the appointment, Lord Tennyson, himself a competitor, to the exclusion of his rivals, Swinburne, Browning, and Matthew Arnold? Would English opinion have tolerated to see Lord Coleridge hear the case

of *Adams v. Coleridge*? Would the Lord Chief Justice himself have thought it consistent with his honour and self-respect to accept such a task, if by any possibility it had been offered to him? Would he not have taken the mere proposing of it as an insult to his character as an English gentleman? Her Majesty's judges are men of the highest integrity, and selected for their even, unbiassed judgment, else they would be unfit for their high office and for dealing out justice between man and man. If an English judge would think it a stain upon his ermine, and an outrage upon public opinion, to hear a case in which he was interested to the amount of one farthing, how can it be consistent with justice to set up as umpires in an open competition, so keenly disputed and so closely scanned and analyzed as that of the Royal University, men who not only have to judge between the results of their own teaching and that of rival institutions,—between the answering of their own students, who will reproduce in the examination their judgment and opinions upon pet subjects, in the very words in which they fell from the lips of the Examiner when in the Professor's chair, and the answering of students whose very attendance at such or such a College is a profession of a faith and of principles condemnatory of their own, and a protest against a system to the upholding of which the Examiners are committed,—but men who know that upon the results of these examinations depends the good name, ay, the very existence of the College? We cannot accept the plea that in the written examinations the candidates are known not by their names, but by a number. No Professor can possibly have for one, two, or three years, corrected the daily work of a student without being familiar with his handwriting. And it must not be forgotten that the students appear under their own names at the oral examination. The official returns of the University, giving, as in justice they ought to give, the name of the College to which each student is attached, the identity and the academic history of each candidate can easily be known. But the Examiners are gentlemen and men of honour? So are the English judges. We must be understood as not speaking of what has or has not occurred; we speak of what *may* possibly occur, and in matters of such importance the very possibility, the very suspicion, of unfairness ought to be guarded against.

A certain portion of the funds at the disposal of the University was set aside for Exhibitions, Scholarships, and Studentships. The endowment not being large, these prizes were necessarily few—and mostly of small value.

The following Exhibitions may be awarded in the Faculty of Arts:\* at the Matriculation: ten First Class at £24, and twenty

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\* See "Royal University Calendar" for 1884.

Second Class at £12; at the First University Examination: ten First Class at £30, and twenty Second Class at £15; at the Second University Examination in Arts: ten First Class at £40, and twelve Second Class at £20; at the B.A. Degree Examination: seven First Class at £50, and fourteen Second Class at £25. There are restrictions of age; candidates over 20 at Matriculation, over 22 at first Arts, 23 at second Arts, and 24 at B.A. Degree Examinations are excluded from the competition. No Exhibition is to be awarded to any candidate who shall not answer satisfactorily in Honour subjects, in at least two divisions, one of which must be either Latin, Greek or Mathematics. It is not even sufficient that a candidate should himself do well at them; unless also a certain proportion of candidates pass satisfactorily, he will be excluded, no matter how he may have acquitted himself; for no greater number of exhibitions shall be awarded at Matriculation and First Arts, than one for every ten of the students who pass each of these examinations respectively, and at Second Arts and B.A. Degree, one for every eight who pass each of the examinations respectively.

There are six Scholarships of the value of £50 each, for three years, and two Studentships of the value of £100 each, for five years, offered for competition. These prizes are open to all the students that matriculate in the Royal University. The Queen's College students have in their own colleges, scholarships, exhibitions and prizes surpassing in number and value those open to Royal University undergraduates. They are subject to no restrictions of age. The standard is so indefinite that even a Royal Commission could not get any precise information on the subject. Queen's College students may compete for the Royal University Exhibitions and may hold them with their own college prizes,\* but the Royal University undergraduates are not allowed to compete for the Queen's College Scholarships. Some of the most valuable Royal University prizes have been carried off by Belfast students, a classical Studentship of £500 was taken last year by a distinguished Trinity College, Dublin, student, who had merely matriculated in the Royal University and has never since turned up at any Royal University Examination, although he continues to enjoy his Studentship. Catholic students have no objection to allow the Queen's College students to enter with them even in a competition for the Royal University prizes, in which they are themselves so heavily handicapped that Earl Spencer feared they had "no

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\* This difficulty was foreseen; the Senate made some regulations preventing students from holding both, but these regulations may be eluded, as the President of one of the Queen's Colleges acknowledged before the Royal Commission.

chance," but they ask, and we think ask fairly, that the Queen's College Scholarships should be open to them as well.

"The tools to those who can wield them," said Mr. Trevelyan, at the Royal University Inaugural Meeting of the Autumn session of 1883. Endowments, State aid of any kind, are the tools a University College has to work with. Considering the case in this light, we shall prove that Mr. Trevelyan's aphorism, which must commend itself to all practical men, does not hold in the Royal University arrangements.

The Bishops had accepted the competition with the Queen's Colleges. In spite of many drawbacks, they entered upon their work with a spirit of determination. They gathered together the forces of Catholic teaching scattered through the country, and incorporated them into the Catholic University. They resolved that the Catholic University should consist not of one College only, but of several, which, while retaining their own separate and independent organizations, should work together for the advancement of higher Catholic education. These Colleges were to be in the Catholic University what the Queen's Colleges of Belfast, Cork and Galway had been in the former Queen's University, what the Colleges of Oxford and of Cambridge are in their respective Universities—members of the same body. It was decided that no College should be recognized as a College in Arts of the Catholic University unless it had a certain number of students matriculated in the Royal University.

The following were recognized as colleges of the Catholic University:—Maynooth College was to represent the Faculty of Theology; among the Colleges of Arts were: University College, Stephen's Green, Dublin; University College, Blackrock; St. Patrick's College, Carlow; Holy Cross College, Clonliffe; St. Ignatius' College, Dublin; &c. The Medical Faculty was to have its seat in the School of Medicine, Cecilia Street, Dublin.

From the very start the Catholic Colleges were most unfairly handicapped. First in the matter of endowments they stood as follows:—

Queen's College, Belfast	. . . . .	£12,000
" " Cork	. . . . .	12,000
" " Galway	. . . . .	12,000
University College, Dublin (13 Fellowships at £400 per annum, including <i>Examiners'</i> fees).		5,200
All the other Catholic Colleges		<i>nil.</i>

The colleges representing the vast majority were, with the exception of one, absolutely deprived of any endowment whatever. The Queen's Colleges, representing the secularist principle

—and thus meeting the wants of but a very small minority of the population—were in the annual receipt of £36,000 of State money. Secondly, and we think this a most important point, the Colleges supplied each the following proportion of examiners appointed by the Senate:—

Belfast	.	.	.	.	.	7
Cork	.	.	.	.	.	4
Galway	.	.	.	.	.	4
The Presbyterian Magee College, Derry	.	.	.	.	.	1

Taking four Catholic Colleges corresponding to these four non-Catholic Colleges, we get the following results:—

U. C., Dublin	.	.	.	.	13
St. Malachy's College, Belfast	.	.	.	.	0
U. C., Blackrock	.	.	.	.	0
St. Patrick's, Carlow	.	.	.	.	0

The effect of dividing their share of the control of the examinations between the different non-Catholic Colleges entering the competition, and of crowding all the Catholic Examiners into one College, was to put the other Colleges at as great a disadvantage as possible, and to neutralize, to a large extent, whatever concessions could not be withheld from the Catholics.

Yet the Catholic Colleges did not on that account shrink from the contest, and they have come out of it with no increase of endowment, but with "honours thick upon them," the value and significance of which is much enhanced by the fact that they have been won against such heavy odds. The first Matriculation Examination in the Royal University took place in December, 1881, and as the course extends over three full years, it is only in October, 1884, that the first graduates could be expected from the Catholic Colleges, and that we could have an opportunity of establishing a comparison between the Queen's Colleges and the Catholic Colleges on the whole Arts course.

The following is a summary of the Exhibitions, Honours, Scholarships, Studentships, gained in 1884 by four non-Catholic and four Catholic Colleges, with their respective endowments and representation on the Board of Examiners:—

Colleges.	First Arts Examination.			Second Arts Examination.		B.A. Examination.					
	Exhibitions.	Honours.	Scholarships.	Exhibitions.	Honours.	Exhibitions.	Honours.	Studentships.	Totals of Honours, etc.	Endowment.	Representatives on Board of Examiners.
Queen's College, Belfast .....	6	21	1	6	38	9	18	1	100	£ 12,000	7
" " Cork .....	2	7	0	1	5	0	5	0	20	12,000	4
" " Galway .....	0	3	0	0	2	0	3	0	8	12,000	4
Magee College, Derry .....	0	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	400	1
University College, Dublin ...	6	31	0	5	24	2	3	1	72	5,200	13
" " Blackrock .....	7	35	2	3	16	1	4	0	68	nil	0
Carlow College .....	1	5	0	0	1	0	0	0	7	nil	0
St. Malachy's, Belfast .....	2	8	0	2	0	0	0	0	12	nil	0

Thus we find that the Queen's Colleges of Galway and Cork, which together receive £24,000 per annum, can show as the result of their teaching over the full academic course:—

Galway, no Scholarship, no Studentship, no Exhibition, only eight Honours.

Cork, no Scholarship, no Studentship, seventeen Honours and three Exhibitions. Each has four representatives on the Board of Examiners.

The two combined score 28, as a return for £24,000.

Blackrock receives nothing in the shape of endowment, has no representatives on the Board of Examiners, and scores 68 distinctions—viz., eleven Exhibitions, two Scholarships, fifty-five Honours.

St. Malachy's College, Belfast, receives no endowment, has no representative on the Board of Examiners, and scores more than Galway and Magee Colleges put together.

Carlow College, unendowed, unrepresented on the Board of Examiners, scores more than Derry.

University College, Dublin, scores 72 distinctions—viz., fourteen Exhibitions, one Studentship, fifty-seven Honours.

Two Catholic Colleges score higher than the four non-Catholic Colleges and five times higher than Cork and Galway combined.

This state of things is plainly indefensible, and we ask who can deny that the Bishops, with such facts before them, were

exceedingly moderate when they declared that the claims of the Catholics have been hitherto "unsatisfied."

What adds to the scandal is that every one of those students of Galway and Cork, who are at best able only to scramble through a pass examination—and some who even are not able to do that much, *not even to matriculate* in the Royal University—have provided for them in their own colleges, at the expense of the State, scholarships amounting to at least £29 or £30. These scholarships are very plentiful—more than are asked for. In the Royal University there are but few exhibitions to be had; the Senate has decreed that there should not be more than one for every ten candidates who pass; in the Queen's Colleges there are as many scholarships as there are students in arts—in fact there are sometimes more scholarships than students, and many scholarships are vacant for want of candidates. It has been admitted at the Royal Commission in Galway that there would be no Arts students in Galway College but for the scholarships, and that nearly every Arts student has a scholarship and gets paid or bribed\* for attending. If these students were young men of talent there might be an excuse for this proceeding—for, to give a young man of talent an opportunity of developing the abilities that are in him is a service rendered to the State, as well as to him, but if the students who congregate in the Queen's Colleges of Cork and Galway are young men of talent worth spending any public money on, they certainly do not show it at the Royal University examinations. Their want of success may perhaps be accounted for in the following information supplied by the President of Cork. In his report for 1881 the learned President says:—

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\* Professor Leebody says:—"What shall we say of thirty scholarships in Queen's College, Cork, available for distribution last session amongst thirty-six students, and thirty scholarships in Queen's College, Galway, available for distribution among forty-five students, especially when we consider that the attainments of the students of Cork College called down two years ago most severe strictures from the President of the College himself in the Annual Report to Parliament? Let us try to look at this matter without prejudice. Can the authorities of the Catholic Colleges in the south and west be blamed for regarding these scholarships in Cork and Galway, not as rewards for learning, but simply as *bribes to disregard the teachings of their Church, and enrol themselves under the banner of mixed education*. Most enlightened Protestants have ceased to approve of the policy of enforcing religious teaching by the offer of temporal advantages to supposed converts, and the wisdom of paying young men in the south and west of Ireland to attend Queen's College lectures (for it virtually amounts to this) may well be questioned."—*The Present Position of the Irish University Education Question*. By Professor J. R. Leebody, M.A., D.Sc., Ex-Senior Scholar of Queen's College, Belfast, and First Honourman and Gold Medallist in Mathematical Science in the Queen's University in Ireland. Londonderry: 1883.

Students come [to Queen's College, Cork] so badly prepared in what may be called the ordinary instruments of thought, and in ancient and modern languages—in a word, in every part of schoolwork—that they follow the University course only in a limping and unsatisfactory manner, and much time is lost before a *large number*\* of students learn how to properly work. The professor is consequently obliged either to lecture over the heads of *a large part of his class*, or to divide them into the *instructed* and *uninstructed*—a method which entails much additional labour upon him, and which lowers and impairs the effectiveness and quality of his teaching.

If we may trust the results of the Royal University Examinations, conducted, to a large extent, by the Queen's College Professors, the students of Galway seem to be very much on a par with those of Cork. Let us not lose sight of the fact that in the Queen's Colleges there are no restrictions of age for Scholarship candidates, no restrictions of proportional number of successful candidates, and no restriction of rigid standard, if the President's report is to be credited.

Their want of proficiency in the "ordinary instruments of thought" excludes them for the Royal University Honour lists; yet they are rewarded with rich scholarships in their own Colleges. An Exhibition of £12 is thought a sufficient prize for Catholic students who take high Honours in every subject of the Royal University course; many take Honours in two or three subjects, and get no money prize whatever; those who happen to be but one day over the fixed limit of age may take the highest Honours in every subject, and will be left to comfort themselves as best they can with these barren Honours—money prizes they shall have none, outside the Queen's Colleges; yet Mr. Trevelyan says "*La carrière ouverte aux talents*"—"the tools to those who can wield them." The Bishops have reason to think that the Catholic claims are as yet "unsatisfied" by the Royal University arrangements.

The Royal University was ushered into the world with such a flourish of trumpets, that great things were expected of it. It was to be the panacea for Ireland's ills and grievances in educational matters; it was to undo the wrongs and heal the wounds of centuries of misrule and persecution; it was to be the opening of a new era, a new departure in Ireland's chequered history; it was to make us forget the past, and look with buoyant, hopeful hearts to a brighter future; it was to deal out justice, fair play, and equality with impartial hands; monopoly was to be abolished, and privileges were to be the rewards of merit alone. We regret to say the brilliant programme has yet to be carried out. The hopes raised have yet to be realized. The grievance is

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\* The italics are ours.

not yet removed. It is only more bitterly felt to-day, because so openly acknowledged and so poorly met. It was too real and too widespread to vanish before beguiling promises and deluding hopes. The memories of past wrongs increase the bitterness of present disappointment. The new University has brought us neither justice, nor fair play, nor equality. As long as the Queen's Colleges retain the all but exclusive control of the examinations, and an influence in the Senate and the standing committee out of all proportion with the number of their undergraduates, there can be no fair play in the competition, nor confidence in the impartiality of the Government of the University. As long as helpless mediocrity enjoys the monopoly of State patronage and of public endowments, whilst true merit, if recognized at all, is rewarded mostly with barren honours, so long will justice, fair play, and equality be here but empty names and a cruel mockery.

As a settlement of a great national question, the Royal University has been anything but a success. Somebody has called it "a bad joke;" it certainly is a poor instalment of justice. It has not, however, been altogether useless. It has cleared the ground for a proper re-construction of the whole system of higher education in Ireland. It has considerably strengthened the position of Catholics; it has supplied them with an excellent opportunity of returning a triumphant answer to the calumnies and sneers of their enemies. The large numbers of Catholic undergraduates have proved that there exists in the Catholic community a great demand for University education. Although this has long been denied, the successes of these same undergraduates have refuted the slanderous sneer that the Catholics were neither prepared nor competent to manage a chartered and endowed University of their own; it was to be under the influence of priests and bishops; that was enough to justify the charge that the University would be a "cave of darkness," "obscurantist," "behind the age," and so forth. Even so fair-minded a man as John Stuart Mill could not help joining in the universal cry. Mr. John Morley, in an account written of the last interview he had with Mill, says:—

He seemed to think that the most feasible solution of the Irish University question is a Catholic University, the restrictive and obscurantist tendencies of which you may expect to have checked by the active competition of life with men trained in more enlightened systems.\*

These sneers, let us hope, are set at rest for ever. Above all, the Royal University has been the means of exposing, as nothing

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\* John Morley—Critical Essays. Second Series.

else could have done, the comparative worthlessness of the Queen's Colleges of Cork and Galway, and it has established beyond doubt, beyond even the possibility of denial by an Irish Chief Secretary, that godless education is not racy of Irish soil, and that the millions of the English exchequer cannot make it take root there. In this respect the Royal University has done invaluable service. The Irish Catholics may now come before Parliament and claim to be put on a footing of perfect equality with their fellow-countrymen in the matter of endowment for the higher education of their sons, not only because they are free citizens of the same commonwealth, and therefore claim the same rights; not only because they pay their taxes as well as others, and therefore are entitled to derive the same benefit from the State; not only because they are the majority of the nation, and therefore ought to have their wants and wishes attended to, if not prior to any other section of the community, at least equally well, and not to be dictated to by the minority; but especially, and above all, they may claim their rights because they have given proofs that they can make proper use of them. They have entered into active competition with men trained "in the enlightened system of Godless schools," and they have come out of the struggle with credit to themselves and to their creed. They have swept away and for ever the insulting taunts that the Catholic Church is an enemy to enlightenment and a foe to true science. These results could not be secured in any other way except by the competitive examination between the different Colleges as established in the Royal University.

The important question, however, is how are the Catholic claims to be satisfied, and how is the perplexing problem to be solved? There are many solutions possible; the Catholics but ask for justice. Whether the Royal University, with a reformed senate, a reformed constitution, be maintained; whether it be found hopelessly incurable, and some scheme like that proposed in the O'Connor Don's Bill (1879) be substituted for it; whether the Dublin University be enlarged into a National University with several independent Colleges, the Catholics have a right to insist—

1. On an endowment adequate to their wants and in the same proportion with their numbers as the endowments at present enjoyed by the non-Catholic population of the country are with the numbers of non-Catholics.

It matters little whether the endowment be direct or indirect, *i.e.*, in the shape of payment by results. The latter system, although open to many very great objections when applied to a University, might be politically the most feasible. Provided it would be

applied to all—Catholics or non-Catholics—it would according to Mr. Trevelyan's principle give "the tools to those that can wield them"—and let the fittest survive. The endowment should include provision for the erection and maintaining of libraries, museums, laboratories.

2. On the recognition of a certain number of colleges fulfilling certain educational tests; a complete separation of School and College work being insisted on as a *conditio sine quâ non* of recognition. This would afford to Catholics the same aid and facilities for higher education as are at present enjoyed by *Secularists*, and make it equally accessible to them.

Whatever plan be adopted, let it not be dictated by either bigotry or prejudice. Parliament should not forget that in this matter they are legislating for Ireland—with its Catholic instincts and Catholic traditions. The wishes and desires of the Irish Catholics on this question are sufficiently known. Mr. Forster spoke in words of true political wisdom when he said :

It is not what the English members say, it is not what the member for Sussex or the member for Merthyr says, but what the Irish people themselves prefer, that we have to consider. Do they prefer a mixed system? "No!" they reply. "It is a fundamental conviction of our faith that religion and education are inseparably connected." I am not saying whether that is right or wrong, but we have to deal with the Irish view of the matter. But then they go on to tell us that notwithstanding that conviction they are our fellow-citizens and our fellow-taxpayers, and therefore they have a right to their share of State aid and State acknowledgment in the settlement of this question.\*

Unfortunately for Ireland, the Liberals forget too often when in power the principles they so warmly advocate when in Opposition. The truth is, the Irish Catholics have been hitherto "a sacrificed class," as Mr. Arnold would express it. In matters educational they have been sacrificed to Protestant bigotry, Radical prejudice, and Presbyterian jealousy. They are supposed not to know what is best for themselves; on that account they never get what they want, nor what they ask for. They ask for "bread," England gives them "a stone;" they wish for "a fish" and they get "a serpent;" they want "an egg" and England supplies "a scorpion;" they ask for a system of education adapted to their religious convictions and England gives them a mixed Godless combination which they neither want nor care for.

We leave it to statesmen to decide whether it is conducive to the well-being of the Empire to refuse a whole nation rights so clearly defined as are the rights of every citizen to equality

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\* Hansard, vol. v. session 1879, p. 660.

in educational endowments, and to wound a sensitive people in their most cherished feelings and in their highest interests. But to compel the Irish Catholic parent to pay taxes, and to refuse him the benefit of endowments supplied from the public funds, except on terms offensive to his religious creed, is a gross injustice and a violation of the rights of conscience. The Protestant, whether rich or poor, finds at every turn of the road Erasmus Smith schools, Model schools, Foundation schools, Royal schools, Diocesan schools, and in them free places, exhibitions, scholarships, which will pave the way for him to the University almost free of expense. From the University, the sizarships, scholarships, studentships, fellowships, will lead him to the highest dignities of the State. The Catholic may be gifted with talents which would enable him to dispute with the ablest and the best the prizes open to genius, yet he is refused for his education any aid except in institutions where his conscience forbids him to enter. He must either run the risk of selling his birthright for a mess of pottage, or be condemned to sink into obscurity and bury in the ground the talent he had received. The State treats him as an alien, must he not feel like one? Legitimate ambition thwarted by injustice will sometimes excite the bitterest feelings and kindle the blindest hatred. Mad and shocking as is Shylock's desire for revenge, it seems natural and reasonable, nay, we even half sympathize with him after we have listened to the story of his wrongs.

"He hath disgraced me, and hindered me of half a million, laughed at my losses, mocked at my gains, scorned my nation, thwarted my bargains, cooled my friends, and heated my enemies. And what's his reason? I am a Jew. Hath not a Jew eyes? Hath not a Jew hands, organs, dimensions, affections, passions? If you prick us do we not bleed? and if you wrong us shall we not have revenge?"

May not the young Irishman, too, say "as far as in her lay, England hath disgraced me—she hath hindered me of my legitimate success in life—she hath deprived me of the educational aid extended to my rivals—she hath thwarted my prospects,—and what's her reason?—I am a Catholic."

We are accustomed to hear a great deal of the loyalty of the Orangemen of Ulster, so loud in their vaunted championship of law and order. But would they, who a few years ago boasted that they would kick the Queen's Crown into the Boyne if the Church was disestablished—would they and their loyalty be proof against such treatment as the Catholics have to complain of?

However it may suit the prejudices and bigotry of Dissenters, Radicals, and Presbyterians to refuse Catholic Ireland her just rights in matters of education, the statesman cannot shut his

eyes to the fact that every refusal of the just demand sows new seeds of discontent, weakens the influence of those who think that Ireland's hope lies in constitutional agitation, and strengthens the power of the revolution which will make no terms with England, and has declared war to the knife. If concessions are to be made, if justice is to be done, let it be at least with a good grace and before it is too late.

Let the question be approached with a true desire to repair the past, so full of bitter memories for Ireland; let it be approached in a spirit of fair play and conciliation, not of mistrust and hostility; let prejudices be set aside, and let justice alone prevail; let the question be dealt with boldly and honestly, and instead of the constant tinkering and experimenting which produce no good and leave but irritation behind, let the question be settled once and for ever. Let England show herself just to Ireland, and let her aid the great statesman who now rules her destinies, to pass a large and comprehensive measure which may be the worthy crowning of his public life, and may, by a great act of justice, undo a great wrong. She will thus have done more for the peace of Ireland and the security of the Empire than by any number of Coercion laws. "In justice shall there be peace." "And the work of justice shall be peace, and the service of justice, quietness and security for ever."

P. HUVETYS, C.S.SP.,

*President, Blackrock College.*



NOTE.—MR. ST. GEORGE MIVART'S REJOINDER TO  
MR. SYDNEY H. LITTLE.

AN article by Mr. St. George Mivart, in rejoinder to Mr. Little's reply in our number for October, has been in type for this REVIEW and has been revised by its author. At the eleventh hour, however, we found that it could not be admitted.

In justice, therefore, to Mr. Mivart, we wish to make known what were the main points of the rejoinder. Therein its author specially urged :

(1) That, whatever may be the case now, at the time of Cardinal Newman's reception, there *was* reasonable ground to hope for England's conversion, and that such hope has been encouraged by authority up to a much later date ;

(2) That the future dominance of the English-speaking race and the wide diffusion of English literature and English ideas by ALL the branches of that race is a matter of certainty ;

(3) That he most strenuously protests against the imputation that he had drawn up an " indictment " against the "*policy*" of the rulers of the Church in England, and disputes the existence of any such policy as that spoken of by Mr. Little ;

(4) That it is an error to suppose that the Catholics who feel as he does desire to have everything their own way in the externals of religion, believing that there is room for the harmonious co-existence of all the recognized types ;

(5) That Mr. Little has misunderstood him in supposing that it was certain church-singing he had commended ; it was rather a copious use of the Psalter, and the frequent employment of the vernacular in popular devotions, that he desired to advocate.

This statement of the main points of Mr. Mivart's paper has been submitted to him, and is published with his consent and approval.

## Science Notices.

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**The Uncertainties of Astronomy.**—It was not a little startling to the general public that assembled to listen to Professor Young's address to the American Association for the Advancement of Science to hear that the science which of all others prides itself on its exactness—astronomy—is full of uncertainties and problems. Such matters as the shape of the earth, the length of day and night, the latitude, have long been considered as almost necessary truths in the general principles of science. It appears, however, that this is by no means the case. We have a general idea that the earth is a flattened spheroid, but its exact measurements are far from being known. The irregularities of the surface, the shifting of the materials that compose the crust, are so various that nothing short of an exact survey over the whole surface of the globe will ever give us the relative distance of one place from another with anything like precision. The length of the line joining the Naval Observatory at Washington with the Royal Observatory in the Cape of Good Hope is not known with anything like accuracy. The error, moreover, lies not within a few hundred feet, more or less, but may be as great as a thousand, if not a mile. The direction of the line, too, that joins these two localities is liable to a similar uncertainty.

Grave doubts are now arising as to the shifting of the axis of the earth, which will result in a change of latitude. The Astronomer-Royal maintains that no such change can be detected in the Greenwich observations for the last forty years. Professor Young seems to think that the observations of our Royal Observatory are wanting in precision. The great Mural Circle of Pulkowa, the finest in the world, has been in working order for the last twenty-five years, and certainly the results of the observations show a decided shifting of the earth's axis, as much as a foot per annum. Professor Piazzi Smith, the Astronomer-Royal for Scotland, declares that the same results are only too evident from his observations of the Great Pyramid. And he unearths a curious piece of past history in stating that the late Astronomer-Royal for the Cape of Good Hope, Sir Thomas Maclear, was strongly of belief that the Greenwich observations in his days of assistantship at the Royal Observatory unmistakably pointed to a diminution of latitude.

The most serious flaw in astronomical science is the uncertainty of the length of day and night. That there is something amiss in this matter is plain from the irregularities of the movements of the moon. We have long been accustomed to claim as one of Newton's most brilliant discoveries that of the lunar theory. It is not so certain that the lunar theory has been mastered. Astronomers have come to the conclusion that either the theory is at fault or the length of our day is uncertain. The shifting of the earth's materials must affect, if only

in a minute manner, the times of her revolution. But the effects of the tides must surely be a still more powerful factor in acting as a break upon the diurnal movement. And if such be the case, we are face to face with a most hopeless problem. For the strength of the tides depends upon one most uncertain and unmeasurable force, the strength and direction of the winds. At any rate, at present there is something so faulty with our time-reckoning that predictions of the movements of the moon are full of uncertainties.

**Storage Batteries.**—We have endeavoured to keep our readers posted up in the various phases of the development of this wonderful invention. The brilliant future predicted for these batteries has doubtless not yet been fulfilled; at present a cloud rests upon them, and the public is inclined to think they are likely to prove a huge failure. But it is during periods of rest, when capitalists are refraining from casting their excitement over an invention, that the best work is being done. Such a time is the present. The mistakes of the past are being slowly but surely ascertained and corrected, and there can be no doubt that a comparison of the present cells with those of two years back will show a marked increase of efficiency in our latest developments. To follow the history of the difficulties connected with these batteries, seems like listening to the story of a wayward child. Every part of the process seemed to play tricks. The red-lead or the composition would not adhere to the plates. The acid failed to preserve an even strength throughout. The plates themselves showed an awkward tendency to "buckle up" and thus break the connection. Speculation was in too great a hurry at the outset, and these defects did not receive proper attention. We believe that matters now have changed. Most of these defects have been studied and corrected. It is surely a hopeful sign that now it is possible to find in a battery a few cells behaving with perfect steadiness and force. What we have been able to do with a few cells, that we may fairly hope to achieve with the whole battery. It is the object now of manufacturers to bring the whole up to the level of the few. The question of electric storage is one of almost national importance. The great forces of Nature—the winds, the tides and waterfalls—are now wasting their boundless energy because we are unable to find a convenient means of collecting and storing the great powers they are scattering far and wide.

**The Cholera Poison.**—The newspapers during the summer months kept us well informed of the movements and opinions of Dr. Koch, the German Commissioner for the investigation of cholera. It thus happened that undue weight was attached to his authority, and when he finally announced that he had succeeded in discovering the microbe that is the cause of the terrible disease, the world believed him. But we have been premature. Dr. Koch's so-called discovery is repudiated by the whole scientific world. Medical men have swallowed his cholera microbe with impunity. If we may believe Dr. Lewis, the Commissioner for the Indian Government, Dr. Koch's microbe turns out to be nothing else than the Bacilli that are found

in the mouth and saliva of every healthy person. Dr. Koch declares that he has never seen such organisms, nor does he know of any one of his acquaintance who has met with them in this connection. But surely the objection is a fatal one. If Dr. Koch's "specific" microbe turns out to be no "specific" at all, and has been found generally in healthy subjects, the German investigator must be ruled out of court.

We learn, too, that the French Commissioners who were sent out to Egypt, have also steadily attacked Dr. Koch's view. They maintain that the poison of the cholera attacks the blood, and causes radical and fatal changes in the life-fluid, and that hourly examinations of the condition of the blood will give most certain indications of the progress of the malady. The most striking announcement of this Commission is that they have succeeded in transmitting the disease to animals. Up to this it has been generally held that cholera was not thus transmissible. We shall anxiously await further proofs of this statement. Should it turn out to be true, it will be one of the most important discoveries yet made with regard to this disease.

**The Germ Theory of Consumption.**—Dr. Koch may be attacked for his cholera theory, but his name will go down to posterity as the great discoverer of the contagious nature of consumption. It is not a little strange that, in spite of the strong evidence to the contrary, consumption was always declared to be non-contagious. In Victoria, where phthisis is very prevalent, Dr. Thompson encountered much difficulty in maintaining the new doctrine. In fact, it should be added that as far back as 1876 Dr. Thompson maintained that the cause of pulmonary consumption was a specific germ that entered in and destroyed the epithelium of the lungs. But the demonstration of this theory was effected by the wonderful researches of Dr. Koch. There were two points to be established: 1st, that the germ is a distinct species; 2nd, that the disease be reproduced by inoculation. The first condition proved a long and wearisome one. The germ taken from the diseased lung was placed in a medium in which it would thrive and multiply, but in a medium in which every other species of microbe should be absent. It would then be required to go on cultivating this microscopic thing by modification of surroundings, to endeavour to bring out other species. The phthisis microbe proved to be a slowly multiplying animalcule, but the patient efforts of Dr. Koch were crowned with success. He succeeded in cultivating his stock until they lost nearly all their virus, and were brought to the very verge of sterility, and still they remained unchanged in species. The first condition was thus fulfilled.

There yet remained another. Among animals that seemed to be proof against tuberculosis the cat was pre-eminent. He therefore resolved to put his theory to this most difficult test by inoculating a cat with his cultivated microbe. Nothing but the highest skill and patience could have secured the success of so difficult an experiment. But it was successful, and what was still more so, the doctor succeeded in obtaining microbes from his cat, and multiplying them by cultivation.

As one of the results of this wonderful discovery, the *sputum* of diseased patients was always found to be filled with the specific germ. In fact, the abundance or deficiency of its presence in such matters proves to be a most trustworthy indication of the progress of the disease. Practical medicine has largely shared the benefits of the discovery, as it has been put upon its guard as to the *locale* of the infection. It must now be a matter of the greatest caution to take measures to destroy the *sputum* on the earliest possible occasion. Any linen that receives it becomes highly dangerous; it is still more fatal to allow it to dry upon the ground, and thus poison the air with the dreaded germ. We feel that too much publicity can hardly be given to a matter on which the lives of thousands depend.

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#### NOTES OF TRAVEL AND EXPLORATION.

**The Soudan.**—(1) Among recently published records of travel, Mrs. Speedy's account of her wanderings in the Soudan \* is entitled to precedence on the principle of "*place aux dames*." This lady is the wife of Captain Tristram Speedy, R.N., who acted as interpreter to the British Expedition to Abyssinia, and subsequently as tutor or governor to Prince Alamayu, Theodore's son, confided to him by his dying mother. When the unfortunate heir of Abyssinia was removed from the care of his only English friend, he began to sicken and pine for home, and in his letters to Captain Speedy, implored the latter to carry him off thither, with the wild idea that King John would abdicate in his favour and restore him to his father's throne. Death cut short the poor boy's dreams of royalty, and Captain Speedy's next Abyssinian experience was his employment as interpreter to Admiral Hewett's mission to King John in the spring of 1884.

It was during her husband's absence on this last service, that Mrs. Speedy occupied herself in writing an account of her former travels with him (February to July, 1878) in the Soudan, a region which few English ladies—none we believe but herself and Lady Baker—have had courage to visit. Sport was the object of Captain Speedy's expedition, and its course was from Suakin to Kassala, and thence into the surrounding desert for about 100 miles in various directions. This country has often been described, but a lady's attention is caught by many minute details which escape masculine notice, and the desert assumes a new aspect seen from a feminine point of view. Other travellers have dwelt upon its landscape, its majesty of desolation, its power of impressing the mind, Mrs. Speedy helps us to realize the minutiae of its every-day life, and gives us a glimpse of house-keeping, or one should rather say hut, or tent-keeping in the wilderness. Some sides of Arab life, too, she portrays for us, which male travellers are

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\* "My Wanderings in the Soudan." By Mrs. Speedy. London: R. Bentley & Son. 1884.

precluded from seeing, and specially interesting is her account of a celebration in Kassala in honour of the circumcision of the children of one of the resident families. The festivities, which began with an elaborate banquet exquisitely cooked, though eaten with the fingers, were held in the open court-yard of the house, and concluded with a singular rite called "the procession of the henna." A number of tapers stuck into the ground all round the space so as to form rude patterns and outlines, were first lighted by the eldest boy, and then, after guests and children had had their faces and fingers smeared with the deep-red paste made of the henna leaves, all moved in procession round the court carrying lighted tapers and lanterns, while singing a long and dismal hymn in praise of henna, held by them in superstitious reverence and considered a cure for many ills. Of these ceremonies, the male guests, who of course feasted apart, saw nothing, and their entertainment was comparatively commonplace.

A characteristic feature of Soudan desert life is described by Mrs. Speedy in the camp of the beast-catchers: two German gentlemen employed in the capture and transport of wild animals to supply menageries in Europe. The difficulties of the undertaking were brought home to her by witnessing the daily promenade of the young elephants as a preliminary training for their march to Kassala; a sufficiently exciting performance, though she was told they were quite tame in comparison with what they had been.

They were all strongly chained together, one behind the other, with five Arabs surrounding each one, all endeavouring to act as conductors and restrainers to the especial youngster under their charge; yet, in spite of these guides, the wild dashes that the whole gang made in forbidden directions were perfectly terrifying. They came rolling and tumbling along, curling their long trunks about, and shuffling their great flat feet deep into the dust, of which they kicked up such clouds that sometimes we could scarcely see them, and were ourselves almost suffocated. As they drew near, I observed that in the case of each elephant one of the five Arabs in attendance on him held a strong rope fastened securely round his near front leg, another a similar rope attached to his off hind, while a third man walked at his head leading him, and a fourth followed behind to remind him at rebellious moments of the duty of advancing; the fifth Arab accompanied the party to give extra help if needed in any emergency. As there were five elephants, there were twenty-five Arabs with them, besides a vast and motley crowd of stray onlookers, and Herr Löhse himself was there too, marching at the head of the cavalcade, hunting-whip in hand.

The hunting-whip had to be brought into requisition before the walk was over, for the elephants becoming refractory at a steep bit of the path, it was loudly cracked in the air as a warning of stronger measures in reserve.

The sound was evidently known and feared, for immediately every trunk was curled up, always a sign of anger, every head was tossed aloft, and that harsh trumpeting screech which an elephant always emits when frightened, was the simultaneous result from the whole number. One or two even raised their trunks and brought them down again with a bang on the ground, producing a hollow, reverberating noise like striking an empty beer-barrel, which is another indication on the part of the elephant

of terror and displeasure. Still they did not stir, and at last the lash had to be brought sharply down on the back of the leader.

The danger was that in their first rush they would bolt over the precipice; but this being averted, the rest of their "constitutional" was accomplished in comparative tranquillity.

The travelling arrangements for two young hippopotami were also of extreme difficulty, for each had to be slung in a box between two camels trained to keep step, and they had moreover to be provided with a daily plunge-bath, which, in the desert, is a most inconvenient necessity. The commissariat for this strange caravan consisted of a large flock of goats, twenty-five camels for water, and ten for durra, the whole cortège comprising between fifty and sixty animals (besides the transport camels and the goats), nearly forty Arabs to take care of the animals, and the two Europeans with their personal attendants, dromedaries, and baggage camels. For the much longer march from Kassala to Suakin, the staff of this Noah's Ark procession would have to be still further increased, all supplies being necessarily on a scale proportionate to the distance.

Mrs. Speedy describes as follows, a phenomenon which we do not remember to have seen noticed by any other traveller :—

The morning after our arrival we were startled at early dawn by a tremendous noise, like the rushing of a great wind, or the sudden rising of mighty flames, and started up expecting to see the jungle on fire, and to find that we were in jeopardy of being burnt out.

To our unutterable surprise all this commotion was caused by tiny birds flying in dense masses—millions of them, I am sure, there must have been—out of all the neighbouring bushes and shrubs.

The same thing occurred regularly day after day at the same hour. These minute feathered things, as small as humming-birds, and far smaller than many Eastern butterflies, came home at night to roost, and were off again, no one knew whither, with the first ray of daylight, and, though each was too diminutive to have made any audible sound by itself, the combined movement of the multitude was as tremendous as I have described it. The female of these birds was brown, the male principally a dullish red, and they were not in either case remarkable for beauty.

The authoress describes a not uncommon incident of Soudan adventure, when she tells how she was flooded out of her hut in the dry bed of the Gash, by the sudden rising of the stream in the night. Bedding, clothes, provisions, had to be rescued by attendant Arabs, while the lady herself was borne in her husband's arms to the farther shore of the rapidly rising river. A more serious danger was escaped on her last march into Tokar, when they had to fly before a sand-storm discerned on the horizon as a dense wall of impenetrable dust and sand. She on her swift hyjin or riding dromedary, "Wad Zaid," and her husband similarly mounted, rode for their lives before the advancing cloud, while an Arab guide on foot led the way.

The most remarkable thing about that ride [she says] was the way the native ran. He was an unusually tall man, well and cleanly built, muscular, and without an ounce of superfluous flesh; had he been picked

for the task he could not have been better chosen. We on our camels and the Arab on foot fled before the dust-storm at the rate of between seven and eight miles an hour, for over three hours, doing nearly four-and-twenty miles in that time, and that splendid Arab, a model for any sculptor, and a hero for any race-course, kept before us the whole way, and we halted but once on the road.

Before reaching Tokar, a change of wind had swept the storm in another direction, averting the danger from the travellers, whose adventures terminated with this race for life.

2. Col. Colborne,\* now acting as *Daily News* correspondent with the Nile Expedition, has published a record of his experiences during Hicks Pasha's last campaign in the Soudan, which, while chiefly valuable as a contribution to the history of that disastrous episode, gives also interesting details of scenery and manners.

**The King Country.**—A less familiar region is opened up by Mr. Kerry-Nicholls,† who, in his journey through Maori Land, traversed a country hitherto closed to European visitors, though nominally part of the British dominions. Over this secluded land, comprising a large area of the North Island of New Zealand, King Tawhiao, who visited England in the course of last summer, still reigns as absolute monarch, all attempts to bribe him to abdicate his authority by retrocession of confiscated lands, or payment of a Government pension, having utterly failed. Round this reserve territory the natives, in order to preserve it from the encroachments of the colonists, have drawn a boundary, within which no European is allowed to acquire land, make roads, or even travel, Mr. Kerry-Nicholls' journey having succeeded through its very audacity. He, with a single companion, rode through the "King Country" for 600 miles, from end to end, and was everywhere received by the natives with friendly hospitality. He shared their food, of which pork and potatoes are the staple, and endured the penance, almost intolerable to a European gentleman, of sleeping in their hermetically sealed huts, in company with an indiscriminate crowd of natives, in an atmosphere of 100° Fahr.

Much of the country explored by him was covered by primeval forest, reeking with damp, and occupying broken ground with intervening swampy hollows, but in other regions he came upon tracts of fertile and richly grassed plains. The natives live in wooden or reed-built houses, with projecting eaves; their principal amusements are smoking and playing cards, and their rural industry is represented by an abundant supply of pigs and potatoes. Their numbers, estimated in Cook's time at 100,000, had fallen in 1881 to 44,099 and though no longer persecuted by the white man, they are slowly dying out before him. Originally a splendid race, they are now physically degenerate, decimated by consumption, chronic asthma, and scrofula, enfeebled by partial imitation of the habits of civilization, and demoralized by the adoption of its vices. Unanimous tradition points

\* "With Hicks Pasha in the Soudan." By Lieut.-Col. the Hon. J. Colborne. London. 1884.

† "The King Country." By J. H. Kerry-Nicholls. London: Sampson Low & Co. 1884.

to an island in the Pacific, to which they give the name of Hawaiki as the original home of the Maori race, and thence they are said to have emigrated to their present abode under the leadership of a semi-supernatural leader, called Te Tupe. The names of the canoes in which they came, with those of their respective captains, have been handed down by oral tradition for generations, and legend also asserts that certain animals and plants, as the sweet potato, the rat, and green parrot, were brought by the immigrants from their original home.

The author visited the regions of the boiling springs, and describes the endless variety of geysers, mud-holes, fumaroles and solfataras clustering thickly round the lake shores and river beds, and discharging waters of every hue impregnated with every class of mineral deposit. The natives use these natural caldrons for all domestic purposes, and Mr. Kerry Nicholls describes the summary process by which a pig, caught and slain under his eyes, was first plunged into a hissing pool to be deprived of its bristles, and then laid over a steam hole to cook until done to a turn. Hot baths, available at all hours, are freely indulged in, and if a Maori feels chilly even during the night he will get up to plunge into the steaming tank before his door.

The most beautiful natural phenomena of this region are the fairy-like terraces, one white as alabaster, the other coral-pink, formed by the silicious crystallization of the overflow of hot-water crater pools some seventy feet above the lake. The first is thus described :

As we looked<sup>1</sup> upwards the whole outline of the terrace assumed a semi-circular form, which spreads out at its base in a graceful curve of many hundreds of feet, as it sloped gently down to the margin of the lake. Then broad, flat, rounded steps of pure white silica rose tier above tier ; white and smooth as Parian marble, and above them terrace above terrace mounted upwards, rounded and semi-circular in form, as if designed by the hand of man, guided by the inspiration of the Divine Architect. All were formed out of a delicate tracery of silica which appeared like lace work congealed into alabaster of the purest hue. Each lamination or fold of this beautiful design was clearly and marvellously defined, and as the glittering warm water came rippling over them in a continuous flow Te Tarata sparkled beneath the sun as if bedecked with diamonds and myriads of other precious gems. Crystal pools, shaped as if to resemble the form of shells and leaves, and filled to their brims with water, blue and shining as liquid turquoise, charmed the eyes as we mounted to every step, while around the edges, the bright crystals of silica had formed incrustations which made them appear as if set in a margin of miniature pearls. Every successive terrace seemed to spring up in grander proportions from the one immediately below it, as we approached the summit, not in formal angular-shaped steps, but in flat-topped elevations, with rounded edges and sweeping curves from which the wet glittering silica hung in the shape of sparkling stalactites, which interlacing themselves and mingling together, formed a delicate and almost transparent fringe which looked like a fantastic network of icicles, so exquisitely beautiful in appearance and so delicately formed as to appear as if fashioned by the magic touch of a fairy hand. Mounting upward and upward, where it seemed sacrilege for the booted foot of man to tread, and where the snowy crisp silicious crystal formed a carpet-like covering beneath the feet, we reached the summit, and sat down upon a cluster of

rocks which rose in fantastic shape upon the very margin of the cup-shaped crater.

The great central region of plutonic action was also explored, and the two mighty volcanic caves of Tangariro and Ruapeho ascended, though strictly tabooed to the white man's foot by native superstition. The former is in the semi-extinct or solfataral stage, emitting steam and gases, but no lava, the other is totally quiescent. It is a curious fact that in the glacier-sheeted sides of the latter mountain, at 7,000 above the sea, two of the principal rivers of the island, the Waikato and the Whangachu have their rise, within a very short distance of each other. The two streams, the first clear as crystal, the second white as milk from the alum with which it is charged, run nearly parallel for miles, ere they finally diverge to take opposite courses towards the north and south of the island.

**A Snake Dance.**—A singular remnant of ancient heathen worship is described in Captain Bourke's volume on the Snake Dance of the Moquis of Arizona.\* This tribe, occupying seven different pueblos or villages a few leagues apart, has never been converted to Christianity, and retains its ancient rites and superstitions. The Snake Dance celebrated every second year at the full moon of August, is the most remarkable of these, and was witnessed in full perfection by the author. The reptiles used in it, principally rattle-snakes, though four kinds are admitted, are collected by the young men during eight days previous, and deposited in semi-subterranean chambers called *estufas*, used in these villages as places of public assembly, and entered by a ladder from the roof. The captive reptiles are here guarded by two ancient medicine men, who appeared to the author to be under the influence of a narcotic, and who control the movements of the snakes by stroking them with wands of eagle's feathers supposed to inspire them with fear or aversion. The snakes are not deprived of their fangs, but certain roots seem to be used as antidotes to their poison by those in contact with them, and it is said the creatures themselves are washed in some infusion of them. They are handled freely by the initiated, being gripped behind the head with one hand, and stroked downwards with the other to prevent them from coiling, as while extended they seem comparatively innocuous. The ceremonies are confined to members of the order of the Rattlesnake, forming a distinct brotherhood, almost exclusively drawn from the descendants of the snake clan. In the dance itself, the men wear cotton kilts, and have their faces and bodies stained in different colours. Men, women, and children, to the number of fifty or eighty, take part in the dance or procession; but only the men and boys carry the snakes, holding them in their hands and mouths, and depositing them in places where they are taken up by fresh divisions of the dancers. The procession circles round a sacred rock and tent of buffalo's hide, to which the snakes are carried after being sprinkled with sacred corn-flour by the women. They are eventually borne to the foot of the rock on which the village

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\* "The Snake Dance of the Moquis of Arizona." By John G. Bourke, Capt. 3rd U. S. Cavalry. London: Sampson Low & Co. 1884.

stands, and there liberated once more. The dance seems to be an invocation of rain for the crops; and the four kinds of snakes symbolize four kinds of lightning, of which their sinuous motion is suggestive. This curious subject is illustrated by coloured plates of the various costumes and ornaments used in the ceremonial, and preparatory stages.

**Timbuctoo.**—Dr. Oskar Lens has published a narrative of his exploration of the Sahara, and visit to Timbuctoo, where he spent eighteen days' in 1880.\* He reports the Great Desert to be not the uniform sandy waste the popular imagination pictures it, but a diversified region, consisting for the most part of raised plateaus, with intervening valleys, in which springs and even running waters are sometimes found. The average temperature experienced was 86° Fahr., and he does not seem to have found the heat oppressive. The depression of El Juf, supposed to have been an ancient sea-bed, does not in his opinion present that character. At no point crossed by him was its elevation less than 492 feet above the sea, and though it may decline towards the west, he does not believe it ever reaches a lower level than 330 feet. The Sahara, according to his theory of its formation, is a sandstone region which has undergone atmospheric disintegration. The young Arab city of Tendouf, on the skirts of the Desert, he describes as having made rapid growth since its foundation thirty years ago. It is now surrounded by gardens and palm-groves, while four caravan routes converge on it. The fanaticism of its inhabitants obliged him to pass by without entering it, and prevented him from examining its ancient salt-workings and pre-historic implements, so interesting from the light they might be expected to throw on the early condition of the Sahara.

**Southern Greenland.**—Of systematic explorations, the most important recently carried on have been those of the Danish expedition in Southern Greenland, under Lieutenants Holm and Garde. Their report, dated March, 1884, is written from their winter quarters at Namortalik, about fifty miles from Cape Farewell. This little village, situated on an island with some 250 inhabitants, consists of thirty turf-covered houses, but has a Lutheran mission and school, a brewery, a bakery, and a branch of the commercial company called the Royal Commerce of Greenland. The inhabitants catch seals and eiders on the adjacent islands, and the beautiful fiord of Tasermiut, fifty miles in length, supplies them in abundance with salmon, seals and herrings. The shores of this inlet, whose luxuriance of summer vegetation, combined with heat and mosquitoes, almost recalls the tropics, abound in game, ptarmigan, Polar bears, hares, and foxes.

The general scenery of Southern Greenland is of a wild and desolate character, savage mountain ranges being separated by yawning valley-gorges, through which vast glaciers reach the sea. The greatest cold registered was on March 9, when 21° 5" below zero of Centigrade was marked. The winter temperature was very variable, ranging from 20° (Cent.) of frost to some degrees above freezing, with high winds

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\* "Timbuktu : Reise durch Morocco, die Sahara und den Sudan." Von Dr. Oskar Lens. Leipzig : Brockhaus. 1884.

and rain alternating with snow. The expedition is to spend another winter in Greenland, returning in the autumn of 1885.

The results of Lieutenant Holm's earlier journeys (1880-81) have been recently published. Their most interesting feature is the description, illustrated with numerous photographs, of the ruins of ancient Norman settlements in the *Julianehaab* district, where forty groups of dwellings, consisting of 300 buildings, were surveyed. The fact that stone-houses were habitable in the tenth and eleventh centuries argues a warmer climate than that now prevailing, and the former extensive breeding of cattle throughout these regions is also evidence of the change.

**Camels in Australia.**—The introduction of the camel into Australia has rendered possible the exploration of the waterless interior, and two successful journeys have been accomplished with the aid of these animals as carriers. Mr. Whitfield Mills, starting from Beltana, near Lake Torrens, S.A., on June 6, 1883, crossed the continent in about 28° south lat., and reached the coast at Northampton, W.A. The party suffered much from want of water, and were once ten or eleven days without it; only three perennial springs having been found in a tract of 1600 miles. Some regions were crossed which might be made available for pasture, but the general character of the land seems to have been unpromising. Of the thirty camels under the care of five Afghan drivers, six were lost, from having eaten, as was supposed, poisonous herbage.

The second Australian expedition was that of Mr. Charles Winnecke, who, from July 30 to December 2, 1883, explored 400 miles of entirely unknown country in the North Territory of South Australia. High red-sandstone ridges, covered with stunted acacia jungle, separating valleys, overgrown with similar scrubby bush, formed the general outline of the landscape, of which the most peculiar features were dry salt lakes, covered with surface crystallization of dazzling whiteness. Camels were here, too, the beasts of burden, and are reported to have "behaved nobly." If it can be credited that they went, as stated, 16 days without water, travelling 278 miles in the time, their endurance was certainly tried to the utmost, and the forty gallons a-piece they are reported to have subsequently drunk, was fairly due to them.

The recent discovery of an abundant supply of water, at 1220 feet below the surface, at Turkannina, in lat. 30° S., long. 130½° E., has suggested the hope that a subterranean supply exists through a cretaceous region, occupying 126,000 square miles of Central Australia. This fact, if verified, would revolutionize the destinies of the continent.

**New Guinea.**—An expedition sent out to explore New Guinea by the proprietor of the *Melbourne Age*, returned to Thursday Island, on June 9, 1884, having explored 120 miles of the Mai Kassa, or Baxter River, west of the Fly River. They report a "splendid country," and passed twelve rivers, some of considerable size, but were attacked by the natives, and had to abandon their boat in the retreat to the coast. One of their number was wounded in the foot, and

it is feared that another lost his life in an attempt to reach Saibai Island from the mainland on a bamboo raft. The native missionaries from that place eventually succoured the rest of the party and rescued them from their perilous position.

**Volcano in West Australia.**—The reported outbreak of a new volcano in West Australia on August 25, 1883, is curious from its probable connection with the simultaneous great convulsion in the Straits of Sunda. The fact rests as yet only on native authority, but the description quoted in *Nature*, February 21, 1884, seems too accurate for anything but an actual transcript of reality. "Big mountain burn up. He big one sick. Throw him up red stuff, it run down side, and burn down grass and trees."

**An Adventurous Traveller.**—An Italian traveller, Signor Maurizio Buonfanti has made a remarkable journey, recorded in the Report of the Roman Geographical Society for April, 1884. Starting from Tripoli in April, 1881, he reached Lake Tchad, and thence penetrated to Adamawa in the valley of the Binue. Driven back to Koko in Bornu by wars among the natives, he directed his course westward towards Kano, explored the Foulah kingdom of Sokoto as far as the Niger, and then followed that river upwards to Timbuctoo. He traversed Masina, but had to retreat before the hostile attacks of natives, and eventually making his way through Dahomey to the Catholic Mission at Abeokuta, reached the coast at Lagos after two years' travel by routes hitherto unexplored.

**New Sect in N. Africa.**—The exploration of North Africa is daily rendered more difficult and dangerous by the rapid propagation of the new Islamite sect of Es-Senousi, of which M. Henri Duveyrier has published a remarkable study. Its tenets, brought from the Arabian to the Libyan Desert, inculcate uncompromising hostility to Christians as well as to all less fanatical Mohammedans, and the author ascribes to their influence recent risings in Algeria; and assassinations of travellers like that of Mdle. Tinné in 1869 in the Soudan, and of the Flatters' Mission in the Algerian Sahara in 1881. The Tripolitan Sheikh, Sidi Mohammed-Ben-Ali-es-Senousi, is the head of the confraternity, which rules absolutely in Tripoli, is favoured by the Sultan of Morocco, has numerous adherents throughout Yemen and the Somali country, is all-powerful in Wadai, and has zaouiya, or convents, scattered through the Libyan oases, the Theban Desert, the Tripolitan Sahara Fezzan, and many points in Algerian territory. Its sectaries, estimated at the very lowest at a million and a half, number perhaps three millions, and are bound to shrink from no atrocity at the bidding of their superiors. The Sultan himself, whose title to the caliphate is disputed by a large section of his subjects, is obliged to temporize with this and other reforming movements, which constitute a serious danger in the East.

## Notices of Catholic Continental Periodicals.

### ITALIAN PERIODICALS.

*La Civiltà Cattolica*, 1 Novembre.

**The Policy of Italy.**—When the three Emperors met in the middle of September at the castle of Skierniewice, exciting the curiosity of all Europe, the attention of Italy was greatly distracted by the cholera raging in its midst, by King Humbert's visit to the afflicted city of Naples, and by the clamorous ovations with which this regal act of charity was celebrated. But when the very genuine dread of the disease had subsided, and a somewhat artificial and exaggerated enthusiasm for the king's self-devotion had cooled down, public opinion, or rather its feeders, had time to cast an eye to the now empty castle of Skierniewice, and to ask each other the question, "What of Italy, which but lately was glorying in her alliance with the two Emperors of central Europe, and what has become of her policy?" Italy, they perceive, has been altogether ignored, and left out of the hunt. The bluest monarchists and the reddist republicans all agree in noticing this patent fact. "We have been treated," says the *Fascio Democratico*, "as the very last among the nations and the least serious of Governments. We have been playing the part of lacqueys, and we have been despised as proud, dirty paupers." All the journals sing the same tune with their characteristic variations. Even Bonghi in his "*Nuova Antologia*" says much the same as the rest, though in more covered terms. He admits, though he tries to make the best of this peculiar position, treating foreign alliances after the fashion of "sour grapes." After all, Italy seems to him to have cut but a poor figure as one in the trio: she would make a more pitiful one still in a quartetto. Her course was now plain: to keep on good terms with all, as others will, on their part, desire to do with her. "We shall be compelled," he says, "for many years to remain what we are, and no more—no one will wish us to be less." That is the question, the Reviewer thinks. *L'Italia farà da se*: This was the old boast, now to be realized for the first time. She is to emerge from babyhood, be freed from swaddling-bands, and walk in freedom. Her safety, Bonghi thinks, will depend upon the manifest uprightness of her intentions and on her resolution to abstain from coveting what at present belongs to others: a bad pledge for her security, the Reviewer says, considering the vice of her origin, from which she shows no sign of conversion.

Others do not share Bonghi's hopes, real or affected, as the Reviewer demonstrates by several curious extracts from Liberal journals. He proceeds to show that new Italy, having placed the very reason of its existence on an implacable war against the principle and bulwark of

all social and political authority, the Papacy, thereby confesses that it is the most revolutionary of Governments. "O Roma, O la morte" is still inscribed on its banner. And being thus also essentially and actively opposed to the religious rights and interests of Catholics throughout the world, the subjects of different States, it must naturally, when no longer at once fettered and protected by some powerful nation, become, for this double reason, an object of suspicion and unfriendly feeling to other Governments, if only from the mere instinct of self-preservation.

This article will repay the perusal of any who wish to know what are the views or opinions of the organs of revolutionary Italy as to its position and prospects at this juncture.

**Dangers a-head signalled.**—If there be any foundation for what the *Capitale* asserted on the 16th of October, as quoted by the *Civiltà Cattolica*, the so-called Kingdom of Italy has no small ground for apprehension, already being threatened with a new exodus. The *Capitale* has raised a veritable cry of alarm on the subject. It was not a mere *on dit* that had shaken its nerves, but, as it seems, a telegram from Berlin had announced that the *Gazzetta della Croce* had formally stated that Italy intended to vacate Rome and remove the Court and seat of Government to Florence. Similar reports had previously been current, but Mancini's organs had set them aside as of no importance, but now the case was different, since the *Gazzetta della Croce* is reckoned as the authorized organ of the Court of Berlin and of the most influential classes in Prussia. Whether, therefore, its news be true or false, the *Capitale* opines that the matter is serious, very serious. If false, it is at least an index of the political tendency of the German Government. "What is sought at Berlin," it says, "is internal peace, and the Prussian Government would be disposed to sacrifice even the rights (?) of Italy to Rome in order to silence the Centre party, whose opposition is more troublesome than ever. But if, on the other hand, it be true, whether founded on the weakness of our Ministry or as entering into the plan of the Conservative league concerted between the three Emperors, it would constitute a grave menace." Who would have believed, some time ago, that the *Capitale*, the *Diritto*, and their compeers, would use such language, plainly evincing that they dread an ultimate triumph of the Papacy, and that ever since the terrible dispatch from Berlin they are unable to conceal their fears of such a finale? The *Capitale*, indeed, does not scruple to remind its readers that Charles V. caused Rome to be sacked, and then, a few years later, became the champion of Catholicism and the persecutor of Luther and the Reform. "Besides this," adds the terrified Radical journal, "we must not forget that the 'Holy Alliance' in 1815 had for its chief founders, after Austria, Protestant England and Prussia and heterodox Russia."

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18 Octobre.

**Decadence of Italian Romance.**—A series of articles on the degeneracy of Italian thought has been appearing in the *Civiltà*

*Cattolica* The last treated of poetry, the present treats of romance. No other branch of literature, it considers, manifests a more deplorable state of decadence. After serving, like poetry, as an instrument for exciting political passions, and for adding fuel to the flame which the Masonic sects and their foreign auxiliaries were kindling throughout Italy, it has now fallen to so depraved and despicable a level as to be reckoned one of the most potent factors in the deterioration, both moral and literary, which prevails. The Reviewer traces the styles which have been in vogue during the last fifty years and upwards through their different phases. The first was the historical romance, and, strange to say, in a land which of all others might be supposed to furnish rich materials in this line, we are forced to go back above half a century to Manzoni's "*Promessi Sposi*" to be able to name one romance which does real honour to Italian literature. It merited a strong encomium from Sir Walter Scott, whom the Reviewer calls the greatest of modern writers of fiction. When Manzoni modestly confessed to him that he had drawn his own inspiration from his romances, Sir Walter promptly rejoined, "If that be the case, the '*Promessi Sposi*' is my best romance." Manzoni was followed by a host of imitators, of whom it would be little to say that not one equalled him, for by far the greater number were utterly unsuccessful in deriving any inspiration from his pages. True, their stories were filled with the most extraordinary and startling events, and were all made up of pretty nearly the same conventional materials. There was the inevitable tournament, elopement or abduction, a shipwreck, a magician, a hermit, a cavern, a prison, a castle, a brigand, and all the rest of the paraphernalia of a fifth-rate melodrama; just as now to please the vitiated tastes of the day, there must figure in a romance accomplished scoundrels, abandoned women, incendiaries, poisonings, assassinations, suicides, and the like. Manzoni was the first to be sensible of the ridiculous in this excess of romanticism, and ashamed, perhaps, of being reckoned as the originator of this style, he boldly wrote against it, showing how, with rare exceptions, history was rather compromised than served by historical romance, while imagination and invention were crippled.

These absurd stories, though debasing to art, were not otherwise corrupting; but the political romance by which they were to be supplanted and of which Foscolo, an admirer and imitator of Goethe's "*Werther*," was the first importer, inflicted deadly wounds on morality. His "*Jacopo Ortis*" is the cry of a soul which believes in nothing, or of Brutus at Phillippi: "O virtue, thou art a vain word!" It was a hodge-podge of sentimental bile, egotistical meanness, pagan patriotism, proud contempt of life and of men, and execration of foreign rule. Mazzini adopted Foscolo's ideas and style, and in his wake followed the democratic journals, the emancipated women, and the juvenile libertines. In the meantime, and in spite of some few better examples, there was forming in Italy a species of blasphemous and bitter romance by a mixture of the scornful scepticism of Byron, Foscolo's worship of an irresistible necessity, and Alfieri's hatred of tyrants, with a seasoning of Victor Hugo's sen-

suous extravagance to give a relish to the composition. It was replete with false or exaggerated sentiment ; brought monsters on the scene, drawn from the brain of the writer, not from anything in nature or society ; exalted vice into heroism ; white-washed turpitude ; and beautified vice. The great leader of this school was Guerrazzi, an active member of the secret societies and promoter of revolution. The Masonic sects welcomed his works with enthusiasm, on account of their fierce invectives against the Popes, against princes, and, indeed, the whole human race, and because he was an adept in teaching the art of blaspheming holy things with consummate cynicism. His literary merit was small, and he was unable to create a single artistic type or depict one genuine character. No wonder, therefore, if he is scarcely remembered now ; but his successors and imitators continued his bad work.

We must refer our readers to the pages of the Review for a sketch of the different forms and styles through which the revolutionary, anti-social, and anti-Christian romance advanced, or, rather, descended to the very lowest depth of degradation. It has been followed by the countless tribe of novelists whose sole desire is to make money, and, in order to do so, flatter the most brutal instincts of the multitude. The impression which these pernicious books leave upon the mind is that the distinction between good and bad is a scarecrow for imbeciles, that violent passions are a sign of strength, whereas they are precisely the reverse, and that the infallible token of moral superiority is to feel respect for nothing. Massimo d' Azeglio, himself a writer of romance and, as an ardent friend of the Revolution, by no means free from blame in the use of his pen, has in his "Ricordi" severely judged the romance writers of modern Italy, where he says that for the last thirty years there is no abomination with which they have not defiled their pens, no turpitude which they have not approved, no crime which they have not defended, no virtue which they have not outraged. Things have become, if possible, more despicably vile since he left that censure on record. This abominable literature is one of the causes of the deplorable moral declension of the Italy of to day. It is in the hands of all women as well as men, from the young lady of rank who reads these novels on the sly, to the humble sempstress who robs herself of part of the brief time which is left her for sleep to give herself this poisonous indulgence. What is to be hoped for from a generation brought up and nourished on this worse than garbage ? That which we may expect from people who have lost all sentiment of the beautiful, the good, and the true.

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## FRENCH PERIODICALS.

*Revue des Questions Historiques.* October.

**Popes Vigilius and Pelagius.**—None of the French periodicals this quarter contain articles of much importance or of anything like special interest. The one which appeals to the largest circle of

readers is probably the one with which this issue of the "Questions Historiques" opens: "Vigile et Pélage: étude sur l'histoire de l'Eglise Romaine au milieu du VI<sup>e</sup>. Siècle." It is a long article, but pleasant reading, and coming as it does from the pen of the Abbé L. Duchesne—who is at present bringing out his edition of the "Liber Pontificalis," and is overflowing with knowledge of the period—it is well worth perusal by the student of history. The dramatic interest of the article ends doubtless with Vigilius' death at Syracuse; but the writer's sketch of the difficulties which Pelagius encountered on his return to Rome as Pope, from Western prelates, on account of his change of judgment regarding the condemnation of the Three Chapters, is very graphic. Indeed the perusal of the article gives about as real and vivid a picture of a confused and excited period as one could well desire. The article begins with the *débuts* of Vigilius as a young deacon: not very promising beginnings either, one would think. "Pope Boniface II., having been designated by his predecessor Felix IV., Vigilius had the idea of getting himself adopted as successor by Boniface." The adoption was actually made, and with a certain degree of solemnity; but fortunately when Boniface died in 532 Vigilius was not elected Pope. Then the author sketches the life of Vigilius at Constantinople, and his success in ingratiating himself with both Justinian and Theodora; his journey back to Rome with letters from them to Belisarius ordering that Vigilius must be the successor of Agapitus, just dead; and then the intrusion by Theodatus of Silverius into the pontifical chair before Vigilius could arrive from the East. The author cannot think that Vigilius was entirely free from complicity in the subsequent persecution and exile of Silverius; indeed, his cruelty towards that holy man is too marked, and is moreover not the only thing of the kind laid to his charge (p. 380). In an interesting section the author traces the career of Pelagius as apocrisarius at Constantinople, his influence, and his share in raising the theological storm which soon agitated both East and West. Then we come across the Emperor theologian, and get a clear picture of the contending influences which worked so violently till the conflict culminated in the fifth General Council. We have a touching account of the violence used to the Pope both before and after the Council. We learn to sympathize with him in his changes of conduct, and find, on the author's showing, that Vigilius is not so weak a character as he is often represented. Indeed, he seems here to merit the praise accorded him by Palma of having so acted, "*ut prudentiæ laudem omnino mereatur.*" How much the peace of the Church suffered from the theological dictatorship of Justinian is tellingly brought out by the facts here narrated. We learn, too, how far Vigilius' orthodoxy was from being understood at the time in the West, by the dark looks of opposition which met Pelagius on his return to Rome to be Pope, after having accepted the decrees of Constantinople and condemned the Three Chapters: he was regarded as "a deserter of Apostolic doctrine, and unfaithful to Saint Leo."

**Character of Pelagius.**—In this sketch of the middle of the sixth

century, in the midst of desolating wars, plottings, cavillings, and not over-scrupulous honesty, and with the character of the future Popes showing in many respects so much under the influence of their age, their conduct as successors of St. Peter stands out in remarkable contrast—is, in fact, phenomenal. Pelagius is here specially held forward for admiration, not only as a generous and self-sacrificing benefactor of the people, a man of high character, eloquent and ready, but as having kept his hands clear of simony, and that at a time when simony was “*de tradition et presque de bon goût.*” For Pelagius, the Abbé Duchesne has words of high eulogy. He quotes his epitaph:—

Captivos redimens, miseris succurrere promptus  
Pauperibus nunquam parta negare sibi;  
Tristitia participans, læti moderator opimus  
Alterius gemitus credidit esse suos.

“Tristitia participans!” concludes our author, “Alterius gemitus!” How much sadness and how many groans in those calamitous times when Rome was five times taken and retaken; when Italy—trodden down by Goths, and Greeks, and Franks—seemed to produce its harvests that they might be burned, and its men that they might be massacred or enslaved. These sorrows wrang the heart of Pelagius; his hand dressed these wounds. The Church has not judged it well to give him the halo of the Saints, but History, whilst not deceiving herself about the vicissitudes of his chequered existence, nor throwing any veil over the contradictions of his theological career, has to make place for him among the great Popes of these winter centuries, near Agapitus and Gregory, illustrious pontiffs, the honour of the Christian family of which they were the heads, and of the Roman race of which they were the last representatives.”

**Cardinal Chigi in France, 1664.**—This, the second article of the *Revue*, narrates the legation of Cardinal Chigi, his arrival in France, and his treatment at the hands of Louis XIV. A former article by the same author, M. Charles Gérin, headed “The Embassy of Créquî, and the Treaty of Pisa,” was noticed by us in 1880. The present article takes up the narrative immediately after the treaty. One condition imposed by Louis XIV. on the ill-treated Pope, was that Alexander VII. should present his excuses (especially for the miserable affair of the Corsican Guard) to Louis, by his nephew Cardinal Flavio Chigi, to be endowed, for this mission, with the title of *legate à latere*. The object of the article is to ascertain how Alexander VII. fulfilled this principal article of the treaty, and by that means to ascertain “by the light of inedited documents two of the questions which the recital raises: Was the Court of France in good faith, and could it ever have been mistaken about the intentions and acts of Alexander? Having obtained satisfaction, what did it do to re-establish friendly intercourse with the Holy See? The result of this study is emphatically to show the Holy See honestly doing all it could to pacify and satisfy Louis, and thwarted at every turn by the supercilious and half dishonest unfriendliness of the King and his agents. The constantly re-echoed insult by the Papal Guard—the true nature of which was shown in the former article—was even known by the King’s Ministers and acknowledged between them in their private correspondence, now first pub-

lished. Lionne, writing to the French Ambassador in England, speaks of "l'insulte faite à M. le duc de Créquy, qui après tout était un cas fortuit." The writer's version of Cardinal Chigi's legation reflects highest credit on him for prudence, straightforwardness, and simplicity, and equal discredit on the King and his Ministers and agents, for treating the Legate with half-veiled insults and vexatious delays. A secret instruction of the King to his Ambassador at Rome is also brought to light: the Pope and his nephew were to have the goodwill of Louis if they would sell themselves to second his foreign policy; otherwise they were to be threatened with the *virga ferrea*. "But the Legate," says our author, "was accessible to neither fear nor ambition." He remained to the end what he had shown himself to the French people: "of irreproachable manners, just to all, respectful to princes, modest in his elevation, an example to all of courtesy and kindness."

The remaining principal articles in this number of the *Revue* are "Les Conférences de Saint-Brice entre Henri de Navarre et Catherine de Médicis, 1586—1587," by the Vicomte Guy de Brémond d'Ars. A full and not uninteresting account of the hitherto scarcely mentioned conferences, which consumed, as Catherine had to deplore, eight months of useless efforts, in the course of which she had to suffer not a little from the rough Calvinist leaders, and the result of which was entirely favourable to Henri and his party. "Les Émigrés et les Commissions militaires après Fructidor," by M. Victor Pierre; "Le Livre blanc de Toulouse," by M. Ad. Tardif, and "L'Émigration Brétonne en Armorique," by M. A. de Barthélemy, which, though only a review of a work by M. J. Loth bearing the same title, gives a sufficient *résumé* of a book which should have special interest on this side of the Channel.

#### GERMAN PERIODICALS.

By Dr. BELLESHEIM, of Cologne.

##### 1. *Katholik*.

**Pelagianism.**—In the September number Dr. Ernst discusses the doctrine of the old British heretic Pelagius, who, with his disciple Cœlestius, in the time of S. Augustine disturbed the Christian world. In our own days there have been published in Germany several most able books on Pelagianism, although on more than one point it cannot be admitted that they afford an exact idea of that baneful heresy. The present inquiry is directed mainly to the question whether or not Pelagius and his disciples taught the doctrine of "opera supererogatoria." Dr. Ernst is a solid patristical scholar, and in this article gives us ample grounds for believing that the very masters of the Pelagian school, Pelagius himself, Cœlestius and Julian of Eclanum, held the doctrine of supererogatory works.

**The Gospel in the Liturgy.**—F. Wolff, a Benedictine monk of

Maredzous, a faithful disciple of the famous Abbot Guéranger, in this same September number continues his dissertation on "The Gospel in the Liturgy." The priest's *reading* of the Gospel during High Mass is no original part of the liturgy; only in the later period of the Middle Ages it was adopted, when the dramatical—if we may use the term—character of the Mass was less insisted on than before. The old Sacramentaries contained those texts only and prayers which were assigned exclusively to the celebrating priest and not to any of the others who took part in the liturgy. And therefore those Sacramentaries contained neither Epistle nor Gospel. After the year 1000 the priest began to recite, through devotion, those prayers also or texts which were sung by the choir. The same may be said of the custom of carrying the missal to the right side of the altar. In the first centuries this was not done before the Gospel was read, and then only in order to gain room for the deacon who carried the gifts of the faithful to the altar. Our author goes on to develop the awe-inspiring ceremonies connected with the recital of the Gospel. Some of them may here be mentioned. Whilst it was sung no one was permitted to sit. Priests and monks, who formerly were allowed the "reclinatoria," had to put them aside and stand upright. In the Eastern Church the bishop laid down his "pallium" or "omophorion." Emperors and empresses, kings and queens, put down their crowns during the time the Gospel was being recited. In Poland princes were accustomed to draw their swords during the time, thereby to testify their willingness to shed their blood for the sake of the religion of the gospel. The text of the Gospel was to be kissed by the bishops or priests; but princes were not allowed this honour till after their consecration. Sigismund Augustus, King of Poland, asked of Paul III. for his queen, Barbara Radzivil, this permission to kiss the gospel during Mass, although the coronation ceremony had not yet been performed. And by a brief, dated March 11, 1549, the Pope granted the request.

**Wicliff and the Bible.**—Dr. Bender finishes his able articles on Wicliff as a translator of the Bible. Having traced Wicliff's career he now goes on to deal critically with his translation of the Bible. Thomas Waldensis (Netter of Walden), the learned adversary of Wicliff, is the man who can give the best evidence about this point. Even Professor Lechler, whose work on Wicliff has had the honour of been translated into English, points out the noble character and the love of justice for which Waldensis was distinguished. And to Waldensis we are indebted for the notices of those manifold and shameful frauds and adulterations of the holy text in which Wicliff indulged. Waldensis is supported by Sir Thomas More. Next our author examines the heresies which Wicliff based on the corruptions of the holy text. This article is well worth reading, and reflects great credit on its author.

In the October issue Dr. Pohle, of Leeds Seminary, the eminent biographer of F. Secchi, treats the question of whether there is organic life in other planets besides our earth.

2. *Historisch-politische Blätter*.

**German Hymns before Luther.**—In the September number of this magazine we have a *critique* on one of the most remarkable works published in Catholic Germany for many years. With German Protestants it is like a dogmatic truth, not to be touched by any adversary, that Luther is the author of the German church hymns. Of course such praise reflects very doubtfully on the Catholic Church, which is daily taunted with having wantonly neglected, in the times when she swayed the world, the spiritual care of her children. It is true enough that the war which Luther waged on the Church, the complete destruction of the old liturgy and the eagerness for including the people in the newly-invented divine service, led to an extensive cultivation of church hymns in Germany. But to tell the world that Luther is entitled to the merit, either of being the first who introduced German hymns, or of being the one who chiefly inaugurated this custom, is utterly at variance with historical truth. For the greater part he borrowed his hymns from the old Church; and the number of original hymns which he himself composed is exceedingly small. The work entitled "*Das katholische deutsche Kirchenlied in seinen Singweisen von den frühesten Zeiten*," von Meister Bäumker. Freiburg Herder, 1884, has won for itself the general admiration of both Protestants and Catholics. There is, perhaps, not any other Christian people which can boast of such vast treasures of church hymns as the German. This well-executed book gives one a view of these treasures both of pre- and post-Reformation times. It contains a collection of upwards of 700 hymns and their musical airs. Even contemporaries such as the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, of Munich, bestow on this work unreserved praise; and doubtless it will find its way to English Catholics, to whom it may render good service.

**A Defence of Urban VIII.**—Ferdinand Gregorovius, the well-known Protestant historian of the city of Rome, five years ago published a work headed "*Urban VIII., against Spain and the Emperor.*" He found fault with the Pope for having turned on the Catholic Powers and praised Gustavus Adolphus. It is only after five years that a Catholic scholar, Dr. Pieper, availing himself of his extensive studies in the Vatican archives, and mainly in the *Nuntiatura di Germania*, comes forward as a right able defender of the Holy See. His vindication appears in the October issue of the *Historisch-politische Blätter*. Gregorovius' contention is utterly without truth, that Urban VIII. did not sufficiently support the Catholic Powers: that he refused to join the league between Spain and the Emperor. Dr. Pieper shows ample proof to the contrary. Whenever Urban VIII. in any way disagreed with the several Catholic Powers, he was obliged to do so from motives far higher than any view of mere worldly politics.

**William III. and Catholics.**—The October number has a rather lengthened essay, contributed by Dr. Onno Klopp, on King William III. of England. In my "*History of the Catholic Church*

of Scotland," I was under the necessity of finding fault with King William for having cruelly treated his Catholic subjects, both in Scotland and Ireland. This accusation, as to Scotland, was based on the letters sent to Rome by F. Burnet, the Superior of the Scotch mission. I had discovered them in the archives of the Propaganda, and duly put them, together with the accompanying remarks of the Proctor of Catholic Scotland at Rome, in the foot-notes (vol. ii. p. 327). The Proctor's remark is to this effect: "Che l' Oranges haveva ben promesso alli Principi seco collegati di non molestar i Cattolici, e per non parer di mancar di parola, l' ha abbandonati alla rabbia et insolenza della Plebe, senza haver mai castigato veruno." In justification of my charge as to Scotland I did not fail to annex to the second volume the full text of the first letter forwarded from Aberdeen, September 21, 1697, by Bishop Nicolson, to the Cardinals of the Propaganda. In this document he informs them that for seven months he had been detained in a London prison. The touching description which the bishop gives of his great sufferings deeply impress the reader. But what is more, it at the same time condemns the King, who, notwithstanding his promises of dealing justly with his Catholic subjects, enacted the existing laws so far as to put a bishop in prison for the discharge of his spiritual duties. Dr. Klopp refuses any authority to the alleged documents, because they were presented to the Propaganda, or, rather, discussed in the session of the Cardinals by Cardinal d'Estrées, whom he declares to have been totally devoted to the French interest. It may be true that this Cardinal supported the interests of Louis XIV. But the natural prejudices of such a man is one thing: quite another is the boldness that would willingly corrupt the official documents which emanated from Scotland. Such a grave accusation must be clearly and unanswerably demonstrated, but certainly ought not to be asserted gratuitously and without proof.

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### 3. *Stimmen aus Maria Laach.*

**The Congregation of Our Lady.**—In the September number F. Löffler, in a very solid article, the value of which is much enhanced by its fine and even poetical style, narrates the history of the Congregation of Our Lady, which, on December 8, 1884, will celebrate the tercentenary of its institution. He traces its history and results, and dwells on the necessity of supporting it at the present time. It is worth while to observe, as a sad token of the spirit prevailing at the present day in our country, that in the very beginning of the *Culturkampf* Catholic youths at public schools were strictly prohibited from being members of any Marian Congregation. F. Baumgartner goes on describing his tour to the Farøe Islands and Iceland. On one of the Farøe Islands he was able to administer the Holy Sacraments to the single Catholic family living in that dreary isolation. I scarcely need add that this picturesque description of these islands is everywhere in Germany favourably received, affording, as it does,

very accurate information about the customs and religious conditions of these northern islanders.

**Religion of Agnosticism.**—F. Langhorst, in the October issue, is apparently successful in describing what may be styled the "Religion of Agnosticism." He enters into a strict examination of Mr. Herbert Spencer's efforts to lessen the conflict between religion and science, efforts which proceed, we may well suppose, from a laudable intention, but which end utterly without result, since what Mr. Spencer seems to call revelation is nothing else in reality than a perfectly sceptical system.

**A Word for Liberty.**—In the same number F. Schneemann appears in defence of the Church's liberty in the education of the young clergy. "A Word for Liberty" is a very clever and substantial word, since it vindicates for the Church one of those original rights which she can never yield without being untrue to herself. This timely "word" touches on one of those cardinal questions now being discussed between Prussia and the Holy See, and on which depends the future of the German Church.

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#### 4. *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie.*

**F. Lainez at Trent.**—This periodical, directed by the Jesuit Fathers who compose the faculty of theology at the University of Innsbruck, still maintains its high standard of excellence. I may be allowed to introduce to the reader two really excellent articles, contributed by F. Grisar, on "The question of papal primacy, and of the origin of episcopal jurisdiction as discussed in the Council of Trent." These questions, which appear intimately connected with the most momentous doctrines of the Church, came in the last Convocation of the Council of Trent, 1562-1563, under rather lengthened discussion, chiefly due to the Spanish bishops. The principal supporter of the "*sana doctrina*" was Father Lainez, the General of the Jesuits. The life of this remarkable man, with the history of the immense services he has rendered to the Church, has yet to be written. F. Grisar has, fortunately, made use of several unpublished letters and other documents of Lainez for describing the warm discussions in the Council. Lainez's doctrine may be summarized in the phrase: "The Pope's jurisdiction is *juris divini immediati*, the jurisdiction of the bishops is *juris divini mediati*." These two articles are based on original studies; and one may appropriately remark also, that they bring into light the immense activity shown by St. Charles Borromeo, then Secretary of State to his uncle, Pius IV., and prove how well he deserved by his efforts for the prevalence of the "*sana doctrina*."

## Notices of Books.

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*Discours du Souverain Pontife Léon XIII. aux Fidèles de Rome et du Monde Catholique.* Recueillis et publiés par le R. P. DON PASQUALE DE FRANCISCIS. Traduction Française authentique. Paris : E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1884.

THIS French translation (beautifully brought out by Messrs. Plon) of the collection of the present Pontiff's addresses, begins with his words to the Cardinals on the day of his coronation, March 3, 1878, and comes down to the end of 1883. The Pope's own words, in the original language, had already been in the hands of many of us ; but, doubtless, a French translation of the Italian will prove very acceptable to English-speaking Catholics. The editor, Don Pasquale de Franciscis, states that he himself took down in shorthand every one of the speeches he prints ; and, as far as we can test their accuracy by comparing occasions on which we ourselves heard the Holy Father speak, there seems no doubt that we have here the *ipsissima verba* of Leo XIII. It need not be pointed out what an interesting and valuable volume this is to every Catholic. The discourses of Pius IX. were, and continue to be, precious possessions, as the utterances of a Pontiff who was by nature an orator, and who never touched a subject without unconsciously importing into its expression a curious artistic and literary felicity. Leo XIII. speaks with less spontaneity ; but as he never speaks without saying something, and as he never loses sight of what he wants, his addresses are the reflection of the governing mind of the Ruler, and of the tender heart of the Shepherd of Souls. Much vague declamation is uttered from time to time, even on the orthodox side, as to the state of the world and the times ; but whoever wants to see what is thought of these evil days by the man who of all men has the best right to pronounce upon them, should read these speeches. The great Encyclicals and other letters of the Pontiff no doubt paint upon a broader canvas the defects and the requirements of the day ; but the skilfully-put repetitions, and the fervent insistence, of their more familiar spoken words, fill in the lights and shades of a great, progressive, and tenacious policy, which, if God please, will one day stand out in history with no less distinction than that of any bygone ruler of God's Church.

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*Saint François d'Assise.* Publié par les soins des T.R.P. ARSENSE DE CHATEL, T.R.P. LOUIS ANTOINE DE PORRENTUY, et de M. l'Abbé BRIN, Prêtre de Saint Sulpice. Paris : E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1885.

THIS is another of the magnificent *éditions de luxe* of MM. Plon, and, if we are not mistaken, it will be even more warmly welcomed than its predecessors. There is no theme, outside the four Gospels,

which has so many elements of popularity among Christians as the life of St. Francis of Assisi. Even among non-Catholics, the tenderness, the warmth, and the romance of his saintly character are widely known and appreciated; we have only to point to his "Life" by Mrs. Oliphant to prove how he can be written about, and how he is admired, even by those who cannot adequately understand him. This splendid book, containing some 400 pages, and filled with "pictures," is a complete museum of Franciscan lore. We have first of all the Life by the Capuchin Father, De Chérancé, the most modern and, on the whole, perhaps the best of the lives of St. Francis. Following the Life are treatises on the Franciscan Order, on the eminent Sons of St. Francis, and on St. Francis in Art. The letter-press is well executed; and a translation of the recent Brief of Leo XIII., "*Auspicato*," given on occasion of the late celebration of the sixth centennial feast of the Seraph of Assisi, forms an appropriate introduction to the whole work.

Naturally, the illustrations are at once the most novel and the most characteristic feature of this beautiful book. The editors remark that, in selecting subjects for illustration, their chief difficulty has been the abundance of materials from which to choose. Next to our Lord and the Blessed Virgin, no figure has been so frequently reproduced in the art of the Middle Ages and of the Italian *renaissance* as that of St. Francis. Every school has been laid under contribution in these pages. Two hundred and fifty engravings, besides several chromolithographs and chromotypes, reproduce almost every great picture connected with the saint, and nearly all the scenes that are associated with his life. These reproductions are veritable works of art. They are signed by such names as Léopold Flameng, Gaillard and Le Rat; by E. Deschamps, E. F. Hugot and Peulot; and the photogravures are by such firms as Goupil and Ch. G. Petit. Many readers will recognize with pleasure Fra Angelico's "St. Francis" from the Crucifixion (in San Marco); perhaps the best of all the figures of a saint whom the holy Dominican was so well able to understand. They will be glad to have numerous examples of Giotto's work from the Assisian Basilica. The editors think that Giotto, the contemporary and friend of Dante, is not sufficiently known in France, and they have therefore thought it right to reproduce nearly the whole of those thirty or forty grand compositions in which the founder of the Florentine school has illustrated the Franciscan epic. After Fra Angelico and Della Robbia hardly any painter, to our mind, has worthily delineated the great mediæval hero except Murillo. And yet an exception should also be made in favour of one or two artists of our own times. Benouville's painting in the Louvre, of the dying saint blessing the city of Assisi, gives the Umbrian landscape and the Franciscan figures with a literalness which the devotional painters of Florence and Siena would have thought undevout; but the picture is a worthy one. Hippolyte Flandrin has figured St. Francis on the walls of St. Vincent de Paul, in Paris, with that statuesque grace which is the artist's characteristic, and which, although it gives his saints the aspect

rather of allegorical figures than of real beings, is nevertheless pleasing and distinguished in the highest degree. All these schools of art and all the places and persons connected with St. Francis, the reader will find represented in these fascinating pages—more than every other page being illustrated.

A more acceptable gift-book for the new year could not be imagined. The work, as we have said, is a Franciscan gallery ; it gives us, under the most admirable condition of printing and engraving, the whole Franciscan story ; and those who love St. Francis, who love Catholic devotional art in its sweetest forms, or who are fond of enjoying in mental vision the century of Dante, of St. Dominic and of St. Francis, have here a book which will be a treasure and a source of perennial delight.

*Essai sur le Symbolisme de la Cloche dans ses Rapports et ses Harmonies avec la Religion.* Par l'Abbé SAUVETERRE. Nouvelle Edition. Paris : Librairie de l'Œuvre de Saint-Paul. 1883.

WE have here a work of more than 500 pages on Church Bells and their symbolism. It is the production of a French priest, who has dedicated to it the best part of his life. It was as far back as 1853 that he wrote an essay on the subject, and tried to get it inserted in the *Correspondant*, then under the editorship of M. Charles Lenormant. It was not accepted, chiefly because it was too long ; but M. Lenormant wrote an encouraging letter of advice to the young author, telling him to "operate courageously on himself" and he would soon become a clear, correct, and harmonious writer. He took the kindly counsel, and devoted six more years to working up his *étude* afresh. It was published in 1859 at Poitiers, by H. Oudin, and was on the whole favourably received. About a quarter of a century has gone by since then, and our author seems to have spent that time to good purpose, for he considers the present edition as substantially a new work.

The book, it must be observed, is not precisely about Church Bells, but about their *symbolism*. M. Sauveterre has here given us one of the most complete studies on religious symbolism with which we are acquainted in any language. His introductory chapter lays down the principles of symbolism in religion ; and the writer illustrates in great detail and in an interesting style the symbolical application of the personages and events of the Old Testament to the life of our Lord and to Christianity generally.

In treating of the symbolism of the bell, the author has a wide field, and he introduces a considerable variety of topics. The ceremony of the consecration or "baptism" of bells is fully described, and all its teachings carefully noted. The words of the holy Fathers and of eminent liturgical writers are constantly cited with excellent discrimination and the happiest effect. We have a whole chapter dedicated to an exposition of the theological principles which are connected with one of the most striking prerogatives of a consecrated bell—viz., its

power over the demons. The ancient custom of ringing the church bells in storms and tempests is vindicated, and set on a right footing, with excellent moderation and good sense. A very beautiful chapter develops the analogies between the bell and the priest of God in the several duties of his sacred ministry. The various occasions on which the bells are rung, the *Angelus*, the Mass, the *Te Deum*, the Prayer for the Dead, furnish the learned and pious author with opportunities for many admirable pages of instruction and suggestion. The following touching paragraph, in which he refers to what in England used to be called the "passing bell," will give some idea of his style and manner:—

But the bell, although at every turn of our life it has shown its affectionate solicitude, has a last good office in reserve. When we have come to that last hour when nothing remains but weariness beyond bearing, it is a sweet consolation to hear its sounds strike for the last time upon our dying ear. At the solemn moment of our approaching passage from this world to the other, it is the bell who again comes like an old friend to strengthen us in holy Church's name against the terrors of death, telling us of the hope of a better life. And it does not stop there, for it will keep our memory fresh among those who have loved us on the earth, and oftentimes, by the pious sounding of its voice, will remind them to help us by their prayers and to obtain for us eternal rest, especially by the power of that sacrifice which it announces, which maketh the dead to live (pp. 508-9).

Only one short chapter is given to a most interesting subject—the history of Church Bells. The learned author thinks they began to be used in Christian churches towards the year 400. This conclusion, however, he does not support by any historical evidence. Even the extracts which he cites from the "History of the Franks" by St. Gregory of Tours and from the rule of St. Benedict are far from proving the existence of bells, the word *signum* being used of wooden instruments more often than of iron or brass. The strongest proof of the use in Italy and the West of anything like our church bells as early as 400 is not noticed by M. Sauveterre. It is the fact that bells larger than mere altar bells were undoubtedly used and distributed by St. Patrick in Ireland. St. Patrick preached before 450; and a bell said to have been his is still in existence. In fact, the ancient Irish monuments which have come to light within the last few years, and which have naturally not been studied by M. Sauveterre, are among the most valuable witnesses we have to the antiquity of Church Bells, Not to mention any other point, the classic passage of Ven. Bede in his account of St. Hilda, which was long supposed to be the very earliest in which a bell was called "*campana*," must now yield to the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, where we find the word "*campanarius*."

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*Wetzer und Welte's Kirchenlexicon, oder Encyclopädie der katholischen Theologie. Neue Ausgabe von JOSEPH CARDINAL HERGENROETHER und Dr. FRANZ KAULEN, Professor der Theologie in Bonn. Vols. II.—III. Freiburg: Herder. 1883-1884.*

THE first volume of this excellent work has been duly noticed by me in the DUBLIN REVIEW. Aided by almost three hundred Catholic scholars in every branch of theology, history, canon law,

liturgy and Biblical science, the learned editors energetically continue their task of bringing out the twelve volumes of which the complete work is to consist. To-day we are able to recommend to English students the two subsequent volumes, which amply testify to the learning no less than to the piety and activity developed by German scholars in the explanation and vindication of Catholic doctrine. The second volume contains 2,110 columns of print, comprising several hundred articles from "Basilianer" to "Censuren." Of course the articles, as contributed by so large a number of scholars, differ not a little, one from another, in learning and solidity; but none has been admitted that is not based on extensive studies or is not abreast of the most recent literature. As to the principal articles, they represent the highest German Catholic learning of our century, and therefore, will have to be consulted as standards for many years. This judgment of mine may easily be tested by reference to the principal Articles, such as "Beichtbücher" (210-221); "Beichte" (221-250); "Benedictiner" (332-360); "Bernardus" (414-428); "Contemplation" (496-510). The article "St. Bernard," which is from the pen of Dr. Tanaschek, O. Cisterc., the learned editor of the "Origines Cistercienses," crowned by the Academy of Vienna, may well be regarded as a striking proof of progress in historical science. The same must be said of the article, "Bossuet" (1131-1147). The article "Bibel" (580-775) gives the idea of an extremely careful handling. It treats of "Bibelausgaben" (580-637); "Bibelconcordanzen," "Bibelgesellschaften"; "Bibelhandschriften" (666-691); "Bibellesen" (691-710); and "Bibelübersetzungen" (714-775). Most painstaking research really entitles these articles to unreserved praise.

The third volume contains articles from "Census" to "Duguet." Foremost ranks that on "Christus" (242-293), contributed by Dr. Heinrich, Dean of Mainz Cathedral, the author of an excellent "Dogmatische Theologie," of which the fifth volume has just appeared. Besides this, due prominence must be given to the article "Communismus," written by Dr. Von Hertling, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Munich, and one of the most conspicuous members of the Centre in our Parliament. The articles "Concilium" (779-810), "Concordate" (815-879), "Congregatio de auxiliis" (898-919), are exceptionally well done. This summary may afford some idea of the literary treasures gathered into this veritable store-house. They show what may be attained "viribus unitis."

BELLESHEIM.

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*Handbuch der allgemeinen Kirchengeschichte.* Von JOSEPH CARDINAL HERGENROETHER. Erster Band. Dritte, verbesserte Auflage. Freiburg: Herder. 1884.

THERE can be little or no doubt but that amongst all the textbooks of ecclesiastical history, which have appeared in our time, that of Cardinal Hergenroether takes a foremost place. It is no work based on second-hand source, but is entirely the result of original studies.

Next to the immense learning of the author, the correctness of his principles deserves mention. The Cardinal has already, by numerous writings, given ample proof of his dogmatical sagacity and thoroughness. It is, therefore, with no small satisfaction, that we make known to the reader this third edition of his handbook of church history. A not inconsiderable improvement in this edition is that the annotations, which were gathered together in the third volume, in this issue appear as footnotes. Considering the position he occupies as Cardinal, and his weighty occupations, one could not expect that he would notice the scientific works brought out during the last four years. Yet, there is scarcely a controversy to be met with which is not duly discussed and weighed. It is a pity that at the time when the *Διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων* appeared, the printing had proceeded too far to allow the Cardinal to pass his judgment on this ancient and remarkable writing, which, for a considerable time to come, will be the "crux interpretum."

It may be worth while remarking that His Eminence even now seems to hold the opinion defended in 1852, that the *Philosophumena* are to be traced to St. Hippolytus. But, after all, he asks for a new inquiry into the books. With Giovanni De Rossi, the Cardinal holds that the poem found in the Codex of Petersburg, whose author is still unknown, must be pronounced to be a eulogy on Pope Liberius, rather than on Martin I. As to the birthplace of St. Patrick, the Cardinal has unfortunately not taken notice of the sagacious contribution to the *DUBLIN REVIEW*, 1880, of Archbishop Moran. But by these remarks, I would only show the considerable interest which I take, and, as is to be anticipated, which every student of church history will take, in this standard work. BELLESHEIM.

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*The Faith of Catholics confirmed by Scripture and attested by the Fathers of the First Five Centuries.* With a Preface by Mgr. CAPEL. 3 vols. New York: Pustet & Co.

THIS is a reprint of Berington and Kirk's compilation from the Fathers, as revised and corrected by the learned Dr. Waterworth. It is still open to further correction from more recent patristic criticism. It is, however, a standard work, and quite unrivalled, taken as a whole. The only surprising thing is that America has not long since printed an edition of it. Upon an old work, such as this, no further notice can be required, except to say that the additions to it consist of a short Preface, and an Appendix giving a chapter from the Bishop of Birmingham's work on the Immaculate Conception, and the Bull *Aeternus Pastor*. Messrs. Pustet & Co. are to be congratulated upon their publication of these most valuable volumes.

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*Anne Boleyn: a Chapter of English History, 1527-1536.* By PAUL FRIEDMANN. 2 vols. London: Macmillan & Co. 1884.

THIS is a very full, learned, and impartial monograph, of a kind not so common in our literature as could be desired. Mr. Friedmann does not profess to present a complete biography of Anne Boleyn,

still less to write an exhaustive history of her times. His object, as he explains it, is "to give us merely a sketch of some events in the reign of Henry VIII. with which the name of Anne Boleyn is intimately connected"—"to draw attention to certain aspects of the period between 1527 and 1536 that have not as yet been sufficiently explained." In executing this task Mr. Friedmann has drawn mainly from the correspondence of the public functionaries and diplomatists of the time, English, Imperial, French, and Papal, which has of recent years been given to the world, and he has also discriminatingly availed himself of public documents, such as proclamations, accounts, treaties, as well as of the diaries, chronicles, and memoirs of contemporaries, which are often especially valuable as throwing a side-light upon the historical facts. But his narrative is chiefly based upon the letters to and from Chapuis, Charles V.'s Ambassador to England during the period with which he is principally concerned. These important papers, preserved in the Imperial archives at Vienna, have been little used by previous historians. The extracts which Mr. Froude has published from them are full of mistakes. And the abstracts given by Mr. Brewer and Mr. Gairdener, though more correct than Mr. Froude's quotations and translations, are far from being completely accurate. Of course Chapuis's letters, like all political letters, are one-sided. But it is quite certain that he does not purposely misrepresent the facts—which is more than can be said of a great many of his contemporaries—and that he took great pains to learn them. Both Mr. Brewer and Mr. Gairdener have expressed a high opinion of his trustworthiness, and Mr. Friedmann's thorough and patient research has led him to the same conclusion.

Mr. Friedmann's work may therefore be considered a real contribution to the history of the period with which it deals. As we follow his narrative, we see the events which it relates as they presented themselves to the more careful and accurate of contemporary observers. We see, too, where the testimony of those observers should be accepted with caution, and where conflicting statements of equal or nearly equal authority require us to keep our judgment in suspense. But of making books there is no end. And do Mr. Friedmann's volumes, our readers may ask, throw sufficient light upon the story of Anne Boleyn to render it worth while again to go over a more than twice-told tale? That is a question which we do not hesitate to answer in the affirmative. Certainly those who are especially interested in this period of English history—and particularly Catholics, to whom it is of quite peculiar interest—will find much in these pages of considerable value and importance. We do not think the true character of Anne Boleyn has ever been so fully and skilfully traced; and not a little light is thrown upon the curious condition of the society in which she played her ignobly tragic part. One of the best chapters in the book is the introductory, in which the state of England under Henry VIII. is depicted with much care and accuracy. We extract from it a portion of our author's estimate of Henry VIII.:

The faults and vices of Henry were so great that, if the unhappy position in which he grew up were not taken into account, he would seem a contemptible monster. He was immensely vain, foolish, weak, and thoroughly dishonest. . . . But his most terrible fault, and that for which outward circumstances are no excuse, was his utter want of truth. His dishonesty cannot be denied; his own handwriting is still extant to show it. Nor can it be excused on the plea that in the sixteenth century falsehood was general. There was a wide difference between the falsehood Machiavelli advised and that which Henry practised. The Florentine secretary was decidedly the more honest of the two. He approved of falsehood and deceit towards an enemy, towards a doubtful friend, or towards the general public. According to him, official documents may contain false statements, lies may be boldly told to an adversary, and the assurances of diplomatists are to be held of small account, for their rule is generally not to speak the truth. But untruthfulness and double-dealing towards one's own servants and counsellors Machiavelli did not advise. Charles V. and Francis I., who followed the worst maxims of the secretary, told no lies to their chief Ministers. Duprat and Gattinara, Montmorency and Covos, Chabot and Granvella, were not deceived by their masters. The Ministers of Henry VIII. were deceived constantly. He intrigued with one to counteract the doings of another; none of them ever felt sure that he possessed the confidence of the King. When Henry hated any of his servants and lacked the energy to dismiss them, he showed them as good-natured a face as Holbein ever painted on his most flattering portrait. All the time he was accumulating a store of hatred, was laying snares for his intended victims; and at last he handed them over to their enemies as ruthlessly as if he had never smiled on them. In the skilful acting of his part the King often showed real talent; nobody could be certain that his amiability was not a mask. And this of course made most people afraid to commit themselves, and weakened the salutary action of the Government.

Even this was not the worst. Had Machiavelli heard of it, he would simply have said that Henry was a fool, who, by deceiving too much, lost the fruit of his deceit. But if the secretary had seen how Henry was constantly intent on deceiving himself, even Machiavelli would have turned with disgust from so miserable a liar. Henry was a liar to his own conscience. He was a thoroughly immoral man, and he dared not own it to himself. He tried by all kinds of casuistic subterfuges to make his most dishonest acts appear pure virtue, to make himself believe in his own goodness. And this he did not only after the deed had been committed, so as to stifle the pangs of his conscience; before the act he contrived by sophisms to convince himself that what he desired was quite moral and right. It was his constant practice to use fine phrases about questionable acts, and to throw upon somebody else the blame for a misdeed which could not be denied. We find him urging others to do that which he has not the moral courage to do himself. We see him prompting deeds from which he afterwards shrinks back full of pious horror, never admitting for a moment that he has been the cause of them. The morality of Henry was the very type of what is commonly called "cant."

This seems to us very true and very ably put. Hardly less good is Mr. Friedmann's account of Cranmer, the most ignoble figure perhaps in those base times. "An admirable deceiver, possessed of the talent of representing the most infamous deeds in the finest words," he was, as our author remarks, "admirably fitted to become a useful tool in the hands of Henry and Cromwell. To what vile uses

he was put, all the world knows more or less. And every fresh revelation of history which we owe to diligent investigators like Mr. Friedmann, does but add to the blackness of his infamy. Perhaps the most distinctive feature of Mr. Friedmann's work is the fourteenth chapter, which gives an account of the death of Catharine. Following Chapuis, he inclines, or rather, more than inclines, to think that she came to her end by poison. One of the charges laid against Anne Boleyn at her trial was, the Imperial Ambassador tells us, "quelle avoyt faict empoisonner la feue Roynne." And although, so far as we know, no evidence was offered in support of the charge, the fact, if fact it be, that it was really made, has some weight. "Chapuis," Mr. Friedmann writes, "thought her guilty; but Chapuis equally accused the King, and, from what we know, he had good reason to do so." We hardly follow our author here. On carefully considering the case as he states it, we do not think the presumption it raises at all strong. It can hardly be that Anne effected her dethroned rival's death without the King's connivance. And, weighty as were the reasons which Henry had to desire Catharine's removal, a resort to poison as a means of ridding himself of her appears to us to be quite out of keeping with his character and settled mode of action. In conclusion, we must remark upon one defect in Mr. Friedmann's book which we hope to see remedied in a future edition. Although he has devoted several pages to an account of the Boleyn family, he has not examined, or even noticed, the story which represents Anne to have been the daughter of Henry VIII. Mr. Lewis, in his very learned Introduction to his translation of Sander's work on "The Anglican Schism," devoted twenty pages to the consideration of this story, and arrived at the conclusion that "nothing remains but to accept it." As we stated in reviewing Mr. Lewis's book (see the DUBLIN REVIEW of July 15, 1877), we think he here goes too far. We consider that a *prima facie* case has been made out. But beyond that we cannot go. That there was an unlawful connection between Henry and Lady Boleyn can hardly be doubted. But Anne's paternity is another question. The subject is not a pleasant one; but it certainly should have received some attention from a writer like Mr. Friedmann, who very properly aims at unfolding, as far as possible, the whole truth regarding the unhappy woman to whose career he has devoted these very learned and scholarly volumes.

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*Notes on Ingersoll.* By Rev. L. A. LAMBERT. Seventh Edition. London: Burns & Oates. 1884.

R. G. INGERSOLL is a writer in the *North American Review*. He printed an article against the Christian Religion in that Review in 1881, which was a summary of all the popular blasphemies and atheistical errors which are common. Father Lambert has not taken up the defence of Christianity, which he thought unnecessary, but he has subjected all of Mr. Ingersoll's statements to a critical analysis.

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This he has done in a pungent, caustic style, which bites unmercifully, without vulgarity or coarseness.

He gives a perfectly plain answer to a hundred popular objections, showing their absurdity, their folly, their opposition to known facts, their ignorance, their arrogance, as the case may be. F. Lambert reminds us of some of Mgr. de Ségur's popular works; but he is more solid and more English in tone and character, and quite as lively. The work has already gone through seven editions in America. It is the best work we know of for circulation among Catholics or Christians who are assailed by the free-thinkers of the day.

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*Historical and Biographical Sketches of the Principal Events and Characters in the Ecclesiastical History of the First Four Centuries.*

By the late Most Rev. JOHN MACHALE, D.D., Archbishop of Tuam. Edited by THOMAS MACHALE, D.D., Ph.D. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1883.

AS its title indicates, this little volume of eighty-seven beautifully printed pages is an epitome of the greater facts of the four first centuries. Its style is so good, so concise, and clear as to make it a matter of lasting regret that its gifted author never completed the project of which these sketches were a first instalment. As it is, it forms an elegant memento of the great archbishop, rather than a contribution to serious history.

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*Reisebilder aus Schottland.* Von ALEXANDER BAUMGARTNER, S.J.  
Mit 15 Holzschnitten und 16 Vollbildern. Freiburg: Herder.

IN this volume F. Baumgartner records his impressions of a tour in Scotland. As a writer he displays his well-known qualities of splendid language and large views. But his work will much impress the reader by the glimpses it gives of the history of the land, people, art and church of a country formerly wholly Catholic, and an important link in the European Christian family. Special interest may be claimed for the descriptions of Iona and Staffa. But not only on the marvellous beauties of "Caledonia wild and stern" does the author dwell. Few Scotchmen could enlarge on Scotch history, poetry and architecture with such extensive and solid knowledge as are here displayed. Hence we can recommend this singularly well done work. One mistake we may correct in passing. Archbishop Beaton of Glasgow, was buried in St. John in Lateran, of Paris, not Rome.

BELLESHEIM.

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JACOBI PLATELLI, S.J. *Synopsis Cursus Theologiæ.* Nova Editio.  
2 vols. Brugis et Insulis: Desclée, De Brouwer et Socior. 1884.

THE pleasure a theologian will feel at seeing again this useful and much praised synopsis is somewhat marred by the way in which it is edited. First of all, we look in vain for any notice that might throw light on the person and merits of the author. Filling up this gap I will

mention that Platellius for eleven years taught philosophy and for eight years was Professor of Theology in the University of Douay, where he closed his industrious life in 1681. That part of the synopsis which treats on the sacraments is due to the exertions of Father Fourmestreaux. Besides, I would find fault with the editor for not having supplemented those topics which since Platellius have been fully determined or sanctioned by the Church. It may, too, be pointed out that Platellius was a strong defender of the teaching of his Society about the working of Grace, and challenged the prædetermination system in a special book, "*Auctoritas contra prædeterminationem physicam pro scientia media.*" After all, however, we are glad to have this new edition of a classical work. BELLESHEIM.

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*Lettere di Benedetto XIV. scritte al Canonico Pier Francesco Peggi a Bologna (1729-1758), col diario del Conclave del 1740 pubblicate per cura di Fr. X. KRAUS. Friburgo: Mohr. 1884.*

PROFESSOR KRAUS, of Freiburg University, has been fortunate enough to find in the private library of Commendatore Minghetti, of Bologna, the letters written by Benedict XIV. to Peter Peggi, Canon of Bologna. Having been allowed to copy these valuable documents, he now publishes them, together with a biography of Peggi, and a most remarkable description of the conclave which resulted in the election of Benedict XIV., in 1740. The number of the letters, hitherto unpublished, amounts to 179, and they cover a period of all but thirty years, beginning in 1729, and ending in the last year of this splendid Pontificate. Canon Peggi, by his many literary works, had well deserved the high esteem in which he was held by the Pope who, whilst Archbishop of Bologna, had nominated him Canon of S. Petronio, and when he had been called to the Chair of S. Peter, continued his literary intercourse with his favourite friend. We should look in vain for any great diplomatic secrets, or for information on momentous church questions. There is nothing of all this. But the Pope in these letters displays his amiable nature, and shows himself a keen observer, an excellent Christian, a zealous patron of religion and sacred science, and a constant friend. Scarcely an important document issued by the Pope which he was not anxious to make known to Canon Peggi. As bearing upon general ecclesiastical history we may point out the twenty-fourth letter, in which Benedict XIV. dwells on the abolition of the system of accommodation adopted some time in China, and letter 67 in which he declares, "*il Muratori è il vero lume dell' Italiana erudizione.*" I may further refer, in passing, to the Pope's letter, dated Rome, July 20, 1757, in which he calls the Canon's attention to Horace Walpole's eulogy on Benedict XIV. It is curious that he writes: "*Il Valpol è il principal Ministro che oggi sia nella Corte d' Inghilterra,*" whilst Horace Walpole, who composed the eulogium, was only the son of the Minister Sir Robert Walpole, who died in 1745. A thorough biography of Benedict XIV., based not only on his numerous printed works, but also on the large store of unpublished documents among the Roman and Bolognese documents, would be a valuable addition to ecclesiastical

history. Whether the editor of this collection will achieve such a task in course of time is perhaps doubtful, but it is beyond doubt that this Collection forms no small contribution towards so great an enterprise.

BELLESHEIM.

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*Le Duc de Rohan et les Protestants sous Louis XIII.* Par HENRY DE LA GARDE. Paris : E. Plon, Nourrit & Cie. 1884.

THIS work is rather a study of the Protestant struggle in the time of Louis XIII. than a biography of De Rohan. But De Rohan represents sufficiently the last struggle and final defeat of the Protestant party in France. It is very interesting to follow the unfortunate civil strife in the detail with which it is here narrated. M. de la Garde ingeniously groups the incidents around four names, which head the four parts into which his work is divided—the names of the chief places where the struggle was enacted. This happy idea lends clearness to the narrative, helps the memory and also gives a sort of artistic unity to the drama. “Montauban” the scene of the insurrectionist success (1621), is the first title; “Montpellier” is the second, and tells of peace won (1622); “La Rochelle” recalls the most serious incident in the revolt, and is told at length in a spirited narrative (1627); and lastly we have “Privas Alais,” names which mark the close of the struggle by appeal to arms (1629). We are interested to read that it was at Privas, which marks the closing scenes of this episode, that the revolt first broke out. And it was a trifling incident, a mere spark, which, however, falling on dangerous ground caused wide-spread explosion, just as—reflects our author—a tavern brawl gave rise to the hundred years’ war, or a woman’s infidelity sent all Greece across sea to the destruction of Troy. Even so, “it was the caprice romanesque of a woman, which gave the signal for a general rising of the Protestants of France in the reign of Louis XIII.” An honest widow, whose heritage was the seigneurie of Privas, wished to have a Catholic for her second husband, and the whole place, which was Protestant, rose to arms to prevent the marriage!

The author is not controversial, and is rather concerned to treat events with impartiality and from a political point of view. Using largely unedited materials he regards Richelieu’s object to have been political and not to have been the destruction of a religious sect, merely as such. It is a very interesting volume and will repay perusal.

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*Atheism, and the Value of Life : Five Studies in Contemporary Literature.* By L. W. MALLOCK. London : R. Bentley & Sons. 1884.

THIS is not an easy book on which to pass a literary judgment. It is perfectly true, as Mr. Mallock tells us in the Preface, that a consecutive train of thought is embodied in the five essays which are here brought together. But, on the other hand, the topics dealt with—the late Professor Clifford’s philosophy, Lord Tennyson’s poetry, George Eliot’s novels, the religious views of the author of “*Ecce Homo*,” and Mr. Spencer’s ethical doctrines as expounded by Miss Bevington—are manifestly disconnected. In point of

fact, these reprints are, in some respects, as independent of one another as are the articles in any chance number of the *Edinburgh* or *Quarterly Review*. We by no means impute that as a fault to the book. All we say is that it renders it well-nigh impossible for a reviewer to criticize it in the thorough and comprehensive way applicable to a work which is a homogeneous whole. In truth, these dissertations are, to a large extent, occasional vindications, from different points of view, of the position taken up by Mr. Mallock, and very skilfully and, on the whole, effectually maintained in his well-known volume "*Is Life Worth Living?*" Indeed, so much would seem to be intimated by the very title of this new book—"Atheism, and the Value of Life." Perhaps the most valuable portion of its contents is the essay entitled "Atheistic Methodism, or the Beauty of Holiness," which, directly replying to certain of the author's critics, exhibits very clearly the radical unsoundness of Mr. Spencer's "*Data of Ethics*," the best statement, we suppose, as yet given to the world for the case on behalf of "independent morality." Mr. Mallock, it will be remembered, argued in his "*Is Life Worth Living?*" that Theism, with its attendant doctrine of man's personal immortality, has a practical effect upon practical life—upon what men do, and what they profess to do; what they think of themselves, and of one another; that if you take away this belief from the world, there would remain no standard by which the quality of pleasure can be tested; so that truth as truth, and virtue as virtue, would cease to be in any way admirable; and that the result would be a catastrophe which might not unfitly be spoken of as the second fall of man. No, replies Mr. Spencer and his school; the destruction of Theism will not touch virtue, nor any of the great emotions that are at present connected with it. "So long as man is man, virtue as virtue will never cease to be admirable." Now in forty admirably written and closely reasoned pages of the volume before us—pp. 313–353—Mr. Mallock vindicates his position, and, to our thinking, completely refutes the counter-statements of his opponents, while at the same time availing himself of the opportunity thus afforded him of correcting an ambiguity of language in his former volume—namely, his use of the words "virtue" and "morality" as synonymous with the highest happiness, and with the final end of life.

I should [he writes], to have been entirely accurate, have named that end not virtue, but holiness: and, for the sake of entire clearness, let me do so now. Let me re-state my former proposition, with its meaning unchanged, but only with its terms amended. Let me say that what Positivism subtracts from life, utterly and for ever, is primarily not virtue as virtue, but holiness as holiness; to which I add, in what is here only a parenthesis, that in destroying the latter it also destroys the former, leaving us, indeed, as its objects, many reasons to wish for it; but, as agents, no motive that can make us practise even a part of it. Holiness, then, let me remind Miss Bevington and all those who agree with her, is the real name of the thing that their system takes away from them. And indeed, though they do not use the word in question, they make no secret that there is some such loss. But what they fail to see is the extent and the result of it. Miss Bevington, in her last essay, informs us that we have lost nothing but "a moral sofa," and "our

spiritual cakes and ale." This is her simile for the sense of trust in God. But I can tell her that the loss she speaks of is indeed a loss, not only of "spiritual cakes and ale," but of necessary food and drink—of food and drink without which the soul dies of starvation; producing those results, during its lingering, painful death, which my critic himself describes as "thoroughly dismal and sickening." (p. 351).

One more admirable passage we must quote, in which the author shows how utterly Positivism fails if you test it by the elementary principles of common-sense—that saving quality which, in the case of so many of our modern philosophers, is conspicuous by its absence.

The "mass of human beings," as an object of work and ardour, can never supply the place of God, nor does it go even the smallest way towards doing so. Every effort made by the Positivists to invest it with the Divine glory, and to raise it to the Divine eminence, fails. They attempt to perform the feat in many ways, but each effort ends in its own discomfiture; and the logic they invoke to aid them, by-and-by turns round and confutes them. We are to adore humanity, they say, as a vast corporate Pleasure, and our emotions are to make us serve it by our each doing our all to add to it. But the coin, they proceed to tell us, in which our several shares are to be paid is self-denial, and toil, and difficulty. And thus the idol they hoped to show us as a gigantic pleasure confronts them as a sum total of pains. Then, again, if, swerving from this conclusion, they seek to fix the mind on life's direct and personal pleasures, they find that they are already pledged in each case to speak of these as contemptible; and their system thus demands of them the new paradox that the sum of countless negative quantities is a vast positive total. Whilst, finally, if they appeal to the feeling they find existing for virtue, and trust to rouse a response when they call it "our choicest treasure," they are confronted by their system with this blighting doctrine: that the one final end which it bids us hope for is that virtue shall work itself out of, not into, the great human entity. That, unconsciously, they feel all this themselves is apparent whenever they forget their logic, and trust themselves for a moment to utter their own emotions (p. 357).

We have dwelt specially upon this last essay because we regard it as one of the most practically effective in the book. But the other four dissertations are marked by the brilliancy and incisiveness which always characterize Mr. Mallock's style, and will well repay careful perusal. The first is an effective analysis of the teaching of that greatly overrated scientist—the late Professor Clifford. The second is a thoughtful estimate of Lord Tennyson's special function in our literature as the interpreter of a period now gone by. George Eliot, in her novels, Mr. Mallock considers, does for the third quarter of our century what the author of "In Memoriam" did for the second, and to a consideration of those works he devotes his third essay, which, perhaps, is the least satisfactory in the collection. The fourth is a very able criticism of the spiritual history of the author of "Ecce Homo" and "Natural Religion." So much must suffice, at all events for the present, regarding this volume. Here and there, as might be expected, we come upon thoughts with which we are imperfectly in harmony; but, upon the whole, we are at one with Mr. Mallock in his main line of argument, and we desire a large circulation for his book, which is well worthy of the high reputation acquired by him, both as a thinker and a man of letters.

## Books of Devotion and Spiritual Reading.

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1. *St. Joseph : his Life, his Virtues, his Privileges, and his Power.* By the Very Rev. Archdeacon KINANE, P.P. With a Preface by the Most Rev. Dr. Croke, Archbishop of Cashel. Dublin : Gill. 1884.
2. *The Life of St. Charles Borromeo*, Cardinal Archbishop of Milan. From the Italian of JOHN PETER GIUSSANO, Priest and Oblate of St. Ambrose. With Preface by HENRY EDWARD, CARDINAL MANNING Archbishop of Westminster. 2 vols. London : Burns & Oates. 1884.
3. *Histoire de S. Charles Borromée*, Cardinal Archevêque de Milan. D'après sa correspondance et des documents inédits. Par l'Abbé CHARLES SYLVAIN, chan. hon. membre de plusieurs Sociétés savants. 3 vols. Lille : Desclée, de Brouwer & Cie. 1884.
4. *Gaston de Ségur : a Biography.* Condensed from the French Memoir of the Marquis de Ségur by F. J. M. A. PARTRIDGE. (Quarterly Series.) London : Burns & Oates. 1884.
5. *The Tribunal of Conscience.* By Father GASPAR DRUZBICKI, S.J. (48th vol. of the Quarterly Series.) London : Burns & Oates. 1884.
6. *Miraculous Episodes of Our Lady of Lourdes.* By HENRI LAS-SERRE. Continuation and Second Volume of "Our Lady of Lourdes." Translated from the 17th Edition by M. E. MARTIN. London : Burns & Oates. 1884.
7. *Meditations for Every Day in the Year.* Suited for the Practice called "Quarter of an Hour's Solitude." Edited by the Rev. R. BAXTER, S.J., of George Town College. New York : Benziger Brothers. 1884.
8. *Life of St. Clare of Montefalco.* Translated by the Rev. JOSEPH A. LOCKE, O.S.A. New York : Benziger Brothers. 1884.
9. *Manual of the Infant Jesus.* By Father SEBASTIAN, of the B. Sacrament, Passionist. Dublin : Gill & Son. 1884.
10. *Manual of the Third Order of St. Francis.* From the French of Father BERTINUS, O.S.F. Its History and Short Explanation of its Rules. London : Burns & Oates.
11. *The Work of the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin in England.* With Rules and Devotions. By the BISHOP OF SALFORD. London : Burns & Oates.
12. *The Meaning and Use of the Scapular of Mount Carmel.* By the BISHOP OF SALFORD.
13. *Catholic Christianity and Modern Unbelief.* By the Right Rev. J. D. RICARDS, D.D., Vicar Apostolic of the Eastern Vicariate of Cape Colony. New York : Benziger Brothers. 1884.

14. *St. George's Hymn-Tune Book*. Compiled by the Rev. JOSEPH REEKS; the Accompaniments revised by Mgr. CROOKALL and Herr MEYER LUTZ. Second Edition. London: Burns & Oates. New York: Catholic Publication Society Co.
15. *Officium Defunctorum et Ordo Exsequiarum pro adultis et parvulis, &c.*, in usum venerabilis cleri sæcularis Hibernici. Curâ G. J. WALSH, S.T.D. Dublin: Gill & Sons. 1884.
16. *The Catholic Hymnal*. Containing Hymns for Congregational and Home Use, &c. The Tunes by Rev. ALFRED YOUNG, Priest of the Congregation of St. Paul the Apostle. New York: Catholic Publication Society; London: Burns & Oates. 1884.
17. *Annus Sanctus*. Hymns of the Church for the Ecclesiastical Year. Selected and arranged by ORBY SHIPLEY, M.A. Vol. I. London: Burns & Oates. 1884.
18. *Lyra Catholica*. Translated by EDWARD CASWALL, M.A. London: Burns and Oates. 1884.
19. *Via Crucis and other Poems*. By the Very Rev. JOHN A. JACKMAN, O.S.F. Dublin: Gill. 1884.
20. *Short Sermons*, for the Low Masses of Sunday. By the Rev. F. X. SCHOUPE, S.J. Translated from the French, with the permission of the Author, by the Rev. EDWARD TH. MCGINLEY. New York: Benziger Brothers. 1883.
21. *Saint Bernard on the Love of God*. Translated by MARIANNE CAROLINE and COVENTRY PATMORE. Second Edition. London: Burns & Oates. 1884.

1. **W**E have not yet noticed this work, which must by this time be well known in Ireland, if not in England; but we are anxious to recommend it to our readers in time for the coming month of March. Archdeacon Kinane's name is familiar to all readers of devout books as the author of "The Dove of the Tabernacle," "The Angel of the Altar," and other popular works. Of this, his latest labour of love, Archbishop Croke says, in a warmly-appreciative Preface, "having somewhat carefully perused it, I have no hesitation in saying that my disappointment shall be great indeed, if those capable of forming a just estimate of its merits do not pronounce it to be one of his most useful and edifying works." . . . "All that concerns the life of St. Joseph, and devotion to him," he adds, is "treated by him with much felicity of expression, singular clearness, great wealth of argument and illustration, and with that peculiar warmth, that compactness and solidity of construction for which his other literary efforts are so justly and so generally commended" (Pref. pp. viii., x.). The book is thoroughly *devout* in conception and execution. We have history, but no cold criticism; where there are no historical materials, pious suggestions and imaginations are frankly quoted from the Fathers and the Saints; and the portrait of St. Joseph is given, not as a meagre annotator would give it, but as it has been traced by the mind of Catholic tradition, illuminated (as, on the whole, we cannot doubt is the case) by the Holy Spirit. It

the reasons which Suarez gives for believing St. Joseph not to have been an old man are not all conclusive, they are better than that, for they are evidences of traditional feeling. If the author's ideas as to the "inns or lodging-houses" of Bethlehem are not as accurately expressed as is the fashion in these days of Biblical dictionaries, the devotional force and suggestiveness are as strong as if they were. And the book overflows with passages from the saints and mystics, as sweet and delightful to read as they are instructive and nutritious to that faith which sees in St. Joseph the ever-living protector of the Incarnation. It is divided into three parts or divisions; the first gives us the Life of St. Joseph, with preliminary remarks on the Invocation of the Saints; the second treats of the dignity, sanctity and heroic virtues of St. Joseph; and the third contains Devotions in his honour, including a "Month of March."

2. As many as seven lives of St. Charles had already been written before this, four at least of them by intimate friends of the Saint. Nevertheless Giussano was not only specially deputed by his brethren, but was urged by the Ven. Cardinal Baronius and many other devoted friends of St. Charles to write his book. The reason is given by himself in his own preface:—"I knew him from youth and before he was a Cardinal. When he returned from Rome to the charge of this Church I received the clerical tonsure and the sacred orders from his hands, and I served him in various functions and employments up to his death, as all well know. But moreover he even condescended to confide to me many secrets, and often to confer with me upon what related to the government of the Church, and his matters of grave concern. If others could compose the work better than I can, no one can exceed me in accuracy, on account of my intimate and perfect knowledge of his life." This life is written in chronological order, and does not group similar events together; Giussano thus ensures a perfect as well as a true portrait, with all the characteristics which those of his readers would love to recognize whose memory of the Saint was still fresh, and especially Baronius, who had charged him not to omit small incidents. With one voice the work was welcomed as the standard record of St. Charles. Milan still treasures this holy book as a precious relic. In 1859 there was to be seen at Rhó, in the house of the Missionary Oblatés, one old Father, still surviving, P. Fornaroli, of the community of San Sepolcro, which the French invasion early in the century had suppressed but not scattered, and Archbishop Romilli had restored in 1849; he had spent the whole forty years and more in reading and annotating Giussano; for the unction of it, he said, was ever growing upon him. It is written as Bacci wrote of St. Philip, or St. Bonaventure of St. Francis. The matter is so abundant, that the historical narrative is not at all impoverished, as sometimes happens, by the clustering together (in the interesting eighth book) of similar actions and facts under the heads of the virtues. The writer keeps himself out of sight, but there is a sympathetic warmth in the style, like that of a history of a military commander written by one who served under him. The following passage seems to be the only one where he introduces himself. It is

worth quoting for the light which it throws on the intimacy between the Saint and his biographer, which is to be taken for granted throughout :

He could not endure the thought that even one soul should perish, and his charity towards sinners had reached such a height, that he would take charge himself of the most abandoned and those beyond ordinary remedies ; and then with prayers, admonitions, and penances, he would bring them to change their lives, and keep watch over them until they were confirmed in well doing. I remember that when I was prefect of one of the six districts of the city, he gave me a note of all who had been leading sinful lives in that part ; on inquiry I found that all by his means were mending their ways and doing better.

We have gained, therefore, to our English religious literature not so much a biography commanding admiration, as a magnificent delineation of personal holiness, presented to our faith in the scenes of a life in which God glorified Himself and his Church very wonderfully. It is different from a history of the Saint, however well told, such as the very excellent recent work of Canon Sylvain. We can here only point out three characteristic graces, which can be traced as interwoven to compose this rich texture of heroic actions. The first is that noble spirit of faith in which his father and mother had trained him.

Charles was wont to say when speaking of the Divine mercy, that God had infused into his soul a divine light to know the vanity and worthlessness of earthly things, so as not to allow himself to be engrossed by them (p. 16).

Of his mother Cardinal Valerio writes :—

There was in her a firm and manly character. Her son Charles took after her, and showed himself to be of the same type throughout his whole life, both as a stout soldier in the army of Christ, and as an able ruler in the government of the Church.

When disappointed of the life of prayer and solitude for which he longed in the prime of his youth, he found a way of combining a life of ever-deepening recollection with an indefatigable activity. Great stress was laid on this double vocation in the process of his canonization. It was thus that the Holy Spirit of God prepared him to be a proof of the rich vitality of God's Church. He seemed to compass in one embrace all the classes as well as the individuals whose charity he saw to be chilled, although the fire of Pentecost is always being cast upon the earth, and to have zeal enough to revive and reform them all. Surveying the whole Church of God from Rome its centre, he fearlessly set out to encounter difficulties of every kind, personal and general, and made for the ideal before him, which was no less than the normal service of God by himself and by the whole Church. "Happy Church of Jesus Christ," said St. Pius V., "if she only had six Cardinals like Cardinal Borromeo." The second characteristic grace of St. Charles detected and combated a cruel fraud, due alternately to the vain world without, and to tepid or inconsistent men within the Church—the dissociating of the dignity of the priesthood from its sanctity. There runs through this glowing description of his life and actions his sense of the holiness of the priesthood independently of the rank, the office, or the rule of life of those who possess

it. This is the explicit subject of the four fervent addresses which he made in his eleventh and last Diocesan Synod. His "Priest" is "sive Canonicus, sive Parochus, sive Sacerdos." Again, "Quod vero vobis dico, hoc mihi imprimis et Prælati omnibus dico, qui sumus lucernæ supra candelabrum positæ, sed et vobis etiam, qui in curæ et sollicitudinis partem estis vocati." He then asks them to do "opera heroica et sacerdotalia." For the very reason that he was drawn to holiness wherever he discovered it, and that he tried to surround himself with the fervent religious families, his eye was fixed with eager watchfulness upon the example as well as the ministry of priests in every class and degree, as upon the focus of the light. It was to him an axiom that the vocation to the highest dignity is the vocation to the highest sanctity. And so he rose to a third characteristic grace—his freedom from all narrowness of heart and mind. His detailed fidelity did not cramp him, his filial docility to the Pope seemed to give him the whole world as his field of labour, and yet his Cardinalate was one of the things which he declared himself ready to give up for his own beloved flock. No bishop ever was less the servant of men, and none was ever more at home amongst his people. No wonder that his presence is felt to this day. They say always, "We live on nothing else at Milan but the enduring institutions of St. Charles." The Commune of Arona, his birthplace, has still enough loyalty and piety to have lately invited the Oblates of Milan to open a College for the town at their expense.

We are glad to see that the translation is not too literal to be really faithful, and that the lengthy sentences, which express the eagerness of Giussano to omit nothing of value, have been recast with the loss of as little as possible of their force.

3. The modesty of Canon Sylvain has underrated the success of his labour of love, for he apologizes for his work. He has searched the Ambrosian Library at Milan, the records kept by the Barnabites at S. Carlo ai Catinari at Rome, the secret archives of the Holy See, and the registers of the Apostolic Nunciatures of France, Spain, and Germany. To have been able to handle between twenty-five and thirty thousand letters relating to his subject, and to have produced so clear and unencumbered a narrative, shows intellectual power not unworthy of his devoted love of his patron Saint. Undoubtedly this may be ranked as the most important work on the public as well as the personal life of St. Charles which has appeared since the invaluable contemporary Life by Giussano. The gains accruing from so wise an industry are felt at every turn, although chiefly in the first volume.

In the Ambrosian Library are copies of all the letters addressed by the Saint to his family from the time that he entered Pavia (proved to have been at fourteen not sixteen years of age) until he was Secretary of State to Pius IV. and during his stay in Rome. Thus the boyhood and early youth, which were well known to Pius IV. when he turned to his young nephew and burthened his energies and his conscience so suddenly and so heavily, become for the first time known to us.

Numerous and interesting episodes tested his strength of soul during his university life, but the death of his father in August, 1558, was a

crisis for the family ; and, for more than a year before the elevation of his uncle to the Supreme Pontificate, his brother Frederick and all the family looked to him as their mainstay, and to his energy and tact for even the saving of their home at Arona.

But the charm of these early years is the perfect naturalness with which his family life and his miniature household as a student of rank elicit the early form of all the distinctive traits of his character. These were to ripen into heroism by a rapid, yet orderly and visible, growth, and keep Rome as well as Milan intent upon his every enterprise for twenty eventful years. His friendships are deep from his boyhood. He is fourteen years old when he writes to Aluisio Vignola ; " My dearest Friend,—My letters cannot express my longing to see you. You know that I am soon to go to Pavia. I earnestly beg of you by all the affection I bear you to be kind enough to come here at once [from Milan] before I leave, even if you can only come for one day. I should indeed find myself unhappy if I went away without seeing you." He undertakes his studies as a loyal and generous enterprise. On his arrival at Pavia, November, 1552, he writes to his father :—

I will apply to study to gain the benefit of it, but also to respond to the great hopes which you and others have conceived of me.

To his uncle the Duke of Marignano—

By the grace of God I have arrived at Pavia. Allow me rather as a humble servant than as your nephew to assure your Excellency that I hope to attain to something which may make me in some way worthy of your dignity, and that of the Most Reverend Cardinal your brother. With this aim it is my determination to give myself up to study with all my might. . . . I have confidence that for this our Lord God will not fail to give me grace, without which all is nothing.

And to the Cardinal—

Since I have the good fortune to be united to your Illustrious Lordship by the ties of blood, and not at all by my deserts, I will strive to do you honour. I beg God to preserve you long, for on you rests all the greatness of your house.

He keenly felt the poverty which, strange to say, was the special trial of his student-life at Pavia. There was a time when his stockings were reduced to one pair. His correspondence with his father becomes then doubly interesting from the struggle of his many various feelings, and his unaffected candour and frankness. But our space will not allow more than a mention of this, and of his delicate attention to every detail which concerned his sisters at the time when, between their father's death and their marriage or consecration to God, they came under his care. The clear foresight and unerring memory of a great administrator were trained by the calls of his family affection. His love for his step-mother—for his own mother died when he was ten years old—is repeatedly proved. He writes of her to his thoughtless brother Frederick :—

The Countess is delighted to hear that you are daily having such successful sport, catching quails and other birds, although the news of them is all that she ever receives.

But to look further. The history of the time, as well as of the

Saint, gains much by the publishing of the diplomatic correspondence which had so much to do with the completion of the Council of Trent. We have a noble specimen of the sacred diplomacy of the Apostolic See in the valuable chapter called "The Negotiations with France." The Pope and the Saint show the qualities of able rulers and shrewd observers of men; but, in place of the intrigue, the byplay, and the suppressed motives of selfish governments and governors, we have the chaste love and zeal for God, the recourse alternately to prayer and to negotiation, and in the background a jealous watchfulness for the genuine and lasting interests of the great flock of Jesus Christ. "If their Majesties [of France]," St. Charles wrote, September 3, 1562, "knew with what heart His Holiness takes up the idea of coming to their aid [with subsidies] for the glory of God and the good of their kingdom, they would be so edified at his paternal love, I am convinced, that they would no longer think of anything but of seconding it entirely, and giving him every kind of satisfaction."

But when we come to the close struggle which alone enabled the Fathers of Trent to carry through their last sessions, and see the happy close of the long eighteen years, that *divina prudenza* of Cardinal Borromeo, which was a proverb in Rome when perplexities arose finds a key to every difficulty. His letters saved the Cardinal of Lorraine to the cause of the Church, and alternately provided scope for his influence and eloquence, and prevented the injury to which the Council was exposed by his personal vanity. He moreover detected the first moment when it became safe to press on the main work of the Council, in such a way as to force whatever was irrelevant and unnecessary matter to fall behind.

The twenty-ninth chapter, "St. Charles and France," is no digression from the main history of the Saint, but an important record of his successful efforts towards the recognition of the Council of Trent by the Church of France. This chapter, and the following one, "St. Charles and the Princes of Europe," are a welcome development of the short and general phrases with which his influence beyond Italy is sometimes dismissed.

In the remainder of these interesting volumes we have the history, which "is in request from generation to generation," and which is told with zealous fulness and accuracy. It is made exceptionally interesting by the introduction of select passages of the documents which, till now, were either in manuscript and out of sight, or could only be found by gleaning amongst the voluminous collections of Sala and Oltrocchi.

The words of St. Charles can alone throw the necessary light upon the personal controversies which were providentially added to his conflicts with the enemies of God and the Church. They are needed for the justification of his tender heart and pure conscience, wherein such a fearless will lay hid, and without them even the true course of the public historical facts is at best but partially known. But, lastly, we can never forget that the Pastor and Reformer came forth to speak and to act from an absorbing intimacy with God in prayer. The Ven. Card. Bellarmine, in his votum for the canonization

of St. Charles, compared him not only to St. Martin, but to St. Anthony and St. Hilarion.

We cannot conclude without bringing St. Charles nearer to ourselves, by a passage from a letter which he wrote to Mary Queen of Scots:—

God has placed your Majesty *en evidence* in order that all may gain from you lessons of courage, patience, religion, and piety. . . . Lewis Owen, my Vicar, has told me of your earnest desire that I should commend you to Jesus Christ. I am only dust and ashes, but I will unceasingly do so with all my heart, and most gladly. If there ever is anything else in which my zeal and my good offices towards your Majesty could be shown, it will gratify me much if you will kindly claim them as a right.

4. Many who read this title will hardly know that Gaston de Ségur is the Monsignore de Ségur of whom they will have heard in Rome and Paris. It is the biography of the good, the noble, the intelligent, the zealous blind Monsignore, whose life of active charity in Paris, during long years of blindness, is as refreshing as it is elevating and touching. Mr. Partridge has done his task exceedingly well. The Memoir is brought within the limits which will secure for it a wide circulation. It is a Life that will do as much good to laymen as to priests, and it is full of personal incident and interest. How many, even English and Americans, owe their conversion or their vocation to Mgr. de Ségur. They will read his Life with a fourfold interest. In this short notice we must be brief. We end with two sentences extracted from his will. "I wish to be buried in the habit of the Third Order of St. Francis, barefoot, in token of poverty, with the blue Scapular of the Immaculate Conception and that of the Sacred Heart; in my purple cassock, as a mark of my dependence on the Pope; in an alb and white chasuble, in token of my deep love for the Blessed Sacrament and for our Lady. I wish the Holy Gospels, the crucifix blessed and indulgenced by Pius IX., and my rosary to be laid on my heart. My heart is to be embalmed and then laid before the Blessed Sacrament in the Visitation Convent. On the leaden case containing my heart are to be the words: 'Jesus, my God, I love Thee and adore Thee with all my heart, in the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar.' . . . The 2nd Sept. 1880, the 26th anniversary of the most blessed day on which I became blind. LOUIS GASTON DE SÉGUR."

5. The Germans and the Poles are thoroughly analytical in their studies, and their spiritual works bear this impress of their character. Father Druzicki's work on "The Tribunal of Conscience" consists of eighteen methods of examen of conscience. The subject does not promise great interest, however useful it may be; but upon going into it we find the treatment of it full of suggestion, and, though the predominant idea is self-examination, the thoughts and practices with which it is allied are varied and helpful. Many good persons love nothing so much as to have their own soul upon the dissecting table; they become absorbed in morbid self-contemplation—not perhaps of their virtues, but of their faults, tendencies, and character. This is not the book for them. Instead of groping about under the shadows of sin and misery, let them go into the open, seek the sunlight and the warmth, nay, the

heat, of divine love. But there are others of an opposite tendency who cannot bear to know themselves, and who are backward in self-examination. To such as these, with good strong sense or a prudent director, "*The Tribunal of Conscience*" may prove a useful handbook.

6. M. Lasserre's first volume had an enormous sale, and has been translated into all the languages of Europe. This second volume, which is much smaller, is of sustained interest. It is the continuation of the first in every sense of the word. Needless to say, it is interesting and edifying reading, full of incident, with plenty of light and shadow. "*The Novena* [why perpetually called *Noveno*?] of the *Curé of Algiers*" is one of the most touching narratives. The Abbé Martignon was to have been cured, the day and the hour had come—so it seemed—and he put *Mdme. Guerrier* in his place, and gave her his claim, so to speak: she was cured and he died. Read the affecting story. *M. de Freycinet's* evidence and connection with *Lourdes* is contained in this volume—*M. de Freycinet*, the French Minister of State, and a Protestant! It is very curious. As we have said, the whole book, printed in good clear type, is very readable. The translator has not been altogether accustomed to book publishing—there is no index, and there are several mistakes which may be worth correcting in the next edition.

7. We are not a little surprised to find our old friend the "*Journal of Meditations*" present itself under a new title and form. We do not think it improved by either. Especially we rebel at its connection with "*the Practice called a Quarter of an Hour's Solitude.*" It is of course well to get people to pray and meditate for fifteen, or for five minutes, and if by a fanciful title of a "*Quarter of an Hour's Solitude*" they can be induced to meditate or read something serious, it is a real gain. But it seems to be a discouraging sign of the times when the old "*Journal of Meditations*," which has for over two centuries been associated with the half-hour's morning meditation, is served up as the occupation for the "*Quarter of an Hour's Solitude.*" Nothing worthy of the name of meditation can be done under half an hour: no community would think anything less than half an hour tolerable. In these days we must get what we can and be thankful, but surely the aim should be at half an hour's meditation for people striving to serve God seriously—at least where there is time and opportunity. We have said our old friend is not improved to our liking by change of name and re-editing. We miss the "*introduction, of the Method of the Work, and of such things as are necessary for all Meditation,*" which in the "*Journal*" extended to thirteen pages; we miss twenty-six meditations, seven of which were on our *Blessed Lady*; we miss "*A Table of the Sundays throughout the Year, in which is set forth a meditation upon the Gospel proper to each Sunday—suitable alike for meditation and for public instruction.*" Finally, the bulk of the work has been increased at the expense of pithiness. To take an instance at random: the new edition has in the *Easter Sunday's* meditation these words—"It [the soul] conceives itself to be in a good state, whilst in reality it may be addressed as God addressed the *Bishop of Laodicea* in the *Apocalypse* of *St. John*: '*Thou art wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind,*

and naked." This is an expansion of the words "She thinks herself in a good state, when in truth she is like that man in the Apocalypse, *miserable*, and *poor*, and *blind*, and *naked*." We prefer the old and more pithy style. We are not saying there was nothing to amend—there were certain archaisms that needed removal. With these remarks we must add that the book is a standard one. Not long ago one of the English Bishops in Synod recommended the old "*Journal of Meditations*" as the one that after all stands best the wear and tear of time and experience. It will long hold its day, and well it may.

8. This is a valuable contribution to English hagiology. We had no English Life of this wonderful Umbrian Saint; and now that this holy virgin has been at last canonized, it is most welcome. We must overlook some little defects in the style, due, in some measure, to its being a translation from the Italian. This Saint was one of many as to whose possession religious Orders dispute. The claim is made good in this volume for the Augustinian Order, and it cannot be denied. The chief characteristic of this marvellous Life is the fact that the instruments of the Passion were found after death actually formed within her heart out of fibres of that organ. These extraordinary instruments of human flesh are kept, and are visible even to this day, at Montefalco.

9. The "*Manual of the Infant Jesus*" is a charming and a solid book for spiritual reading, followed by devotions. It is as full of instruction and of unction as it is solid. It covers the forty days of Christmas-tide. The learned and spiritual author tells us that the considerations are "the result of my own private thoughts and lights during the hours set apart by my holy rule for meditation and study." It is a work that will take a high rank among works of its kind.

10. This we say emphatically, and from comparison, is the best and most useful exposition of the Rule of the Third Order. It is somewhat misleading to call it a manual, for manuals usually contain the prescribed prayers and devotions, whereas this little work is confined to a commentary on the Rule as reformed by Leo XIII., finely illustrated from the words and Lives of the Saints. Every Tertiary ought to possess a copy of it.

11. Here is one of the penny Manuals published by the Bishop of Salford. It gives an account of the saints and founders of congregations who were members of the Sodality, and urges upon all branches of the Sodality in England to say the rosary or office of the Immaculate Conception at their weekly meetings, "for the complete restoration or Mary's dowry—that is, for the conversion of England." The rules of the Sodality are given; and the office of the Immaculate Conception is set in music, of a sweet and tender tune. It is published on occasion of the tercentenary of the canonical erection of the Sodality in the Roman College.

12. This is another of the Bishop's People's Manuals, and is a popular exposition of the most ancient of all confraternities—a confraternity widely spread in England and Ireland, and throughout the Church, that of the Scapular of Mount Carmel.

13. We have received this able work too late to do more on this

occasion than acknowledge the receipt of it. The Bishop is no hermit, no dweller in the works and thoughts of times gone by. He takes the world as it is; and, knowing what men are thinking and saying, he assails modern unbelief with knowledge and vigour.

14. It must suffice to name St. George's Hymn-tune Book as a useful little book, and just what we should have expected for popular devotions at St. George's Cathedral.

15. This is a perfect little handy-book for its purpose, and is set to the authorized Ratisbon plain chant. It, therefore, is specially useful wherever this chant has been adopted.

16. Father Young is an experienced musician, and, from the length of time he has been in charge of the music in one of the most devout churches of New York, has had ample time to become a perfect master of congregational singing. His music is nearly always simple and easy, and it possesses "that peculiar character which tends to fix the tune in the memory." All the tunes are set in harmony for four voices. Father Young recommends the use of the cornet as the most effective leader of a large congregation. We strongly urge the clergy interested in popular music and hymn-singing to procure without delay this valuable addition to our repertory of congregational music.

17. The first part contains hymns for the sacred offices; the second part is headed "Modern, Original, and other Hymns." We need only say here that Mr. Orby Shipley has produced the best assorted and most complete collection of Catholic hymns, dating from the earliest English translation, that has yet appeared, and no one really interested in hymnology can afford to be without it.

18. This is a small, neat and handsome reprint of the late Father Caswall's well-known work, which need only be mentioned here.

19. This small volume of graceful religious verse will afford to the writer's friends an agreeable memorial of an accomplished and pious priest. There are many thoughts in these pages which are both pleasing in themselves and expressed with much poetical feeling. With the exception of the lyric which gives its title to the book, "Via Crucis," and a biographical poem on St. Anthony of Padua, the pieces are all very short and easily read, and the prevailing tone being one of prayer and aspiration many readers may be glad to aid their devotion by using what is so evidently the outpouring of a devout heart.

20. Short sermons, short notice: and there is fortunately no need for us to use many words. The name of Father Schouppe is alone sufficient guarantee for the solidity of matter and clearness of statement. Each sermon, we may add, as it stands here can be read or preached in about seven minutes. The 226 sermons are divided into four series, and comprise a complete and methodical exposition of Christian doctrine.

21. We are glad to see that this admirable little volume has reached a second edition, and we trust it will soon pass into a third. To the translations from St. Bernard are added "Three Rosaries of Our Lady," by the late Mrs. Patmore: meditations which are extremely

beautiful, and which will no doubt be helpful to many in practising a devotion never more necessary than at the present time.

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### LIST OF BOOKS RECEIVED.

\* \* *Notices of several of the following works are in type, but have, to our regret, to be held over this quarter for want of space.*

"La Messe." Par M. C. R. de Fleury. Vol. III. Paris: Morel.  
 "St. Paul the Author of the Acts and Third Gospel." By H. H. Evans. London: Wyman & Sons.

"Il Dogma e la Scienze Positive." Da Antonio Stoppani. Milano: Dumolard.

"The Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt." By Alfred J. Butler. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

"Si-Yu-Ki." Translated by Samuel Beal Toves. London: Trübner.

"La Philosophie Religieuse du Mazdéisme." Par L. C. Casartelli. London: Trübner.

"Jean de Vivonne." Par Le Vicomte G. de Bremond d'Ars. Paris: E. Plon.

"Men and Women of Far-off Time." By S. Hubert Burke. London: Burns & Oates.

"Persecutions of Irish Catholics." By Archbishop Moran. Dublin: Gill & Son.

"History of the Church of God." By Bishop Spalding. London: Burns & Oates.

"The Spirits in Prison." By E. H. Plumptre, D.D. London: Isbister.

"Revelation." By H. Ewald. Translated by T. Goadby. Edinburgh: Clark's Foreign Theological Library.

"Encyclopædia of Theology." By Rübiger. Translated by J. Macpherson. Edinburgh: Clark's Foreign Theological Library.

"Historical Researches in Western Pennsylvania." By Rev. H. A. Lambing. Pittsburg: Myers & Co.

"Monte Carlo and Public Opinion." London: Rivingtons.

"Commentarium in Facultates Apostolicas." Auctore A. Könings, C.SS.R. New York: Benziger Bros.

"Atlas d'Histoire Naturelle de la Bible." Par M. L. Cl. Fillion. Lyon and Paris: Briday.

"The Wish to Believe." By Wilfrid Ward. London: Kegan Paul & Co.

Also several *brochures* and works of fiction and poetry. Some pieces of good religious music from Mr. Alphonse Carey, of Newbury, have also reached us, but too late for more than this mention of them this quarter.

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ART. I.—THE DEFENDER OF THE FAITH.

*The Reign of Henry VIII., from his Accession to the Death of Wolsey.* Reviewed and Illustrated from Original Documents. By the late J. S. BREWER, M.A. Edited by JAMES GAIRDNER, of the Public Record Office. In two volumes. London : John Murray. 1884.

IF an Englishman were asked by a foreigner for an explanation of the title, Defender of the Faith, borne by our sovereigns, he would probably reply that it was first given, for interested motives, by Pope Leo X. to King Henry VIII. in reward for a book no longer read and that was probably never worth reading ; and that the title has since been retained in a spirit of national irony. A somewhat similar though more supernatural view was indeed put forth publicly by one of Henry's bishops almost immediately after his breach with the Holy See.

Miles Coverdale, in the dedication of his translation of the Bible to Henry VIII., after relating how Caiaphas and Balaam unconsciously prophesied of the Redemption, thus continues :

Even after the same manner the blind Bishop of Rome (that blind Balaam I say), not understanding what he did, gave unto your grace this title, Defender of the Faith, only because your highness suffered your bishops to burn God's word, the root of faith, and to persecute the lovers and ministers of the same ; where in very deed this blind bishop (though he knew not what he did) prophesied that, by the righteous administration and continual diligence of your grace, the faith should be so defended, that God's word, the mother of faith, with the fruits thereof, should have his free course throughout all Christendom, but specially in your realm. . . . The truth of both these prophecies is of the Holy Ghost, though they that spake them knew not what they said. . . . The truth of our Balaam's prophecy is, that your grace in very deed should defend this faith, yea even the

true faith of Christ, no dreams, no fables, no heresy, no papistical inventions, but the uncorrupt faith of God's most holy word, which to set forth your highness, with your most honourable council, applieth all his study and endeavour.

The last historian of Henry VIII., Mr. Brewer, in his brilliant "Introductions to the Calendars of State Papers," seems rather disposed to treat the matter as a good joke, in which, however, Henry was befooled rather than the Pope. He speaks of Leo—"one of the most sagacious of men"—as not liking to carry on "the farce" too far, and for that reason refusing to have the royal book presented to him in a public Consistory.\* In another place he writes as follows:—

Of his own spontaneous and mere motion, unsolicited by Popes or Nuncios, Henry overwhelmed the new Titan of heresy; bound him under a mountain of royal theology and invective never to rise again—so at least Popes and Bishops assured him, and he was willing to believe. The joy of Leo was unbounded; for he was at that time in hope (vain hope!) of recruiting an exhausted exchequer by a new loan from England. Latin dictionaries, Ciceronian vocabularies, styles and titles, were diligently examined; various epithets proposed and rejected. After months spent in deliberation, Henry, the new candidate for spiritual honours, was admitted into the narrow and exclusive orbit of the Church's patrons. "Defender of the Faith" was nearly as superlative, if not quite, as "Catholic" or "Most Christian," and was regarded with jealousy by the monopolists and admirers of earlier distinction.†

The style of this passage reminds us of Macaulay and of Froude, but it is a style we have learnt to distrust. We do not think that Leo's hopes of money are any more authentic than the Latin dictionaries. We do not think the matter was originally a farce, or that, if it was, it has turned out to the confusion of the Pope. After a careful study of Henry's book, and of all the transactions regarding the grant of the royal title, we have formed a different estimate of this affair, which we shall here attempt to explain and justify. If we have to differ with Mr. Brewer in his conclusions, and to correct a few errors of fact into which he has fallen, we would not wish to be thought to depreciate his book in general. It is our sense of the authority that belongs to one who united such patient and skilful investigation with brilliant exposition that makes us anxious lest his words should be accepted blindly on a point to which we think he had not given sufficient attention.

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\* "Reign of Henry VIII.," vol. i. p. 604. It will be more convenient to refer to this republication of Mr. Brewer's "Introductions," than to the volumes of the "Rolls Series" where they first appeared.

† *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 301.

The history of the title has been investigated by many writers ; we shall sum up the results of their labours, and after a few words as to the authorship of the book ascribed to Henry, we shall give some specimens of its teaching, with their bearings, not so much on Luther as on Henry himself.

Christopher Wren, Dean of Windsor, told Charles I. that it was clear from the Register of the Order of the Garter that Henry VII. had the title of Defender of the Faith ; " which news the king received with much joy, nothing more pleasing him than that the right of that title was fixed in the crown long before the Pope's pretended donation." \* But the dean was wrong and the king's joy was delusive. It was from the Pope that the honour was eagerly sought by Henry VIII., as from the only authority competent to bestow it. In order to explain the documents that have been relied on for the contrary opinion, the distinction must be carefully noted between an epithet or title used by way of zeal or duty or devotion, and one that is conferred by way of honour and distinction. Thus all Christians are saints by vocation ; but to a few only is the word saint prefixed as to those who are enrolled among the Church's heroes. The kings of England then certainly called themselves and proved themselves Defenders of the Faith before the title was solemnly given to Henry VIII. Thus Richard II., in a charter to the Chancellor of Oxford, in condemnation of Wycliff's " Trialogus," uses the words : " Nos zelo fidei catholicæ, cujus sumus et erimus Deo dante defensores, salubriter commoti." Henry IV., in the second year of his reign, promised to defend the Christian religion, and Henry VI., in the twentieth year of his reign, acts as keeper of the Christian faith.† So, too, in the admonition used in the investiture of a knight with the insignia of the Garter, he is told to take the crimson robe, and being therewith defended, to be bold to shed his blood for Christ's faith and the liberties of the Church ;‡ and as the head of this illustrious Order the king was especially Defender of the Faith. Evidently the kings of France and of Spain could have claimed the title in this sense equally with the kings of England.

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\* " Notes and Queries," Oct. 17, 1874. Another Christopher Wren made a similar statement in a letter to Peck, the antiquary, in 1737. Chamberlain, in his " Present State of England " (1669), p. 88, says that it appears by several charters granted to the University of Oxford that the title of Defender of the Faith was anciently used by kings of England.—" Notes and Queries," vol. ii. p. 442 (1850). Another writer cites an Indenture of Henry VII. of the year 1487, where the title also appears.—" Notes and Queries," Sept. 12, 1874.

† Rot. Parl. vol. iii. p. 466, v. 61. " Archæologia," vol. xix.

‡ Mr. Sydney Gibson, " Notes and Queries," vol. ii. p. 481 (1850).

The kings of France had, however, by ancient consent the titles of Eldest Son of the Church, and Most Christian,\* and during and after the French wars the kings of England certainly attempted to encroach on the latter pre-eminence, and became jealous of it. Henry VI., having been crowned in France, particularly affected the title Most Christian. It was also adopted by Edward IV. and Henry VII., and our English Chroniclers in the same spirit are fond of using it.†

When Louis XII. set up the schismatical synod of Pisa (in 1511) it was contended that he had forfeited his right to this title, and Julius II. transferred it to Henry VIII., but with the understanding that the transfer should be kept secret till the services of the king might justify in the eyes of men the partiality of the Pontiff. After the victory of Guinegate, Henry demanded the publication of the grant; but Julius was dead, and Leo declared himself ignorant of the transaction, and means were found to pacify the king, with the promise of some other but equivalent distinction.‡

The English king was, however, eager to get a title that would raise him to the level of the "Most Christian" king of France and the "Catholic" monarch of Spain, and negotiations were carried on with the Holy See for this purpose in the years 1515 and 1516. Silvester, Bishop of Worcester, Henry's ambassador, writes to Ammonius in 1515 that :

The Pope (Leo X.) has used all efforts to bestow the title of Protector on the king, but strictly the term Protector belongs to the Emperor. therefore the Pope thinks of giving him Defender, were it not that this title had been given by Julius II. to the Swiss. Some propose that he shall be called King Apostolic, since in the Secret of the Mass, after the words *Te igitur*, the phrase occurs "*Apostolicæ Fidei cultor*;" some propose Orthodox; none are satisfactory to the Pope.§

Henry grows impatient. He likes the proposed title, Defender of the Church or of the Faith, and he writes to the Bishop of Worcester, on May 22, 1516, that he is not pleased that he has heard no more of it, as if the Pope were afraid of the French.||

The rewarding of services or securing of allegiance by the

\* Selden, in his "Titles of Honour" (part i. ch. 5), remarks that the French kings do not use their title in the first person, and that it was given to them long before it became a formal title.

† Wikes, of Henry III. in 1268; Thomas Elmham and Titus Livius of Henry VI. A Pope had styled Edward I. "*Christianissimus Princeps*," but not as giving a formal title.

‡ Lingard, "History of England," vol. iv. p. 228 (ed. 1855). Fiddes' "Life of Wolsey," p. 72. "Collections," p. 10.

§ "Calendar of State Papers, Henry VIII.," vol. ii. part i. pp. 967, 1456.

|| *Ibid.* vol. ii. part i. p. 1929. Martene, *Amp. Col.* vol. iii. p. 1270.

bestowal of titles and decorations is no doubt a most effectual and economical method of government; but from the nature of the case such rewards must be given sparingly or they lose their value as distinctions. And this is especially the case with regard to Christian sovereigns, whose number is so small. We cannot wonder therefore that Pope Leo was in no hurry to gratify Henry's ambition, and that he managed to postpone the coveted favour until the king had done something more to merit it. Whence or how soon came the thought to Henry's mind to out-shine other kings by drawing his pen as well as his sword in the service of the Church must be a matter of conjecture. "The authors of the history of the Augustinian Friars," says Mr. Brewer, "claim for Bernard André, the poet, the credit of engaging the king in this novel path of theological controversy." Others think that it was a plan of Wolsey's thus to compromise, as it were, his royal master on the side of the Church, in the disputes and schisms which were threatening Europe. However this may have been, Henry needed no urging, whether he was moved by zeal for Catholic truth, or by literary ambition, or by eagerness to add to his royal titles. Mr. Brewer has, however, fallen into an error, and antedated by three years the efforts of Henry against Luther. His statement is as follows:—

On the 24th June, 1518, Pace writes to Wolsey that the king was pleased with the commendations given to *his book* by the Cardinal; and though he does not think it worthy such praise as it had from him and all other great learned men, yet he is very glad "to have noted in your Grace's letters that his reasons be called inevitable, considering that your Grace was some time his adversary herein, and of contrary opinion"—a passage well worth observing. The same statement is repeated by Pace four days afterwards. Now, though the word *book* is used frequently to imply a paper of political instructions or a written agreement, in its connection here with the praises of learned men, it seems to me impossible that it can be employed in any other than in its modern meaning. If so, the book to which Pace refers must be the draft of the king's book against Luther, which appeared in 1521. . . . The correspondence of Pace invalidates the supposition that he or More or both conjointly were the real authors of the book. They may have assisted in its composition, especially in correcting the Latin style, but had they been the authors of it Pace would scarcely have held the language he did to Wolsey.\*

But if the date Mr. Brewer assigns to Pace's letter is correct, it is simply impossible that he can be writing about the book afterwards published by Henry. That book is from beginning to end

\* "Reign of Henry VIII.," vol. i. p. 234. He repeats his reasoning on the same grounds at p. 601.

directed against Luther's work, "On the Babylonian Captivity," which did not appear until the autumn of 1520. Henry could not be engaged in refuting it in 1518. To what book then does Pace refer? The mystery is cleared up by a letter of Erasmus to Duke George of Saxony, written in September, 1522.\* Erasmus is proving that the "Assertio" is Henry's own composition. Among the proofs that the king was capable of such work, he says "A few years ago he composed a theological disputation: 'Whether a Layman is Bound to Vocal Prayer.'"<sup>†</sup> "A few years ago" would exactly tally with the date of Pace's letter, and we have no doubt that this scholastic exercise is the *book* to which Pace refers, and which Wolsey and other learned men had commended. Wolsey therefore must not be supposed (as Mr. Brewer seems to hint) to have taken the Lutheran side, or to have been dissatisfied with the force of the royal arguments in a first perusal of Henry's controversial work. Erasmus adds in the same letter that "the King is fond of the books of scholastic theologians, and is wont to discuss theological questions at his banquets." It was no doubt in one of these verbal discussions that the Cardinal had contended with the king as a courtier might in a game of chess; but now that the king has put his arguments in writing the accomplished statesman owns himself convinced and converted by such "inevitable" proofs.

There is then no reason for thinking that Henry was engaged on any work against Luther before the year 1521. Luther had then been nearly six years before the world as an innovator, but it was only two years since he had thrown off the mask, and only a few months since he had burnt the Pope's Bull and the Canon Law at Wittenberg (December 11, 1520). In October, 1520, he had published a book called "On the Babylonian Captivity," in which he pretends that the Church had been for some centuries in captivity to the Roman Pontiffs, as the Israelites had been in captivity in Babylon. Tunstal, who was at Worms in January, 1521, writes to Wolsey on the subject, concluding: "I pray God keep that book out of England."

In spite of that warning (says Mr. Brewer), before April, 1521, the dreaded book has found its way into England. On the 21st of that month Pace writes to Wolsey: "At mine arrival to the king this morning, I found him looking over a book of Luther's. And his

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\* Epistola 635. Le Clerc's ed. of Erasmus. Leyden. 1703.

† The late Canon Simmons, in the "Lay Folks' Mass Book," p. 158, quotes a dialogue between Henry's daughter, the Princess Mary, in 1527, when she was thirteen years old, and her French tutor. They discuss the question whether the laity are bound to use vocal prayers during Mass, or only to be attentive and hear the prayers. Probably the subject was chosen in compliment to the royal father's dissertation.

Grace showed unto me that it was a new work of the said Luther's. I looked upon the title thereof, and perceived by the same that it is the same book put into print that your Grace sent unto him by me written.\*

In the Octave of the Ascension, Fisher preached his great sermon against Luther at St. Paul's Cross in the presence of the king; and on May 20, the king himself wrote to the Pope that he was writing against Luther and wished to dedicate the book to him. It was not completed until August, 1521. John Clerk (afterwards bishop of Bath) was chosen as special envoy or orator. Twenty-eight copies of the book, richly bound in cloth of gold, were delivered to him for presentation to cardinals, or to be sent by the Pope to princes, and in one copy in particular the king wrote with his own hand,

Anglorum rex Henricus, Leo decime, mittit  
Hoc opus et fidei testem et amicitia.†

In the meantime the news had reached Rome, in June, of the great champion who was putting on his armour, and again the question of the title was mooted. Dr. Maziere Brady, in the second volume of his "Episcopal Succession," has published from the original "Acta Consistorialia," the debates of the Consistory of June 10, 1521.‡ Though the cardinals did not consult "dictionaries and Ciceronian vocabularies," some of their proposals were strange enough. His Holiness made known that the Cardinal of York, his Legate in England, had written that it would perhaps not be inopportune (*inconveniens*) for his Holiness to give some title to the king of England, and each cardinal was told to state his opinion. Some proposed Pious or most Pious (*Pientissimus*); others, among whom the Pope himself, thought of Apostolic; some, the Faithful King. One proposed Angelic from Anglia, another Orthodox, another Ecclesiastic, another Protector. To this last suggestion the Pope remarked that he could not be simply Protector, but Protector of the Faith, and that they must be careful not to seem to detract from any title formerly given by the Holy See to other kings. Some cardinals wanted to know what reason there was for giving him a special title, that they might discuss the matter better.

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\* "Reign of Henry VIII.," vol. i. p. 602. Pace does not name the book, and he seems to say that it had been first circulated in MS. and that he had made a copy and sent it to Wolsey. It may have been one of Luther's pamphlets about Indulgences or on Christian Liberty, and not the larger work on the Church and Sacraments called, "The Captivity of Babylon."

† This copy is now in the Vatican Library.

‡ These documents were not known to Mr. Brewer. Dr. Brady's work was published in Rome in 1876.

Cardinal Egidius said that when Maximilian was chosen emperor, he had complained that the King of France had usurped the title of Most Christian, since in the prayer it was given to the emperor. Some said that Julius II. had taken it away from the king of France and granted it to the king of England, on account of his great services at that time against the schismatics, and that in the same way now, for his pious and illustrious acts for the honour of the Holy See and the Christian religion against Luther, he ought to be honoured with some eminent title. Many cardinals did not like the title Apostolic, since it was that of the Pope, to which it was answered that the addition of the word King would prevent any confusion. At length the Pope decided that he would write down some titles, that the cardinals might examine them whether they should be sent to the Cardinal of York that the king of England might choose one.

This was done on the 14th of June. The Pope proposed a list of titles to be sent to the king for his selection, but with the admonition that if he liked none of them and himself proposed another, it should be one that could not give umbrage to other kings. Henry seems to have kept to his old favourite, The Defender of the Faith.

Clerk writes that when he presented the book privately to Leo, who admired "the trim decking," and opening it, read successively five leaves of the Introduction without interruption, and as I suppose he would never have ceased till he had read it over. At such places as he liked, and that seemed to be at every second line, he made ever some demonstration, *vel nutu vel verbo*, whereby it appeared that he had great pleasure in reading. And when his Holiness had read a great season I assure your Grace he gave the book a great commendation, and said there was therein much wit and clerkly conveyance, and how that there were many great clerks that had written in the matter, but this book would seem to pass all theirs.\*

Leo, however, declined Clerk's urgent request for a public Consistory. He said if a public Consistory were summoned, besides the clergy a great crowd of laymen would be present, and whereas Lutheranism had been silenced for a time and the minds of men quieted, this act should put them in remembrance and renew the old sore.† The private Consistory was held on Wednesday the 2nd of October. Clerk writes:—

That his Holiness went into the place where Consistories were accustomed to be kept, and within a little while called in such prelates as were tarrying without to the number of twenty. And immediately after, the master of the ceremonies came unto me, and informed me

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\* "Reign of Henry VIII.," vol. i. p. 603.

† *Ibid.* p. 604.

somewhat of the ceremonies ; and amongst others that I should kneel upon my knees all the time of mine oration. Whereat I was somewhat abashed, for methought I should not have my heart nor my spirit so much at my liberty. I feared greatly lest they should not serve me so well kneeling as they would standing. Howbeit there was no remedy ; and needs I must do as the master of the ceremonies did tell me. And so following him I entered the place where the Pope's Holiness sat in his majesty upon a dais three steps from the ground, underneath a cloth of estate. Afore him, in a large quadrant, upon stools, sat the bishops in their consistorial habits, to the number of twenty.

He was then presented by the master of the ceremonies, and after three obeisances the Pope allowed Clerk to kiss his feet ; but as he attempted to rise, " his Holiness," he says, " took me by the shoulders and caused me to kiss first the one cheek and then the other." Then returning to the stool which had been placed for him, Clerk pronounced his oration on his knees. The Pope made a complimentary reply.\*

Mr. Brewer says that the title of *Fidei Defensor* was conferred the next day, and that the news reached England at the end of October. The news of Clerk's private interview and even of his public reception may have reached Henry by that time, since on November 4 Pace writes to Wolsey that the king had received his extracts from Clerk's letters, and " was rejoiced to hear of the Pope's singular contentation of his book, and how honourably and lovingly it was accepted by his Holiness," but the affair of the title was not terminated quite so speedily. From the " Consistorial Acts " it appears that nineteen days after the public reception of the book, and when the cardinals had had time to read it, on October 21, the Pope proposed to give the title of *Defender of the Faith*, and all agreed that he should be offered this title or that of *Orthodox* or *Glorious* or *most Faithful*.† The question, however, was not again referred to Henry. Probably Clerk interpreted the king's mind, and in a Consistory on October 25 a copy was read of the Bull and Brief granting the title of *Defender of the Faith*.‡

The Bull was forwarded at once by special messenger to Wolsey, and was by him presented with an appropriate speech to the King.§ On November 17, Pace writes to Wolsey of the king's joy at the " perpetual renown that would be to him and all his successors," and was gracious enough to add that, since he had been moved and led to write his book by Wolsey, the

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\* "Reign of Henry VIII.," vol. i. p. 605.

† Brady's "Episcopal Succession," vol. ii. p. 267.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 267.

§ "Calendar of State Papers, Henry VIII.," vol. iii. part ii. p. 1659.

Cardinal "must of good congruity be partner of all the honour and glory he hath obtained by that act."\*

Great were the rejoicings in England. Gold medals were struck with the title in Latin, Greek and Hebrew. Over the Council Chamber of the Guildhall in London were inscribed two verses in honour of the king and the emperor :

Carolus, Henricus vivant, defensor uterque  
Henricus fidei, Carolus Ecclesiæ.†

Copies of the book were printed on vellum for presentation to sovereign princes, and letters of congratulation poured in to the king.‡

On July 26, 1522, the College of Cardinals wrote to the king beseeching him, by his title of Defender of the Faith, to show an example to other kings in war against the Turk.§ The appeal, however, had no result, and (as we shall see) many another appeal addressed to Henry and his successors on the same ground has been equally fruitless. *Noblesse oblige* is a maxim often less strong than self-interest.

In his Bull the Sovereign Pontiff wrote as follows :

We, the true successor of St Peter, whom Christ, before His ascension, left as his Vicar upon earth, and to whom He committed the care of his flock, presiding in this Holy See, from whence all dignities and titles have their source (*a qua omnes dignitates ac tituli emanant*) . . . . have decreed to bestow on your Majesty this title, and by these letters we do now bestow it, commanding all Christ's faithful to name your Majesty by this title, and when they write to you to add the words "Fidei Defensor" after the word King. . . . Nor will you by this title exalt yourself or become proud, but, according to your accustomed prudence, rather more humble, and more strong and constant in the faith of Christ, and in your devotion to this Holy See, by which you were exalted.

There is nothing in the Bull to indicate the intention of the Pope that this title should descend to Henry's successors. Though on the receipt of the Bull Henry spoke to Pace about his joy "at the renown that would be to him *and all his successors*," this may be understood as referring to the lustre which a king's posterity derive from the singular glory of their progenitor, as the successors of William the Conqueror might be proud of his title without themselves sharing it. Besides, the king was repeating the very words of the Bull, which are these :

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\* "State Papers," iii. 1772.

† Selden, "Titles of Honour," part i. ch. 5.

‡ In the Althorp Library of Earl Spencer is the copy presented to the King of Denmark. In the Record Office is a congratulatory letter from the Doge of Venice (March 17, 1522).

§ "State Papers," iii. part. ii. 2,405.

You will rejoice in the Lord, the Giver of all good, to leave this perpetual and immortal monument of your glory to your posterity, and to show them the way, *that if they also wish to be invested with such a title*, they may study to do similar actions and to follow the illustrious traces of your Majesty.

It would seem from this that the Pope intended the title to be hereditary rather than hereditary. He concludes by praying God,

by whom kings reign and princes rule, and in whose hand are the hearts of kings, to confirm Henry in his holy resolves and increase his devotion, and to make him so illustrious by his glorious deeds on behalf of the holy faith, and so conspicuous to the whole world, that no one may be able to deem false or vain the judgment of the Holy See in bestowing so splendid a title.

The grant was confirmed by Clement VII. in 1524, but neither did he bestow the title on Henry's successors: "Approbamus, confirmamus, tibi perpetuum et proprium deputamus;" and Henry himself was solemnly deprived of it by Paul III. in his Bull issued in 1535, but suspended, and only finally put forth in 1538.\*

In spite, however, of his breach with the Holy See and his excommunication, Henry would not relinquish his eagerly coveted and hard-won honours, and his complaisant Parliament in 1543 united the title of Defender of the Faith with that of Supreme Head of the Church of England and of Ireland, annexing the titles "for ever to the Imperial Crown of his Highness' realm of England."† This act was repealed in the first and second of Philip and Mary,‡ and revived in the first Elizabeth. Since then some changes have been made in the Royal Style, such as the omission of claim to be King of France, but the title of Defender of the Faith has been continued.

Nor have Catholics had any difficulty in giving this title to Protestant kings and queens, since a title indicates what a man should be, not always what he really is. Thus Harding, in the early years of Elizabeth, in his dedication to her of his confutation of Jewel's apology, calls the Queen "by the grace of God Queen

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\* The Bull is in Rymer, xii. 756. Also in Tierney's "Dodd," i. 346. The original is in the British Museum. It is dated "quinto idus Octobris," i.e., Oct. 11, 1521.

† "Statutes at Large" (1758), ii. 172.

‡ The title was omitted in the Bull addressed by Julius III. to Philip and Mary; yet Mary used it both before and after her marriage. In this there was no disobedience or disloyalty to the Holy See. Paul III. had forbidden any one to give it to Henry or to his offspring by Anne Boleyn. Mary assumed it in the sense in which it was first given, and as implying her intention of restoring and defending the Catholic Faith.

of England, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith," but omits the words Supreme Head or Governor. He exhorts her to defend the old Catholic Faith, saying "so shall you draw in one line with all Christian princes that be in Europe at this day of any name or regard, according to the precedents and examples of all your noble progenitors." Another priest, Matthew Kellison, on the accession of King James, dedicates to him his "Survey of the New Religion." He addresses the preface to "James, by the grace of God King of Great Britian, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith." The preface is so interesting and the book so rare that some extracts from it, bearing on the present question, may be inserted :—

The very subject of my book (he writes), which is religion, seemed to require of right no other patron than your most excellent Majesty, who by office and title are the protector of Religion, the champion of the Church, the Defender of the Faith.

He tells him that public prayers by the Pope's command were offered for him, and that he has been specially gifted and protected by God :—

And that God hath called you out for some good purpose, and that your Highness, to show yourself grateful unto Him, will employ yourself in more honourable service for that Church and Faith of which you are called the Defender.

He reminds the king of the zeal of his royal ancestors, Malcolm and St. Margaret, of "James IV., your great-grandfather, surnamed Protector of the Faith," and of his "holy and martyred mother."

I have heard of (i.e., from) some that were belonging to her, and entertained by her, when she was rather detained than entertained in England, that she spent many hours in prayer, shed many tears of sorrow, gave great alms of charity, and used divers means of providence, that your Majesty might be made a Catholic; and amongst others she devised the means that you should be baptised and confirmed by a Catholic bishop. That ran still in her mind, that was deepest in her heart and oftenest in her mouth, for that she fetched many a sigh and sighed out many a wish, and that also by her last will and testament she commended to your Majesty, when going to the stage to act that bloody tragedy, which she performed so happily, she commanded her man Melvin to desire your Grace, in so gracious a mother's name, to serve God religiously, to defend the Catholic Faith manfully, and to govern your kingdom peaceably.

He reminds the king that Catholics in England are still very numerous, "yea a greater part are we than any particular sect in your Majesty's realm." He also tells him that should he perse-

cute, he will yet not succeed in destroying Catholics, and proves this, among other reasons, from English history :

Because, notwithstanding so many confiscations of their goods, so many confinings, imprisonments, and banishments of their persons, so many tortures and deaths of their bodies, Catholics and Catholic priests are more at this present in your realm than they were forty years since.

Lastly, he reminds him that

the kings of England, from King Henry VIII., your Grace's great-uncle, for his Catholic and learned book written against Luther, and other his most honourable services which he once performed for the Catholic Church, are called Defenders of the Faith—that is, the Catholic Faith.

To return now to the book of Henry. Before describing its contents we must examine the question of its authorship. A recent Catholic writer of great learning says : "The book which the king presented to the Pope as his own is now generally believed to have been the work of John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester."\* If this is the case, we must state the reasons of our dissent from the general opinion. It seemed so improbable, at the time of its publication, that the young king should have written such a book, that its authorship became at once a matter of conjecture. Luther attributed it to Lee, others to Erasmus, others to More or Wolsey. Let us go back to contemporary authority, and begin with Erasmus.

Erasmus wrote to Richard Pace on August 23, 1521 :—

The book which his royal Majesty has written against Luther I have merely seen in the hands of the Apostolic Nuncio, Marinus. I am eagerly longing to read it. I doubt not that it is worthy of his great talents, which succeed wonderfully in whatever direction he exerts them. Formerly, if a king by force of arms delivered Christians from the yoke of their enemies, he was looked upon as a prodigy of piety and worthy of canonization. But Henry VIII. fights by his talents and his pen for the spouse of Christ, which is proof enough of what he would do were arms required. Indeed what he has done is much more difficult, and will gain him more solid and more singular praise. . . . I hope this beautiful and rare example will provoke princes to emulate it. But will not priests, monks, bishops henceforth be ashamed to be ignorant in theology, when they see so great a king, so young, so busy to have advanced so far in the knowledge of sacred letters, that he can come to the succour of religion by his books? I doubt not that he has succeeded better than some who have hitherto attempted it. But I will write with more certainty when I have devoured the book, which I greatly long to do. The Cardinal of York has promised to send me a copy.†

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\* Note of Mr. David Lewis to Sanders' "Rise and Growth of the Anglican Schism," p. 21.

† Epistola 589.

On the same day he wrote in almost the same terms to Warham, the Archbishop of Canterbury, but added that "from the account given him by the courtiers, especially by Mountjoy, he is persuaded that the book has been written by the King himself" (*ipsius marte*).\*

Much of this was probably flattery intended to come under the king's eye. But in September, 1522, when he had had time to read the book, he wrote to Duke George of Saxony:—

I have never doubted that the book, which you rightly praise, of the King of England, is the work of him whose name it bears. That prince has a happy and versatile genius, which succeeds wonderfully in whatever it undertakes. When he was a boy he cultivated diligently his style, and even wrote some letters to me. A few years ago he composed a theological disputation, as to "Whether a Layman is Bound to Vocal Prayer." He is fond of the books of scholastic theologians, and is wont to discuss theological questions at his banquets. Sometimes literary contentions are protracted till late at night. His queen also is elegantly learned. But if he has been helped at all in that book, he had no need of my assistance, since his court is filled with men both very learned and very skilled in writing. If his style is not altogether unlike mine, that is not so strange, since when he was a boy he diligently studied my treatises, being incited thereto by William Mountjoy, formerly my pupil, and then the king's companion in study.†

It may be thought that Erasmus was indulging in irony when he admitted that there could be any similarity between his style and that of the king. Yet there is no reason for such an interpretation. The style of the king's book is very good, otherwise it would not even now be attributed sometimes to More, sometimes to Fisher, sometimes to Lee. Certainly when it appeared it was generally thought that Erasmus had given his help. In 1522 he wrote from Basle to his friend Glapion:

Both at Rome and here some suspect the book to be mine. Such suspicions would indeed be fortunate for me, if they only changed their place, that is, if the English suspected what the Germans suspect.‡

The meaning of these last words is seen from a letter written to Erasmus by Cuthbert Tunstal, Bishop of London, on July, 1523, from which it appears that while in Germany Erasmus was suspected of helping Henry to write against Luther, in England he was suspected of having helped Luther to pen his scurrilous reply to Henry. He had written to the King to clear himself.§

We may then set aside Erasmus. As to Lee, Luther had no

\* Epistola 590.

‡ *Ibid.* 645.

† *Ibid.* 635.

§ *Ibid.* 656, inter Ep. Erasmi.

grounds whatever for such a suspicion, which was probably also a mere make-believe. In any case no one upholds this view at present.

Dr. Lingard says that it was at the time the opinion of the public that if Henry composed the book, yet it was planned, revised and improved by the superior judgment of Cardinal Wolsey and of Fisher, Bishop of Rochester; and in support of this view he quotes the words of Sir Thomas More, that "by his Grace's appointment, and consent of the makers of the same, he (More) was only a sorter out and placer of the principal matters therein contained."

Lord Herbert of Cherbery writes:—

I cannot believe that Fisher was the author (as Sanders and Bellarmine will have it), or Sir Thomas More (as others say), though I doubt not but they might both revise it by the King's favour, and where it was needful also interpose their judgment.\*

The author of a contemporary account of Fisher, quoted by Mr. Pococke, says that Henry summoned Fisher to London, and is believed to have been especially helped by him. Mr. Pococke himself judges that the Latin publications attributed to Henry were not entirely his own composition, as the style is much above what he could have produced. He says that Henry had a hand in the compiling of a book called "The Glass of Truth," and that "the work has as much right to be considered the king's as the 'Assertio Septem Sacramentorum' which bears his name."†

It is right, however, that we should hear Fisher and Henry, for it will be noticed that, with the exception of the quotation from Sir Thomas More, all these criticisms contain little besides conjecture.

Fisher, in his "Defence of the Assertions of the King of England," rebukes Luther for calling the king "a rude and unlearned layman," and adds, "would that we who are priests were not far below him both in erudition and in eloquence."‡ In his book against Ecolampadius, he says that Henry merits the first place among the defenders of the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist, and has well won his title of Defender of the Faith." It would be well if the Germans would read his lucubrations against Luther more diligently.§

In a work written very soon after the grant of the title Fisher writes of Henry's work in such terms that to us it seems certain he could have had but a slight share, if any, in its composition.

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\* "Life of Henry VIII." (1649), p. 392.

† Preface to Records in his edition of Burnet, p. 23.

‡ "Assertio Defensio," cap. 3, n. 16.

§ "De Veritate Corporis Christi." Preface to Book I.

The king (he says) has borne witness to the orthodox faith, and that so splendidly and fully, that one knows not which most to admire, his talent, his learning, or his eloquence, to say nothing of other qualities, lest I should seem to flatter.\*

Can any one, who knows the modesty and truthfulness of Fisher, believe that he would thus praise his own work, or that he could have looked the king in the face if he had done so? At the end of the preface he says the king is now called Defender of the Faith, *suus meritis*. Again, in his sermon against Luther, preached within the Octave of the Ascension, 1521, he says:—

But touching these sacraments, the king's Grace our Sovereign Lord in his own person hath with his pen so substantially foughten against Martin Luther, that I doubt not but every true Christian man that shall read his book shall see those blessed sacraments cleared and delivered from the slanderous mouth and cruel teeth that Martin Luther hath set upon them. Wherein all England may take comfort, and specially all those that love learning.†

The words of Henry himself are also quite explicit:—

Now, however much you may pretend to believe that the book published by me is not mine, but forged in my name by cunning sophists, yet many far more worthy of credence than your "trustworthy witnesses" know it to be mine; and I myself acknowledge it, and that all the more gladly that it is less pleasing to you. For as to what you write that the book is a dishonour to me, every one understands, however much you dissemble it, how vexed you are that my book has been approved by the general consent of so many good and learned men, as well as by the honourable judgment of that See which, though it has condemned your heresies, yet was of so great authority in the esteem of St. Jerome, that he thought it sufficient if he could approve his faith to that See. Yet I do not boast much of these honours, since I am accustomed (and pray God that I may ever continue) to make all the glory and honour of my works to consist in being acceptable to God.‡

We conclude then that, unless Fisher and the king are both liars, and lied knowingly in each other's presence, Henry in claiming the authorship, and Fisher in attributing the work to Henry, it cannot be the work of the Bishop of Rochester, but is Henry's own, though others may have given him theological and literary help.

\* "Assertionis Lutheranae Confutatio."

† Fisher's English Works (Early English Text Society), p. 327. This sermon was preached before Henry's book was finished. This passage must have been added when his sermon was being printed, after Henry's book had appeared in August.

‡ Regis Angliæ Responsio ad M. Luth Ep., p. 106, ed. 1562.

A further and to us a conclusive argument that the book is really Henry's is in this, that the style is similar to his letter addressed to Luther written in 1526. By style we mean both the Latin construction and the personal characteristics. Now we are not aware that any one has attributed this second work either to Fisher or to More; and those who will read it will feel that the king must have written or dictated the substance of it, though perhaps his secretary, Richard Pace, may have polished the Latin style. The same remark may be made as to many passages of the first work. The English reader may form some judgment from the passages we shall quote from both of these works. We must first explain that the title of the book that was offered to the Pope in 1521 is in Latin: "*Assertio Septem Sacramentorum*;" or "*A Defence of the Seven Sacraments*." To this Luther wrote a very scurrilous answer, followed not long after by a most humble apology. It was in answer to this apology that Henry wrote a letter or treatise, published in 1526, with the title "*Literarum quibus invictissimus Princeps Henricus, etc., respondit ad quamdam epistolam M. Lutheri exemplum*;" or "*A copy of the Letter in which Henry, &c., has replied to a certain epistle of M. Luther*." This second work is rarely referred to, and is perhaps still more rarely read than the first. It is, however, more interesting at the present day. It is from this we have quoted Henry's vindication of the authorship of his first book; and we shall give some further extracts, referring to the respective treatises as "*Assertio*" and "*Responsio*."\*

We do not propose to examine the value of Henry's arguments against Luther, nor will it for our purpose be necessary to take any notice of the book of Luther's to which Henry's is a reply. Pope Leo X. declared that the king's book contained "an admirable doctrine," and granted an Indulgence to those who should read it. Mr. Brewer's estimate of the king's work is not a high one:—

It contained nothing (he says) that could enlighten the consciences of men, or shake the convictions of those who had already adopted the Lutheran doctrines. It reproduced, without novelty or energy, the old commonplaces of authority, tradition, and general consent. The cardinal principles of Luther's teaching the king did not understand, and did not therefore attempt to confute. Contented to point out the mere straws on the surface of the current—the apparent incon-

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\* Both books went through several editions in England and on the Continent. The "*Assertio*" was first translated in the time of James II. and twice printed. It was republished in the appendix to Hornihold's work on the Sacraments in 1821. We have preferred to translate anew.

sistencies of Luther, his immoderate language, his disparagement of authority—the royal controversialist never travels beyond the familiar round; and reproduces, without force, originality, or feeling, the weary topics he had picked up, without much thought or research, from the theological manuals of the day. Even when discussing the Papal supremacy he puts on the blinkers with his harness, and is as docile and as orthodox as if he had never opposed the publication of a Papal Bull, or refused admission to a Papal Nuncio.\*

With this estimate we cannot agree. It makes us doubt whether Mr. Brewer had done more than turn hastily over the leaves of Henry's treatise. It may not indeed be a profound study of the sacraments like the work of a professed theologian, yet it is anything rather than the reproduction of an ordinary manual. It has in many parts a marked originality, and does not let us forget the position or the character of its writer. It is true that the king does not grapple with the positive system of Luther, but merely with his negations of Catholic doctrine. But at that date Luther had not formulated his system of faith and justification in any intelligible manner; and it is hard to blame Henry for not seizing intuitively, amidst the contradictory utterances of Luther up to the year 1520, a view of Christianity that the world had never before dreamt of, that had no parallel or even germ in ancient heresies, and that its author as yet only dimly conceived.

It is not, however, for the confutation of Lutheran negations or assertions that any one would now consult the "Assertio" of Henry VIII. Whatever value it may have had in 1521, it has long since been superseded as a treatise on the Sacraments or as a manual of controversy. Its whole interest now lies in its author and his subsequent career. Henry's condemnations, objurgations and appeals remind the modern reader less of Luther's extravagancies than of Henry's own. It is as the Defender of the Faith against himself that Henry shows to best advantage in this famous volume. Henry's name is most associated with the rupture with the Holy See and the national repudiation of the supremacy of Rome. Luckily he has been very explicit on this subject. Henry calls the Pope "the chief bishop" (ch. i.), "Christ's Vicar in that Church over which Christ is the Head" (ch. xii.), he is "the supreme judge on earth" (ch. ii.), "the successor of St. Peter, Christ's Vicar, to whom as to the Prince of the Apostles it is believed that Christ gave the keys of the Church" (ch. v.). But let us hear him discourse on the Papal authority expressly. In his first work he writes:—

I will not offer such an insult to the Pope as to dispute anxiously

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\* "Reign of Henry VIII.," vol. i. p. 607.

and minutely about his rights, as if the matter could be considered doubtful. Luther cannot deny that every orthodox church acknowledges and venerates the most holy Roman See as mother and head (*primate*), unless indeed by distance or intervening dangers some are prevented from access to her. Hence if the Roman Pontiff has acquired this great and world-wide power, neither by the command of God, nor even by the consent of men, but by his own violence, as Luther pretends, then I would ask him to inform us at what period he seized this vast dominion? The beginning of so mighty a power cannot surely be obscure, especially if it has taken place in modern times. But even if it took place more than one or two ages ago, he may certainly give an account of it from history. If, however, it is so ancient that its origin is forgotten, then he ought to know that it is a fixed and universal principle of all laws that a power or right which so transcends the memory of men, that its beginning cannot be ascertained, must ever be held to have begun lawfully; so that it is forbidden by the consent of all nations to overthrow what has long remained unmoved.

But most certainly if any one will examine the records of antiquity, he will find that long ago, immediately after the cessation of persecution (*protinus post pacatum orbem*), almost all the churches of the Christian world obeyed the Roman Church, nay even Greece herself, though the empire had been transferred thither, yielded to the Roman Church in whatever regarded the Primacy, except in times of some violent schism.

St. Jerome shows clearly what judgment he formed of the authority of the Roman See, since, though he was not himself a Roman, yet he openly declares that it is enough for him if the Pope of Rome approves his faith, whoever else may find fault with it.

Now, as Luther so impudently lays down that the Pope has no right whatever over the Catholic Church, even by human law, but has acquired his tyranny by mere force, I greatly marvel that he should deem his readers so credulous or so stupid as to believe that an unarmed priest, alone, and without followers—and such he must have been in Luther's supposition before he obtained the power which he invaded—could ever even have hoped to acquire such an empire, being without rights and without title, over so many bishops who were his equals, and over so many and far separated nations. Nay, more than this, how can any one believe that all peoples, cities, provinces and kingdoms were so prodigal of their property, their rights, and their liberty, as to give to a foreign priest, to whom they owed nothing, more power than he himself ever dared to hope for? But what matters it what Luther thinks? In his anger and envy he does not know himself what he thinks, but shows that his science has been clouded, and his foolish heart darkened, and that he has been given up to a reprobate sense, to do and say what is unseemly. How true is the saying of the Apostle: If I should have the gift of prophecy and know all mysteries and all science, and if I should have all faith so as to move mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing. And how far

from charity this man is, is evident from this, not only that in his madness he destroys himself, but still more that he endeavours to draw all others with him to perdition, since he strives to turn all from their obedience to the Sovereign Pontiff. . . .

He does not consider that, if it is provided in Deuteronomy (xvii. 12) that he that will be proud and refuse to obey the commandment of the priests, who ministereth at that time to the Lord and the decree of the judge, that man shall die; *what horrible punishment he must deserve, who refuses to obey the highest priest of all, and the supreme judge on earth.* . . . Yet Luther, as far as in him lies, disturbs the whole church, and seduces the whole body to rebel against its head, to rebel against whom is like the sin of witchcraft, and like the crime of idolatry to refuse to obey (1 Kings xv. 23).

Wherefore, since Luther, hurried along by his hatred, casts himself into destruction, and refuses to be subject to the law of God, setting up his own instead, let us, on the other hand, the followers of Christ, be on our guard, lest (as the Apostle says) by the disobedience of one man many be made sinners.\*

Thus the king wrote in 1521. Can any one fail to see in these words a divinely pre-ordained commentary on the Oath of Supremacy which was afterwards required? It ran thus :—

I, A. B., *having now the veil of the darkness of the usurped power, authority and jurisdiction of the See and Bishop of Rome, clearly taken away from mine eyes*, do utterly testify and declare in my conscience, that neither the See nor the Bishop of Rome, nor any foreign potentate hath, nor ought to have, any jurisdiction, power or authority, within this realm, neither by God's law, nor by any other just law or means. And though by sufferance and abuse in times past, they, aforesaid, *have usurped and vindicated* a feigned and an unlawful power and jurisdiction within this realm, which hath been supported till for years past. . . . I therefore, now do clearly and frankly denounce, refuse, relinquish, and forsake that pretended authority, power and jurisdiction &c.†

To use Mr. Brewer's metaphor, we would ask whether Henry "put on the blinkers with his harness," or rather when he threw his harness aside?

Katharine Parr, after her marriage with Henry VIII. in 1543, wrote a book called "The Lamentations of a Sinner." She thus compliments her royal husband :—

Thanks be given to the Lord that He hath now sent us such a godly and learned king in these latter days to reign over us, that, with the force of God's Word, hath taken away the veils and mists of error, and brought as to the knowledge of the truth by the light of God's Word, which was so long hid and kept under, that the people were well-nigh famished and hungered for lack of spiritual food, such was

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\* "Assertio."

† Stat. 35 Hen. VIII., c. 1. sec. 11.

the charity of the spiritual curates and shepherds. But our Moses, and most godly wise governor and king, hath delivered us out of the captivity and spiritual bondage of Pharaoh: I mean by this Moses king Henry VIII., my most sovereign favourable lord and husband, one (if Moses had figured any more than Christ), through the excellent grace of God, meet to be another expressed verity of Moses's conquest over Pharaoh; and I mean by this Pharaoh the Bishop of Rome, who hath been, and is, a greater persecutor of all true Christians than ever was Pharaoh of the children of Israel.

The biographer of Katherine Parr, Miss Strickland, admits that this is "gross flattery," yet she has compared Katherine's relations with Henry to those of Esther with King Ahasuerus. Esther did indeed pray to God: "Give me a well ordered speech in my mouth in the presence of the lion" (ch. xiv. 13), and when the lion scowled at her and she fainted away, she compared the brightness of his majesty to that of an angel, and told him that his face was full of graces (ch. xv. 16, 17). To compare the terror caused by a king, or the splendour of his appearance, to that of an angel, especially of such an angel as that heathen king imagined, was quite lawful and "well ordered," but to compare the monster whose life was now near its end, and all whose crimes were known to Katharine, to Moses, was a blasphemy only equalled by that of comparing the Pope to Pharaoh. And this very Henry, to whom this loathsome flattery and still more loathsome scurrility was now so grateful, had himself grown indignant with Luther for writing of the Babylonian captivity:—

What more venomous serpent ever crept into the house of God (he writes in 1521) than this man who has written about the Babylonish captivity of the Church, who twists the Holy Scripture out of its sense against the sacraments of Christ, who mocks at the ecclesiastical ceremonies handed down by ancient fathers, who calls the most holy See of Rome Babylon, and the supreme Pontificate a tyranny, who condemns the most wholesome discipline of the church as a slavery, and nicknames as Antichrist the venerable Pontiff. O detestable trumpeter of pride and contumely and schism! What wolf of hell is this, who seeks thus to scatter the flock of Christ! What a limb of Satan who would separate from their Head the members of Christ! . . . Oh! how much more likely is it that one wretched friar is a diseased sheep, than that so many Pontiffs have been faithless shepherds.\*

And may we not add, how much more likely is it that the king should have been right when living in chastity with his lawful wife than when blinded by adultery and filled with insane rage against that power which refused to sanction his lust?

It happens curiously enough that Luther also wrote in re-

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\* "Assertio."

verential terms of the authority of the Sovereign Pontiffs, and that Henry has reproached him with the inconsistency of his conduct and language :—

Formerly (says the royal Caiaphas) Luther wrote against the Bohemians that they sinned damnably who did not obey the Pope. Having written those things so short a time before, he now embraces what he then detested. The like stability he hath in this, that after he preached in a sermon to the people that "excommunication is a medicine, and to be suffered with patience and obedience," he himself, being for very good cause, a while after, excommunicated, was so impatient of that sentence, that, mad with rage, he breaks forth into insupportable contumelies, reproaches and blasphemies; so that by his fury it plainly appears that those *who are driven from the bosom of their holy mother the Church, are immediately seized and possessed with furies and tormented by devils.* But I ask this: he that saw these things so short a while since, how is it that he becomes of opinion that then he saw nothing at all? What new eyes has he got? Is his sight more sharp after he has joined anger to his wonted pride, and has added hatred to both? \*

One would be glad to know whether Henry, after being excommunicated, ever re-read his own book, and what were his reflections thereon. Certainly these words were penned as if to refute beforehand Mr. Brewer's theory of the "blinkers."

When the Commons presented a supplication to Henry VIII. in 1532 against certain abuses among the clergy, an answer was prepared by the Ordinaries, in the preparation or correction of which Bishop Gardiner took a leading part. Henry was displeased with the answer, and, through Edward Fox his almoner, made known his displeasure to Gardiner. Gardiner vindicated himself in a letter, in which, among other things he says :—

That he had thought he was supported in what he had written by the king himself in his book against Luther, which in his judgment clearly approved the position taken by the clergy. . . . If his Grace could now prove the contrary, he himself was not to be blamed, since he could know nothing of his Grace's proofs and was not learned in divinity.†

So also, in the second answer of the Ordinaries, they defended their spiritual jurisdiction by an appeal to Henry's book, "which book they reckoned that his Highness could not of his honour, nor of his goodness would, revoke."‡

\* "Assertio."

† Rev. R. W. Dixon's "History of the Church of England," vol. i. p. 98. He refers to Wilkins, iii. p. 748. Some words omitted in the text refer to another book.

‡ *Ibid.* Wilkins, iii. 75.

But there were other matters in Henry's book besides that of the Pope's supremacy that he must in his later years have dreaded to have brought up against himself. He had once bantered Luther that, extolling as he did the power of Faith, and founding a new church, he yet worked no miracles :—

I wonder (he writes) that you at least do not raise up some dying man. We are daily listening for rumours from Germany of men being raised from the tomb, and yet we not only hear of no one being cured, but of good and innocent priests cruelly slain. This is no doubt in order to teach us that Order is no sacrament, that the priestly character is a figment, and that David was too timid when he was sorry for having touched the anointed of the Lord.\*

Yet the man who wrote these words beheaded the bishop who was the glory of his Church and the adviser of his youth ; and hung his wife's confessor, Friar Forest, by a chain round his body to roast to death, for asserting that supremacy of the Pope on which he had himself once so strongly written, the fire being fed with images that Henry had once venerated.

Again Henry set up as a reformer of the Church and of the clergy, and first rebuked and then suppressed the religious orders. Let us hear him, writing on this subject to Luther, in the letter addressed to him in 1526 :—

As to the scurrilities which you write against the Roman Church and her clergy, I have no intention of disputing on that matter with an insignificant friar. Whatever they may be, you show clearly enough what you are. Since you wish to be considered so perfect a gospeller, you would have done better had you learnt from the Gospel first to remove the beam from your own eye before taking the mote from the eye of another. You would have done well also to weigh diligently from the history of those who enviously and maliciously murmured against Moses, and cast insults upon David, what end awaits such as are contumelious against those whom they are bound reverently to obey. You might have learnt also, even if the Church seemed to you somewhat to totter, that you should have restrained yourself, and not have been so desperately bold as to dare to touch it, and to set it right with your crooked and polluted fingers, lest God teach you modesty and remind you of your duty, as He once taught Osa, when he dared, without permission, to put out his hand to support the ark of the covenant when it seemed to be toppling over.

But after all, though the mania has seized you of insulting the Roman court, your doctrine and your life both show clearly enough, that were the Curia so bad as you pretend, it could not be displeasing to you. For since all the worst apostates, who have cast off their vows

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\* " Assertio."

and rejected a more perfect life, and giving up their spiritual aspirations have devoted themselves altogether to the pleasures of the flesh, since all these are most dear to you; and, on the other hand, all good men who are eager for piety, are by you and your wicked faction every day *most cruelly driven from the homes* where in prayer, fasting, and chastity they had chosen to devote their whole life to the worship of God; and since *the most holy temples have been emptied of the choirs of consecrated virgins*, and are given up to impurity and prostitution; does not all this conduct of yours prove, beyond all doubt, that no one is hateful to you because he is wicked, but that all those are your real enemies who are virtuous, and therefore opposed to your doctrine and manner of life. For no other reason do you murmur against the Apostolic See, than because you are angry at seeing that it condemns your impious heresies. So that it might well answer you, "Your murmuring is not against us, but against the Lord" (Exod. xvi. 8). Then, looking up to Christ, whose Vicar he is, the Pope may say, "O Lord, God of Heaven, humble those who presume of themselves and trust in their own strength" (Judith vi. 15).\*

There is one more subject on which we may compare Henry's words and conduct. This is Marriage. With regard to its sanctity he writes:—

God has made marriage, by means of sacramental grace, a remedy against lust, so that, *unless a man, like the prodigal son, choose to squander his father's inheritance in neglect*, grace not only restrains him from thirsting for stolen waters from the cisterns of others, but makes him drink of his own so soberly and healthfully as to profit by them to eternal life.†

As regards Divorce, Henry thus wrote in 1521, before he had met with Anne Boleyn:—

The heathen were wont by human laws to take wives and cast them off. But in the people of God it was formerly not lawful to separate those who were joined in matrimony. And if God, by Moses, allowed the Hebrews to give a bill of divorce, Christ teaches that the permission was given on account of the hardness of the people, *for otherwise they would have killed the wives that did not please them*. But from the beginning it was not so. And Christ recalled Christians to the original sanctity of marriage.

Further on, after quoting our Lord's words: "Whom God has joined together let no man put asunder," Henry exclaims:—

O, the admirable word, which none could have spoken but the Word that was made flesh! O, word full of joy and fear as it is of admiration! Who should not rejoice that God has so much care of his marriage as to vouchsafe, not only to be present at it, but also to preside in it? Who should not tremble when he is bound not only

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\* "Responsio."

† "Assertio."

to love his wife, but to live with her in such a manner as that he may be able to render her pure and immaculate to God, from whom he received her?

To these extracts from his first book we must add one from his second, after the news of Luther's marriage had reached England:—

You write to me, Luther, that you are exceedingly ashamed even to raise your eyes towards me, because you suffered yourself so easily to be excited against me by workers of iniquity, as you call them. But I am much more surprised that you are not seriously ashamed to raise your eyes to God or to any honest man, since you have allowed yourself, at the instigation of the devil, to fall into such folly that, for the sake of unbecoming and obscene pleasures of the flesh, you, Augustinian friar though you are, have violated a nun consecrated to God. Nay, you have not only violated her—a crime which had you committed it of old time among Roman heathen, she would have been burned alive and you scourged to death, but you have even (which is too execrable!) publicly taken her for your wife in most impure marriage, and now openly, to the astonishment of the whole world, to your own infamy throughout the world, and to the great dishonour of holy matrimony, and insult to your holy vows, continue to keep and abuse her as your perpetual prostitute. And what is even still more abominable, when shame and sorrow ought to overwhelm you for your execrable crime, instead of repenting, you boast most impudently and are so far from seeking pardon, that, by your books and letters, you seek to draw other false monks to imitate your example.

Seven years had not passed from the publication of this energetic language, when its writer sacrilegiously raised an impure priest, who had violated his vow of celibacy by a secret marriage, to the See of St. Augustine of Canterbury, in order that he might pronounce a cowardly and unjust decree of divorce from Katharine, after the hand of the writer of those words had already been joined in adulterous marriage with that of Anne Boleyn. The Defender of the Faith became the enemy of the Church, but his words remain to vindicate her cause and to testify for ever against himself. We shall conclude our article by the words with which Henry concluded his first work:—

When Luther (read Henry instead) felt that he was cast out of the society of the faithful, he began to do as the impious, who when they have come to the lowest depth, despise it. He did not mourn over his fall, thinking how he had exalted himself like Lucifer, and like Lucifer had fallen headlong, as the lightning from heaven. He imitated the desperation of the devil, becoming a devil (*diabolus*); that is to say, a calumniator himself, and began to pour out blasphemies and calumnies against the Sovereign Pontiff; and filled with envy of the faithful, like the old serpent, he lay snares of infidelity for them, that he might get them to taste of the forbidden fruit of evil knowledge, and thus be

expelled from the paradise of the Church (from which he had been ejected) into a land bringing forth thorns and thistles.

I confess that I greatly pity such madness and so miserable a fall, and I heartily desire that even yet, by the assistance of God's grace, he may come to his senses, and be converted and live. And this I desire not only for his own sake—though for his sake also, since I would wish all men to be saved if so it might be—but I wish that being at length converted, and like the prodigal son returning to the mercy of his loving father, and confessing his error, he may bring back those whom he has led astray. However, if he is so utterly doomed that now "the pit" of impiety and desperation "has shut its mouth upon him" (Ps. lxxviii. 16), let him bluster, slander, rave as he will, and "he that is filthy let him be filthy still" (Apoc. xxii. 11). But all other Christians I beseech, and by the bowels of Christ, whose faith we profess, I entreat to turn their ears from his impious words, not to nourish schisms and strife, especially at this time, when Christians ought especially to be united against the enemies of Christ. Let them not listen to the insults and detractions against the Vicar of Christ, which the rage of this friar (read king) pours out. Let them not stain with impious heresies the hearts that are consecrated to Christ.

The words are excellent and true. Alas! that the man who wrote them should have made so miserable an end. Had he then died he would have left behind him one of the most glorious names in English royal annals. Whence, then, the contrast between the earlier and the later years of his reign? In the appendix to the first volume of Tierney's edition of Dodd's "Church History" will be found a series of letters addressed to Anne Boleyn by Henry, at the very time that he was frequenting those sacraments of Penance and Holy Communion which he had so nobly vindicated in writing. Those who will take the trouble to read those vile letters and see how the adulterous king puts up his blasphemous prayers to God for the success of his intrigue, will require no further explanation. Sacrilegious communions, the result of unmortified passions, explain the fall of the Defender of the Faith, as of many another before and since; but his very fall adds another proof to the majesty and sanctity of the sacraments he defended and profaned.

T. E. BRIDGETT, C.S.S.R.



## ART. II.—MRS. INCHBALD.

1. *The Literary History of England, 1790–1825.* By Mrs. OLIPHANT. In 3 vols. London: Macmillan & Co. 1882.
2. *Memoirs of Mrs. Inchbald.* By JAMES BOADEN, Esq. In 2 vols. London: Richard Bentley. 1833.
3. *The Lives of the Kembles.* By PERCY FITZGERALD, M.A., F.S.A. In 2 vols. London: Tinsley Brothers.
4. *English Literature.* By the Rev. Stopford Brooke, M.A., Macmillan & Co. 1877.

THREE years ago there appeared in this REVIEW \* an article by John Charles Earle on "Englishmen of Letters." Its scope was to show how English literature had been modified by Catholic writers. Few men in England are more competent to treat such a theme than Mr. Earle, himself a Catholic, and a well-known man of letters. Yet it seemed to me that he omitted from his roll of Catholic writers one name which well deserved commemoration; that of Elizabeth Inchbald, a woman of original genius, striking character and a devout Catholic. Ninety years have gone since "A Simple Story" was published, and it still retains its freshness.† In her lifetime its author was crowned with the admiration of her contemporaries. Her beauty, her wit, the *piquante* charm of her manner, her great conversational powers, made her the centre and queen of every gathering she attended; and to every social gathering she received an eager welcome. "I have heard," writes Mrs. Shelley, "that a rival beauty of her day pettishly complained that when Mrs. Inchbald came into a room and sat in a chair in the middle of it, as was her wont, every man gathered round it, and it was in vain for any other woman to attempt to gain attention."‡ Favourable criticism from her lips made authors, whose names are household words among us, prouder than did the praise of more renowned celebrities. "Talking of vanity," says Byron in his Journal, "Whose praise do I prefer? Why Mrs. Inchbald's, because her 'Simple Story' and 'Nature and Art' are to me true to their titles, and consequently her short note to Rogers about the 'Giaour' delighted me more than anything except the *Edinburgh Review*."§ Maria Edgeworth is anxious to have her opinion

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\* DUBLIN REVIEW, January, 1882.

† Since this was written, a new and daintily illustrated edition has been brought out: "A Simple Story," by Mrs. Inchbald. London: G. Routledge & Sons. 1885.

‡ "William Godwin," by C. Kegan Paul, vol. i. p. 74.

§ Moore's "Life of Byron," p. 213.

of the comic dramas because she is "one of the few persons in the world who *can* form a decided opinion, and who *will* have the courage to tell the truth to an author."\* Charles Lamb, we know, could not endure literary women, but made an exception in favour of Mrs. Inchbald. Sheridan used to say she was the only authoress whose talk and society pleased him. She was the "divine Elizabeth Inchbald" to Leigh Hunt, "the dear muse" of the Kembles. "Last night my father and I," Miss Edgeworth writes, "were numbering the people we should wish to see. Our list is not very numerous, but Mrs. Inchbald is one of the first persons we at the same moment eagerly named." †

How comes it, then, that the name of such a woman conjures up to the mind of most of us no life-like personality, and that, if it were not for the seasonable appearance of a few books such as those set at the head of this paper, her very name would not be mentioned? One explanation of the fact may be found in the means taken to perpetuate her memory. At her death her papers were handed over to Mr. Boaden, Editor of the *Oracle*, and a dramatic critic, who used them with the result of what Mr. Clarke-Russell has called "the worst biography in the language." It is, indeed, little better than a meagre analysis of her *Diaries*, strung together by poorest narrative and feeblest reflections. There are some interesting letters of her correspondents given to the reader, but of Mrs. Inchbald's own, which he would most naturally expect, hardly any. And Mr. Boaden tells us he had some hundreds alone that had passed between this singular woman and the lady whom she nominated an executrix to her will. This is especially to be regretted, because Mrs. Inchbald was an exceptionally good letter writer. "Your letters, like your books," said Miss Edgeworth, writing to her, "are so original, so interesting, and give me so much the idea of truth and reality, that I am more and more desirous to be personally acquainted with you." ‡ She gave those letters still higher praise:—

The best thanks to you, my dear Mrs. Inchbald, for your letter, would be to have seen how much pleasure that letter gave to this whole family—father, mother, brother, sister, author! The strength and originality of your thoughts and expressions distinguish your letter from all we receive; and when we compared it with one from Walter Scott received nearly at the same time, and read both letters again, to determine which we liked best, upon the whole the preference was given, I think, by the whole breakfast-table (a full jury) to Mrs. Inchbald's. Now I must assure you that, as to quantity of praise, I believe Scott far exceeded you; and as to quality, in elegance none

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\* Boaden, vol. ii. p. 29.

† *Ibid.* p. 186.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 176.

can exceed him; but still, in Mrs. Inchbald's letter there was an undefinable originality, and a carelessness about her own authorship, and such warm sympathy both for the fictitious characters of which she had been reading and for that Maria Edgeworth to whom she was writing, as carried away all suffrages. We particularly like the frankness with which you find fault, and say such and such a stale trick was unworthy of us.\*

An ill-done biography, even though meant to be favourable to its subject, can hardly help injuriously affecting that subject's fame and the circulation of her works. Had Mr. Boaden left Mrs. Inchbald to rest quietly in her grave, the interest she excited in her lifetime would have endured, to some extent, in the ceaseless interest raised by the perusal of her matchless tale. He must needs disappoint the expectation of her admirers, and blunt the edge of curiosity in others ready to join the throng, by covering her memory with the dullest of memoirs. We have read them through most carefully, and only after much pains can we still, behind so thick a veil, discern the bright features of the highly gifted, noble-hearted, loveable human being.

Elizabeth Simpson, known as Mrs. Inchbald, was born October 16, 1753, and died August 1, 1821. Her life of sixty-eight years was thus spread over the most stirring period of the world's history since the Reformation, including, as it did, great political, social, and literary revolutions. A Catholic may identify the religious world she moved in when we remind him that she was exactly the contemporary of Dr. Milner. Her father, a well-to-do farmer, lived at Standingfield, Bury St. Edmunds, but the refinements of a higher class than that to which he belonged adorned his home. Where a class are few in number barriers erected by rank will soon yield to the pressure of the stronger yearnings of fellowship. If neighbours of Mr. Simpson's own standing kept aloof because he was a Papist, the Catholic gentry, shunned by their Protestant equals for the same reason, visited him on friendly terms. To his quick-witted child, Elizabeth, the society of well-bred gentlefolks was in itself an education. She thus early acquired refined tastes which she never lost. As an actress, though prizing highly her profession, she invariably sought her intimate friends beyond its pale. John Kemble and Mrs. Siddons were nearly the only two actors she admitted to close friendship, and each, whilst adorning the stage by histrionic genius, would have shone by virtues and abilities in any walk of life. When she went up and down the country, a member of a strolling troupe, Mrs. Inchbald's cultivated intelligence and moral character won friends for her

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\* Boaden, vol. ii. p. 184.

everywhere among the better sort, who, remaining, as did so many others, her steadfast friends through life, proved safeguards against the coarser perils that beset her path. In her childhood she received little, if anything, in the way of education. She went to no school and practically taught herself to read and write. A defect in her utterance drove her into solitude, and proved, ultimately, as much a blessing as did ill health in boyhood to Scott, or his lameness to Byron. Thrown greatly upon herself for amusement, she conceived in her loneliness that passion for letters to which she owed her best resource and recreation and her after fame.

As years sped on in her solitude, imagination, under the forcing process of reading and reverie, grew with hot-bed growth. And when the girl, now on the threshold of womanhood, turned her eyes from the glowing world within her brain, created and peopled by a busy fancy, to the tameness of her domestic circle, no wonder her restless heart got dissatisfied and thirsted for some large excitement :—"She would rather die than live any longer without seeing the world." But where should she go, and how live? Residing within fifty miles of London, the great city obviously suggested itself as her goal, and it was natural enough she should think of the stage as a means of subsistence. Bury, the family post town, amongst its other attractions, contained a theatre, and Mrs. Simpson had often taken her children there to see the play. Her son George and several of his cousins were already professional actors. All the family were great readers, and not unfrequently of a winter's evening they had assembled round the fire, and some book of a dramatic nature had been read aloud. Once, on a visit to London, too, Elizabeth had met a Mr. Inchbald, an artist, like herself a Catholic, and an actor. He had fallen deeply in love with her, and now her thoughts followed him to the stage. It is true the impediment in her speech was a drawback, but she found that by application it was not altogether insurmountable. On the other hand, her appearance was much in her favour. She was nineteen years of age, tall and gracefully made, and possessing that most excellent thing in woman, a sweet voice. For years it was her husband's one aim, as an artist, to copy the regular features of her fair face, to catch the tints of her beautiful auburn hair, and the intelligence that looked through her hazel eyes; and Sir Thomas Lawrence, her friend, and the first portrait painter of his day, deemed it an honour done to his brush when she sat to him. Besides these personal advantages, the charm of most winning ways cast a fascinating spell about every man she talked to :—an insinuating manner, spiced with bright wit and humour, natural and simple withal, as the neat cotton dress she wore, in which she always

seemed to be well dressed, but which "couldn't have cost her eightpence." Her mind, then, was made up. Leaving a short note for her mother, she took the Norwich Fly early on April 10, 1772, and reached London the same day. We need not wonder if a young country girl so circumstanced, with little money in her purse, should meet with some adventures; but after ten days of no small misery, her relations in town, seeing the settled bent of her mind, wisely tried to get her an engagement at one of the theatres. Terms were soon settled with one Dodd, and an engagement agreed upon, but abruptly dissolved before the week's end. The applicant learned, to her boundless disgust, that a salary given in return for services on the boards of a theatre must be the price also of her maiden honour. "I was terrified," she wrote, "and vexed beyond measure at his behaviour." Dodd's infamous conduct met with swift and unlooked-for chastisement. Seizing a jug of hot water that happened to be by, the outraged girl dashed the scalding contents into her insulter's face, and in wrathful triumph left him to pain and shame. A year afterwards, corresponding with Bishop Hay, the eminent spiritual writer, about the state of her conscience, "that good and moderate divine," as Mr. Boaden styles him, wrote: "You know the difficulty that those in your way lie under with regard to their Christian duties; but, from the account you give, there seem to be some favourable circumstances in your case."\* What all those circumstances were exactly we may not know, but may discern one at least in the above story. Underneath the soft loveliness of person and engaging manner, there lay in Mrs. Inchbald's character, like a rock beneath its trailing ivy and pretty flowers, a strong moral principle on which she could ever rely without undue trustfulness in self. Her fellow-actors, in consequence, highly esteemed as well as loved her. People noticeable for firm principle are not always thereby the most charming members of society, but no more popular personage trod the English stage than Mrs. Inchbald. A cheerful temperament enveloped her like sunlight, softening and drawing hearts; and a ready wit, charitable in spite of Mrs. Candour, amused each mind. No whisper was breathed against the purity of her life, and her judgments of others were kindly as her sympathies were broad. All her male friends, whose name was legion, were, it has been said, her lovers too; yet, by tact only equalled by her attractiveness, did she manage to maintain this wide worship with an unsullied reputation.

On June 9, 1772, she became the wife of Joseph Inchbald. On the evening of that day they were married by a Catholic

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\* Boaden, vol. i. p. 112.

priest, the Rev. Mr. Price, the ceremony being repeated, as was customary, in the Protestant Church the next day. Mr. Inchbald was attached to the Covent Garden Company, and went immediately with his wife to act at Bristol. September 4 found her making her *débüt* in Cordelia to her husband's Lear. The highest praise that can be awarded to her acting would seem to be that of decent mediocrity. In spite of earnest application and ceaseless discipline there was evident in her delivery, especially in passages needing passion and rapidity, a certain unconquerable stiffness. Her elocution was invariably correct, but its artificial smoothness betrayed the danger that lurked in a stammering tongue, and a watchfulness she dared never wholly relax. Consequently she was fettered too much to the letter of her part. But this did not hinder her from attempting a long and important roll of characters. Amongst others she played Anne Bullen in "Henry VIII.," Jane Shore, Calista in the "Fair Penitent," Desdemona, Miranda, Juliet, Imogen, Mariana, Lady Touchwood, and Mrs. Beverley. She was often congratulated with warmth and sincerity on her successful rendering of the parts she took. One critic did not hesitate to say that Mrs. Inchbald did not suffer by comparison with Mrs. Bulkeley, an excellent artist, on an occasion when the two acted together, "and that any competent manager would find her equal to a share of first-rate business." An audience, indeed, could not but receive her well, for her acting, marked at least by care and intelligence, was powerfully seconded by her face, figure, and attractive manner. Nevertheless, her reputation was not to be made as an actress.

The first four years of her theatrical life were spent in Scotland, where she and her husband were engaged in the company of a Mr. Digges. They were afterwards joined by her brother George and wife, so that they formed quite a family party. Her experience of Scotland gravely tried Mrs. Inchbald's health. In days before railways, and where the coach service itself was defective, the life of a strolling player was not one of comfort. Oftentimes, the only conveyance to be had was a rude open cart, jolting its passengers along rough roads. Three times was Mrs. Inchbald laid up with fever from severe wettings. The most noticeable personage in the troupe, she not unfrequently enkindled the enthusiasm even of a whole neighbourhood in her favour. At Dumfries the ladies of the town would not attend the representation because a play had been chosen in which she was not to appear. To gratify them, therefore, she had to do the part of Jane Shore, and when the performance was ended, a Captain Storning came forward and thanked her in the name of her fair patronesses. Indeed, her grace and loveliness awoke as much pride in the breasts of women, so long as her beauty shed

its rays on the sex in general only, as it stirred the envy of contrasted individuals.

It was during the Scotch tour she made the valuable acquaintance of Dr. Hay, Coadjutor Bishop to the Vicar Apostolic. No man has done so much for the Church in Scotland these last 300 years as this learned, laborious, and saintly bishop. We cannot doubt but that his influence over the young English actress who came to him for spiritual counsel was deep and lasting. If she left the world in the latter years of her life, and gave herself wholly to God, we may seek the roots of her piety in this period of her career. Notwithstanding the difficulties in the way of practising her religion incident to her profession, she seems, on the whole, to have gone to her Sunday Mass, and attended the Sacraments with fair regularity. Over and above these difficulties there were those resulting from the state of Catholicism in Scotland at the time. Chapels were very few and far between, and priests as scarce. It is interesting to read of an actress, under such circumstances, going to chapel thrice on one day, besides reading a pious book at home, and praying privately. But what "a dome of many-coloured glass" is our life at best. In the page of her diary, where she records these her good deeds, Mrs. Inchbald tells how next day she and her husband "quarrelled violently over parting of salary."

The pious actress was also an eager reader of books of travel. She learned French, too, taking lessons of a master and talking French to a lady friend to perfect herself in pronunciation. But she was desirous of acquiring that thorough knowledge of the language which could only be had in France. To France, accordingly, she and her husband resolved to go, half intending, should circumstances prove favourable, to take up a permanent abode there. Abroad, they would be free and encouraged to practise their holy religion. The husband might work at his painting, and the early desires of authorship were awakening his partner's literary ambition. But a sum of money was needed as a basis to the venture, and the sum, expected from the farm at Standingfield, never came. Their visit was thus cut down to one of nine weeks. And after a stay crammed with sight-seeing and rich in enjoyment, the two visitors left Paris with all but an empty purse. They crossed to Brighton, where their fortune reached its lowest ebb. Several times they had to go dinnerless; and once they went into the fields, so the diarest records, to appease hunger with stolen turnips. Once more they turned to the stage. Hearing of work to be done at Liverpool, they secured an engagement there with Mr. Younger. It was here that Mrs. Inchbald met Mrs. Siddons for the first time, and the two women began a warm friendship to be broken only by death

forty-five years afterwards. When the Inchbalds were introduced this greatest of English tragediennes was tempering the excitements of professional life, and relieving the strain of hard study, by the humbler duties of washing, ironing, and mending her children's clothes. In the following January, at Manchester, Mrs. Inchbald met the equally famous brother, John Kemble. John—men talked of him by his Christian name as the associates of Dryden spoke of immortal "John"—was now in the spring-time of manhood, tall and stately, with a countenance like the finest model of the antique.\* He at once made an impression on the susceptible heart of Mrs. Inchbald, which in the days of her widowhood deepened into serious love.

On one occasion, when she was sitting by the fire-place in the green-room, waiting to be called upon the stage, she and Miss Mellon—afterwards Mrs. Coutts and Duchess of St. Albans—were laughingly discussing their male friends from the matrimonial point of view. My uncle John, who was standing near, excessively amused, at length said to Mrs. Inchbald, who had been comically energetic in her declarations of who she could or would, or never could or would, have married, "Well, Mrs. Inchbald, would you have had me?" "Dear heart," said the stammering beauty turning her sweet sunny face up to him, "I'd have j—j—j—jumped at you!"†

To Mrs. Inchbald the friendship of such a man as Kemble, a gentleman and a scholar, was an incalculable gain, and a pleasant picture is left us of these interesting people. They lived as one family, studied their parts together, read together, and, like the light-hearted, grown-up children that they were, when work was ended, played blindman's buff and romped in the fields. Kemble was going deeply into English history, and whilst he lectured in a familiar way Mrs. Inchbald zealously took notes and analyzed. To this habit she owed, in great measure, that store of accurate facts with which the natural eloquence of her conversation at all times abounded. Along with work and play prayer was not forgotten. When they could not hear their Sunday Mass, Mr. Inchbald read the service from the Prayer-book, his wife and Kemble devoutly listening and joining in the responses. At Birmingham, whither their means had allowed them to journey comfortably by post-chaise and horseback, this agreeable society was broken up, and broken up in a manner that throws a curious light on the strolling player—showing how precarious was his existence, how doubtful his character among his fellow-men a hundred years ago. The party was informed against and brought before the magistrates

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\* See Scott's Art. in the *Quarterly*.

† "Records of a Girlhood." By Frances Ann Kemble, vol. ii. p. 48.

as rogues and vagabonds. The company dispersed. Kemble and his sister journeyed northwards; with heavy hearts the Inchbalds went down to Canterbury. But the separated players kept up a frequent correspondence. "Write often," says Kemble to Mrs. Inchbald. "You would if you knew the pleasure I receive from the good style, lively ideas, and polished manner of your letters." \* The uncertainty as to means of existence were now coming to a close. It was probably at Kemble's advice that Tate Wilkinson engaged the Inchbalds in his renowned company. Quite at the head of provincial managers stood Tate Wilkinson.† He was lessee of houses at York, Hull, Liverpool, and other places. An actor might well consider his position solidly established when patronized by Tate. And when the agreement with him was signed, the Inchbalds might justly reckon their struggles for daily bread at an end. After many vicissitudes, and much tossing to and fro, there had sprung up, so it seemed to them, the freshening promise of a safe and cheering voyage. They were assured of more than a competency, for over and above their salaries for acting Mr. Inchbald was adding to his income by scene-painting. Mrs. Inchbald acted for the first time in the new troupe in Kemble's own tragedy "*Belisarius*," also speaking the epilogue. But assuredly the converse to the consoling Irish proverb, "It is always the darkest the hour before dawn," holds in its lap the sad burden of an equal truth. Not till the sun reach his zenith and fill all our horizon with his brightest beams do the dark-footed shadows creep up the paling East. Fortune was now smiling its most glittering smile, when, quite suddenly, her husband died. Had a long illness prepared her for the blow she would probably have borne it when it fell with the same philosophical fortitude as Tricastin in her "*Massacre*" bore his wife's decease. Elizabeth Inchbald had never much loved her husband. But she became conscious for the first time how much her life had leaned on him, and his loss broke up hidden springs of tenderness. From the moment of their first meeting, Joseph Inchbald had been filled with a love for her that grew with advancing years: her very failings fanned the restless flame. Her temper was too variable ever to let him rest in that placid worship from which a drop to a lower stage would have been so easy. Her love of admiration drew about her a crowd of human moths, whose attentions and the responsive regard they received pierced the unhappy victim with pangs as fierce as ever tortured the more illustrious author of "*Le Prince Jaloux*." But his wife's temper and vanity were of such a nature as only to augment, not lessen, Inchbald's love.

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\* Boaden, vol. i. p. 93.† See "*Lives of the Kembles*," vol. ii.

If her temper was trying—and at times it was violent, as when she once dashed to pieces a miniature of herself the fond husband had been spending days and days in painting, because he did not immediately answer the dinner-bell—yet he knew it held no malice, and her after regrets and sweetness of penitent behaviour more than made amends for the passing fit. If other men, besides himself, knelt at the shrine, no one was more aware than himself what a moral gulf there lay between her and Madame Molière. Mrs. Inchbald was too human not to be touched by the unwearied devotion of her husband. Whatever best he had of advice, whatever of protection, he had been only too glad, like a true friend, to give in time of need. And without a word of warning he was taken away. No wonder the solid ground had seemed to rock and slide from beneath her feet. The week following is “a week of grief, horror, and almost despair.” Remorse added bitterness to sorrow. Only too acutely did she realize her thoughtlessness in the past; the arrow was barbed that entered her breast. “Began this year a happy wife—finished it a wretched widow.”

But Mrs. Inchbald was not the woman to sit down idly by the roadside of life when work must be done. As soon as the first paroxysm of grief was past she set herself to a course of steady reading, finished a novel she had been engaged on for some time, began her first farce, and within three months was on the stage again. It would have been well for her if, besides work, she had leaned on that other crutch God has given to them lamed by sorrow. Peace and resignation would have settled on her soul, and work would have braced her energies. Instead of trusting to religion, she madly flung herself into the distracting dissipations of society. Mrs. Inchbald remained substantially in this state of dissipation and neglect of religion till a visit to Standingfield some two years afterwards. The absence of distracting society, the solitude of the quiet country, the recollections of her innocent childhood, the sacredness of her strong home affections, and the companionship of such fervent Catholics as Sir Thomas and Lady Gage, whose private chapel she attended, wrought a change of mind. During this period of religious apathy, she left Tate Wilkinson's company and joined that of Covent Garden under Harris. She rejected an offer of marriage, and became intimate with the Marquis of Carmarthen, Francis Twiss, and Dr. Brodie. But among the list of her new friends we must not omit the name of Thomas Holcroft, who was to become her literary adviser, and exercise some considerable influence on her opinions. Holcroft was undoubtedly a man of extraordinary talents and of even of more extraordinary application. Until his death in 1809, at the

age of sixty-four, he poured out a turbid stream of novels, plays, histories, political tracts, and translations from self-taught modern languages. After his trial for high treason, in company with Horne Tooke, he wandered about Europe with the fever of the French Revolution firing his blood and urging a rapid pen.

Holcroft was not only Mrs. Inchbald's literary adviser, but the moulder, in a measure, of her political opinions. Like all the young and ardent spirits of her generation, her mind was highly coloured by the principles that were seething in France and changing the face of its society. Her second novel, "Nature and Art," was written to show the fruits, respectively, of an education conducted according to old ideas, and of one fashioned after the pattern held up for admiration in Rousseau's "Emile," yielding, of course, the palm to the latter. With delight unfeigned her eyes followed the track of Napoleon's dazzling victories, though the war in Germany cost her two shillings in the pound. Was not Buonaparte a citizen-soldier, who, bearing in one hand the principles of '92, and a sword in the other, went forth to subdue the earth to a glorious republic of liberty, equality, and universal brotherhood? Unshaken, like so many of her countrymen, by the horrors of the Revolution and by Burke's "Reflections" thereon, she remained through all those terrible times as steady a democratic Whig as Charles James Fox himself.

But if Holcroft was helping Mrs. Inchbald to liberal politics, was he not her evil genius in a more serious affair? Whatever share he may have had in the ultimate wreck of her faith, it is certain that at this date it was being rudely shaken. Even when leading a stricter life, and not exposed to worse influence than those surrounding her profession, doubts against faith had assailed her. She had submitted them to Fr. Jerningham, one of the Paris Fathers, and for a time they would seem to have been driven away. But they were returning in renewed vigour, and, probably encouraged by the study of physical science which she was now eagerly following up in an uncatholic frame of mind, soon honeycombed her whole fabric of belief.

In the August of 1782 began her career as a dramatist. She had already composed several plays, but had failed hitherto in getting them accepted. She had written one called "The Mogul Tale," and now, by the strenuous help of two friends, Harris, of Covent Garden, not only received it, but advanced £20 upon the bargain. Pratt, the dramatist, and Sir Charles Bunbury, were the two friends who were so earnestly assisting her. Through Sir Charles's efforts the Lord Chamberlain licensed her farce. But her literary success did not interfere with her acting. She accepted an engagement in Dublin which proved a singularly happy one till its abrupt termination. Daly was the Irish

manager, and the term was to begin in November and last till May. Mrs. Inchbald travelled slowly to Dublin, stopping a month on the way at Shrewsbury. There she was a regular attendant at Sunday Mass, so that whatever tinge of scepticism was creeping over her mind, she at least clung for the present to the weighty matters of positive law. Crossing over to the Irish capital, she found Kemble, to her extreme delight, acting in the same company. They at once renewed their old intimacy, which socially proved of great service to Mrs. Inchbald. Kemble was cordially invited to the Castle, and his acquaintance sought by the rank, fashion, and cultivated intelligence of the city. Mrs. Inchbald partook of his social advantages, and a salary of £5 a week enabled her easily, with her economical habits, to sustain her improved position. But Daly, the Irish manager, too soon imitated the villany of the London manager Dodd, and that although Daly was a married man. With a heart brimful of indignation, Mrs. Inchbald instantly left Ireland, and, for a wonder, the strained relations of Kemble and Daly did not end in a second duel. The insulted actress passed through a period of deep gloom and poverty. Poor relations had drained an ever open purse: £10 had been lent to an actor named Connolly, without a prospect of its recovery, and all the landscape of her future wore a leaden hue. In leaving Dublin she had relinquished solid gain and all that money brings, and had come to a London which, in its ecstasy over the magnificent revelations of Mrs. Siddons, was without eyes or ears for another actress. In the midst of her troubles her poor mother, dearly loved, died in her home at Standingfield. It is not surprising that, steeped in dejection and bitterness as her mind was, she should have seriously talked to Sir Charles Bunbury about going out to India. But the proverb and not its melancholy reverse was to be exemplified this time. A bright dawn was breaking on her darkness, for in the spring of 1784 her reputation was practically to be made as a dramatic writer. In this interval of depression she again bravely tried to cheer her lonely hours by the companionship of books, and we may gather how wide was the circle of intellectual acquaintance by the names of some jotted down in her diary. Besides keeping abreast of the ever-rising flood of lighter literature, and taking a keen interest in the science of the day, she had read attentively, in an English or French dress, Aristotle, Plato, Plutarch, Horace, Ovid, Valerius Maximus, Homer, Sallust, and Lucian. English history she studied constantly and systematically, so that there was probably none living who knew the story of their country better than she. Day by day, too, did she peruse her Bible, like the devoutest English woman of the age. And happily for her; for the Sacred Book kept her heart warm and soft with holy ideas

and yearnings, so that later, in an hour of grace, the image of the Faith could more readily be revived there, fresh and bright as in youth.

Colman gave her a hundred guineas for the "Mogul Tale," and it was acted, as he had anticipated, with the greatest applause. Its broad farce much diverted the public. One of the principal characters, carried by a balloon into the gardens of the seraglio, pretends to be the Pope in order to disarm the Sultan's wrath: a tipsy cobbler, personating the Pope of Rome, in the precincts of a harem, was just the thing to raise the inextinguishable laughter of pit and gallery last century, and the idea is more creditable to Mrs. Inchbald's judgment as an artist than to her fine feelings as a Catholic. Four lines by "Father Paul" good-naturedly took the author to task:

A rank Papist born and a rank Papist bred,  
By penances humbled, by *my* doctrine fed—  
The Pope you burlesque, and to theatres cramm'd:  
Your *farce* has been *saved* but you will be *d——d*!

The loud applause which greeted its appearance fell upon its author's ears as she stood upon the stage, acting one of the characters. The sweetest praise, however, came from the pen of Kemble in a letter closing with the words, "There is no woman I more truly admire, nor any man whose abilities I more highly esteem." But John, after all, never got beyond a barren admiration and fine speeches. Three years later, to everybody's astonishment—for everybody had put him down as Mrs. Inchbald's future husband—he married Mrs. Brereton, widow of the actor. The truth is, Kemble was too engrossed, as yet, with theatrical plans to hamper himself with matrimonial engagements, and he nursed, besides, a shrewd suspicion that Mrs. Inchbald's talents and temperament, so delightful in a friend, would prove troublesome in a wife. John not only acted the noble Roman to perfection, but possessed in large store the Roman's passionless good sense. When his "dear muse" had got over the pangs of disappointment she turned her eyes to the glitter of a title, and the bright position of a Lady Bunbury.

The marked success of "The Mogul Tale" strongly stimulated her mind so that it broke into luxuriant activity. It teemed with new pieces and plots for farce and comedy. Harris was "charmed" with "Appearance is Against Them," which the King commanded and the Prince of Wales honoured with a visit. Colman wrote he had never received or read any piece on which he could so immediately and decidedly pronounce it would do as "The Widow's Vow." "Animal Magnetism" was acted in 1850 at Rockingham Castle, by Charles

Dickens and his amateur company. "After consideration of forces," he says in a letter to his friend, Miss Boyle, the distinguished and accomplished amateur actress, "it has occurred to me (old Ben being, I dare say, rare; but I do know rather heavy here and there) that Mrs. Inchbald's 'Animal Magnetism,' which we have often played, will 'go' with a greater laugh than anything else. That book I will send you on Saturday too. You will find your part (Lisette, I think it is called, but it is a waiting-maid), a most admirable one; and I have seen people laugh at the piece until they have hung over the front of the boxes like ripe fruit." \* But Mrs. Inchbald's highest dramatic effort was reached in "Such Things Are." Howard, the philanthropist, is the hero of the play, and a remarkable coincidence happened whilst it was still on the boards. In the piece, as he is visiting an Eastern prison, a slave is made to rob him, and whilst the play-going public was full of the comedy, the real Howard arrived in England, took the Canterbury coach for London, and was actually robbed of his papers and money as in the comedy. Of course, it helped to advertise the piece, though indeed it did not need it. It was played before a delighted public, and the author was "happy beyond expression." The King, Queen, and Princesses went to its performances. Its author saw Bow Street crowded with people unable to get into the theatre. And it brought her something more solid than renown. The proceeds reached £900. She grew light-hearted and girlish with pleasurable success. "On the 29th of June (Sunday) dined, drank tea, and supped with Mrs. Whitfield. At dark, she and I and her son William walked out. I rapped at doors in New Street and King Street, and ran away." These, and many other plays, some original and some adaptations from the French, were not produced without labour, quickly as her mind conceived them. Few men have been more strenuous workers than Mrs. Inchbald. She gradually retired from the stage, and finally quitted it altogether, betaking herself to more congenial and remunerative literature. "Solemnly dedicated to virtue and a garret," as Colman said of her, this energetic woman toiled at her desk. In a single room, on the third floor of a modest house, with closed shutters to keep out distracting sights, she read and wrote, some days for as many as fifteen hours at a stretch. She had already earned £58 a year, which supplied her with luxuries, so few and simple were her needs, but there were others, dear to her heart, of whose comfort she thought more than of her own. One of the most pleasing traits in her character was the enduring strength of her family

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\* "The Letters of Charles Dickens," vol. i. p. 225.

affections. Her intercourse with her relatives remained unbroken through life; her love for them showed itself in golden deeds. If she enriched herself, it was only that riches might be spent on them. Nay, she got the name of being avaricious, so eager was she to make money, but with equal eagerness did she pour out her earnings upon friend and relation. Her sister Deborah, remarkable as the prettiest member of a pretty family, and whose beauty, unfortunately, proved a fatal gift, stood too often in need of her more prudent sister's help. Elizabeth sent aid when required, though she refused to see her. During Debby's last illness it was Elizabeth who defrayed all the expenses, sent a priest to give her the Sacraments, and finally buried one whose conduct she had so strongly reprehended, but whom she had not ceased to love. It was upon Dorothy, however, that she lavished the wealth of a warm heart, and the wages of a hard life. It was for her, especially, she kept her own weekly expenses under 25s., living in a single room, and doing with her own hands much of her menial work. "Many a time this winter, when I cried with cold, I said to myself, 'But, thank God, my sister has not to stir from her room; she has her fire lighted every morning; all her provisions bought, and brought to her ready cooked; she would be less able to bear what I bear;' and how much more I should have to suffer, but from this reflection. It almost made me warm when I reflected that *she* suffered no cold."† She allowed Dorothy first an annuity of £30, raising it afterwards to £80, and finally to £100. Yet sickness so affected Dolly's temper that her society, even to her charitable and loving sister, was quite unendurable. To other needy relations Mrs. Inchbald was constantly sending handsome monetary presents. They had only to ask for help and the requested help came. To the poorer members of her profession Mrs. Inchbald was equally generous: several of them were regular pensioners of her bounty.

Whilst buoyed up on a tide of popularity gained as a dramatist, Mrs. Inchbald prudently resolved to take it at the flood, and launch forth her novel. Robinson bought it for £200, and it was published February 10, 1791. It was called "A Simple Story," and was precisely what it pretended to be, differing in its simplicity of construction from the elaborate and complicated plots of modern novels as a melody of Mozart differs from the complex harmonies of Wagner. Dorriforth, a Catholic priest, dwelling within the centre of London, "in his own prudence, justice, fortitude, and temperance," is left guardian to Miss Milner, the Protestant daughter of his friend. Living under the same roof, Miss Milner, not restrained as she would have been by a Catholic

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\* Boaden, vol. ii. p. 206-7.

education, falls deeply in love with her guardian, but has strength enough, aided by a sensible and pious Catholic young lady, Miss Woodley, likewise a member of the same household, to conceal her ill-fated passion. On the death of the Earl of Ellmore, Dorriforth, as next-of-kin, succeeds to the title and estate. As there is now danger of both falling into Protestant hands, Rome dispenses the new Earl from his vows, and "enjoins him to marry." In due course he returns the now evident love of his ward, and their marriage takes place. One child, Lady Matilda, is the fruit of a short-lived union. During a protracted absence in the West Indies, where Lord Ellmore had gone to superintend some property, his wife falls a prey to the seductive arts of a Lord Avon, one of her former admirers. Stricken with remorse for her crime, and bowed down by shame, she flies from her husband's face on his unexpected return home. The wife's sin occasions the moral ruin of the husband's character. He drives out his child and becomes stern and unforgiving, a harsh and gloomy man. Far away, Lady Ellmore dies repentent, attended, in her dying hour, by Sandford, the gruff but tender-hearted, pious and learned Jesuit. Lord Ellmore will not see his daughter, though he maintains her through Sandford, and even allows her and Miss Woodley apartments in his own castle home. Here he lives with his nephew and heir, Henry Rushbrooke. But it is clear, in spite of a proud and hard exterior, his heart loves his only child; and the tale ends with the ultimate reconciliation of father and child, their union being cemented by the marriage of Henry Rushbrooke and Lady Matilda. Not only does the tale differ from the more modern novel in its simplicity of plot, but other contrasts between the two are noticeable. Novels, now-a-days, are oftentimes little more than vehicles of philosophical speculation or minute analysis of character, both of which ingredients are absent from "A Simple Story." Its author was eminently a dramatist, and the characters of her actors are best unfolded in brisk dialogue, and narrative, brief but vivid. It was in the brevity of her tale that she showed daring and originality. The eighteenth century novels of domestic life were nothing if not prolix. We almost wonder what manner of man he was who read and enjoyed "Sir Charles Grandison," for instance. Probably not one reader in a thousand has read, or is even capable of the heroic effort needed to wade through, those wearisome seven volumes. With the dash and courage of the Light Brigade Mrs. Inchbald swept down upon the heavy mass, her light volume in her hand, and courageously broke through the tiresome tradition. To be sure, learned critics fell foul of her: complainingly they drew attention to the fact that seventeen years are supposed to have elapsed between the first and second part of the tale—

far too great a call upon the imagination of an unimaginative age. It is quite true an older novelist would never have sinned after that fashion. But it is another merit of our authoress that there is not a word of "A Simple Story" the most innocent might not read. During the seventeen years we are desired to skip Lady Ellmore's fall is supposed to be compassed, and we know how even a moral writer like Richardson would have filled in those silent years. Mrs. Inchbald cuts short the loathsome business in a very few lines. There had been already one Lovelace in Romance, all whose exploits had been drawn with the minute detail of a Dutch picture, and she did not intend to paint another. Yet "A Simple Story" is emphatically a tale of passion. Mr. Stopford Brooke does not hesitate to say that it introduced the novel of passion, just as certainly as Richardson introduced the sentimental, and Mrs. Radcliffe the romantic. And herein lies Mrs. Inchbald's speciality as a novelist, and for which she will have a niche in the Hall of English Literature. Charlotte Brönte, some fifty years afterwards, and wielding a mightier pen, continued the species, and in no way meaning to lessen her originality, we think a reader would see decided points of resemblance between Rochester and Lord Ellmore. Mrs. Oliphant, in the useful and well-written book we have placed at the head of this article, speaks of "A Simple Story," "with its graceful talent and individuality," as being, compared with Miss Austen, "all of the old world, conventional, artificial, with a pretty air, if not of the Dresden Shepherdess, at least of the imitations of Chelsea and Bow."\* We think Mr. Stopford Brooke's criticism goes nearer to describe the distinguishing feature and value of this celebrated novel, and true passion is not of any particular century, but of all time. And so Mrs. Inchbald broke away rather from her artificial surroundings, and shot ahead of her age.

"A Simple Story," by its pathos, its vividly drawn characters, and human interest, appealed straight to the heart of England. In eighteen days after publication a second edition was ordered, and this, be it remembered, before all the world read novels. Few writers have won so wide a fame on the score of a single tale. The deep impression it has made on some of the best critics in the language has, no doubt, materially conduced to this result. "Mrs. Inchbald was always a great favourite with me," says Hazlitt; "there is the true soul of woman breathing from what she writes as much as if you heard her voice. It is as if Venus had written books;" and he proceeds to relate how the "Simple Story" "had transported him out of himself." "I recollect walking out to escape from one of the tenderest parts," he says,

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\* Vol. iii. pp. 248-9.

"in order to return to it again with double relish. An old crazy hand-organ was playing 'Robin Adair,' a summer shower dropped manna on my head, and slaked my feverish thirst of happiness. The heroine, Miss Milner, was at my side."\* The vivid portraiture of Lord Ellmore stamped itself on Macaulay's imagination till he took it to be the universal type of a Roman Catholic nobleman, "proud and stately, with the air of a man of rank but not of fashion," and expressed his surprise when he met Lord Clifford in Rome in 18— and found him "all quicksilver."†

A host of new friends now gathered about Mrs. Inchbald, some distinguished for their wealth and birth, others for their high place in the literary world. Instead of having to seek society, society sought her. She went to parties which the Prince of Wales attended: she was an honoured guest at the most aristocratic houses. Yet she never compromised her independence by thus mixing with those so much above her socially. Her position of equality and friendship with the titled of the land had been fairly won, and her right to be among them was recognized as due to her ability, her manners—always lady-like, if unconventional—and the integrity of an unsullied character. By no unworthy art did she try to conceal either the modesty of her hardly-earned income, or the humble position and more humble fortune of her nearest kindred. A true democrat, she strove for the honest prizes of life, and reckoned on wearing the crown by strenuous work and genuine worth. She carefully shunned those whom she thought would in any degree shackle her proud freedom by patronizing kindness. Thus she refused one noble lady's repeated invitations to her table, and would not even return her call. If Elizabeth Inchbald was received as a guest in the higher circles of life, she entered the Republic of Letters by the right of her own achieved citizenship, and henceforth she mixed freely in the cultured throng of that brilliant period of our history just opening. Judge Hardinge, the profound Shakespearean scholar, carries on a correspondence with her in a strain of mingled gallantry and criticism. Mrs. Dobson, the Petrarchian student, sends her Petrarch's "View of Human Life" and an Æolian harp, besides introducing her to Mrs. Philips, wife of the king's surgeon, who became her greatest female friend. Curran is presented to her, and on the next day sends her his "infinite admiration," good-naturedly using his kind offices towards healing the breach between her and Godwin. Sir Thomas Lawrence no sooner sees her face than he proposes to paint her portrait. She sits to Porter, the artist, by his desire,

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\* Mrs. Oliphant, vol. ii. p. 270-1.

† Trevelyan's "Life of Macaulay," vol. ii. p. 31.

and her likeness is hung in the Royal Academy. Dr. Walcot, the famous Peter Pindar, falls under the spell of her enchantments, and indites impassioned verses to "Eliza." Several of her literary friends have been already mentioned : we might now add to them many names, such as Lords Erskine and Brougham, Dr. Moore, author of "Zeluco," and father of Sir John, the general, of Corunna memory, Dr. Parr, Fuseli, Horne Tooke, "Monk" Lewis, Joanna Baillie, Mrs. Radcliffe, Opie, Barbauld, Piozzi, and Cosway, the first of English miniature painters.

But better evidence of the value at which the patrons and judges of the literary world rated her genius, and one even more flattering to her vanity, was given on the projection of the *Quarterly Review*. She heard of the new idea from Hoppner, who writes :—"It being the intention of some gentlemen of the very first literary character to establish in London a quarterly review that will be patronized by people of the first distinction in the country, and cannot therefore fail of proving successful, I am requested to solicit the favour of your aid and abilities to the work on such terms as you may think proper to propose."\* Murray backs up the request of Hoppner, assuring her that her "associates in the work would be, without exception, the first literary characters in this country, all of whom have written with as much anxiety and care as if their reputation depended on the anonymous criticisms they have contributed."† In spite of these tempting baits, she steadily declined assisting the enemy, and remained faithful to her politics and her "beloved *Edinburgh*."

After the publication of her novel she gave up acting entirely. Literature was pleasanter and more lucrative. Kemble, now joint manager with Sheridan, made a last vigorous effort to secure her services on the boards of Drury Lane, at a salary of six guineas a week, but she prudently refused the offer. And by keeping wholly aloof from the stage Mrs. Inchbald retained the independence dear to her heart, and in writing new plays, a new novel, and in preparing fresh editions of "A Simple Story," full employment for life lay before her. She soon asserted her ascendancy as a writer of the lighter forms of the drama. A cheque for £200 was written out for her "Wedding Day" before the play was put up for rehearsal. In "Every One has His Fault" she was still more fortunate. In Pitt's paper, *The True Briton*, a critic vigorously attacked her political principles as he thought he heard them echoed in the comedy. She sent a spirited reply to the *Diary*, and the controversy only advertised the play, which in consequence had an unprecedented run, and put in her pocket £700.

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\* Boaden, vol. ii. p. 115.

† *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 116.

She was not long in discovering that she needed a more regular and generous diet for the incessant strain of severe mental work, and that household drudging was not quite compatible with constantly mixing in high life. Accordingly her weekly allowance rises to twenty-five shillings (hitherto she had lived on less), and she shares with her landlady, Mrs. Brooks, the assistance of a housemaid. Mrs. Brooks' house was in Leicester Square, right opposite the last home of Sir Joshua Reynolds. Here Mrs. Inchbald dwelt for eleven years, and sharing all Johnson's enthusiasm for the Great City, she gave her heart of hearts to Leicester Square. "I must have London, combined with the sun, the moon, and the stars, with land or with water, to fill my imagination and excite my contemplation." Leicester Square supplied, in its enclosed garden, the one strip of green earth her eye required. It had afforded her also a substitute for those maternal joys which Nature had denied her. Childless, loneliness had, since her husband's death, especially in darker hours, weighed heavily upon her spirit. Mrs. Brooks had a child, which her distinguished tenant soon loved as if it had been her own. "I was always," she wrote to a friend, "fond of children, but, till of late, I never paid any attention to them till they could speak. A child was born in this house last October, and I, having seen it every day since that time, have been so enchanted by its increasing beauty and sense that, though I have not the smallest acquaintance with either of its parents, I think I love it almost better than anything in the world. A child of this age is the most curious thing I ever met with—the most entertaining and the most affectionate. I shall never again have common patience with a mother who complains of anything but the loss of her children; so no more complaints when you see me again. Remember you have had two children, and I never had one."

In the fiftieth year of her age she left this home and went to live at Annandale House, Turnham Green, a Catholic school, where elderly ladies were taken in and boarded. But a disagreement with the head of this establishment drove her into private lodgings again; this time to the Strand. Let us hear her own description of her home here:—

My present apartment is so small that I am all over black and blue with thumping my body and limbs against my furniture on every side; but then I have not far to *walk* to reach anything I want; for I can kindle my fire as I lie in bed; and put on my cap as I dine; for the looking-glass is obliged to stand on the same table with my dinner. To be sure, if there was a fire in the night, I must inevitably be burnt, for I am at the top of the house, and so removed from the front part of it that I cannot hear the least sound of anything from the street; *but then*, I have a great deal of fresh air; more daylight than

most people in London, and the *enchanted* view of the Thames, the Surrey Hills, and of *three wind-mills*, often throwing their giant arms about, secure from every attack of the Knight of the Woeful Countenance.

From this house she saw two other sights not likely to be soon forgotten : Nelson's body carried by water and land to its final resting-place beneath the dome of St. Paul's, and the burning of Drury Lane Theatre. She wrote and told Mrs. Philips of the fire. She quitted the Strand for St. George's Row on account of the latter's neighbourhood to the chapels in South Street and Spanish Place. After descending the logical steps of neglect of religious duties, indifference, and unbelief, she had at length come round to the faith of her forefathers, and the fervent practice of its precepts. In 1787 she had had a conversation with a Rev. Mr. Wheeler, a Protestant clergyman, to whom she had opened all her doubts, and he had zealously tried to make her at least a Christian. He lent her Grotius "*On the Truth of the Christian Religion*," which she read and pencilled her observations on the margin, but we know not with what result to her unsettled frame of mind. It does not appear that scepticism had touched her belief in the more fundamental truths of religion, so that as she retained a reverence for the things of God, and prayerful desire of fuller faith, there was at least ground for Divine grace to work upon. How she groped her way through the darksome and painful passages of doubt, till at length, after tears and prayers, she emerged, erect, into the sunlight, we cannot accurately tell. We can only guess, perhaps broadly, at the difficult road she trod back to the Temple from which her steps had wandered away so far. Extracts from her diary may help us. Thus, in 1798, we have : "In the evening prayed and cried, and felt purely." In 1799 : "Low, then in better spirits, said many prayers with fervour and weeping." In 1802 she resumes attendance at Mass, more regular prayers, pious reading, and examination of conscience. Then we have a touching prayer : "Almighty God ! Look down upon Thy erring creature. Pity my darkness and my imperfections, and direct me to the truth ! Make me humble under the difficulties which adhere to my faith, and patient under the perplexities which accompany its practice." Finally, in 1808 : "Wrote to Nancy expressing my conformity to the Catholic Church ;" and the battle is ended in triumph. She had lost her faith through disobeying the precepts of her Church ; she regained it by obeying them. Nominally she had been a Catholic always, even in her worst days occasionally going to Mass. Being once "*planted afresh*," like the knight in the Idyll, she gave herself up to the spirit of her religion with the

energy of a singularly energetic nature. From the year 1777 to 1810 she calls her religious existence *Nothing*; the rest of her life "years of repentance." She confessed and received absolution with a feeling of intense joy; she fasted, though her abstemious life was a continuous fast, till her strength failed her. Her already heroically extensive charities were enlarged, and she nursed her confessor, the Rev. Mr. Gaffrey, through his last illness, with a mother's solicitude, closing his eyes in death. Study was not neglected, though her soul was now possessed by an overmastering passion for its highest interests. A vigorous mind has a keen appetite and needs the nutriment of an unfailing supply of books, and the supply was now well leavened with a careful selection of Catholic works. The diet gained thereby in wholesomeness. There are Butler's "Lives of the Saints," a "Life of Fénelon," Bossuet's "Variations," and all the Catholic divines in English or French she could lay her hands on. The current works of the day received, as usual, her earnest attention. "The Lady of the Lake" had just appeared, and she greatly delighted in the new poem. Her quick and true critical eye detected the genius of Wordsworth, though it came shrouded in a cloud of adverse criticism. The acquaintance of the Edgeworths had been already made, and she candidly criticizes Maria's novels, at her request, as they duly come out. By the desire of the publisher, she also reads one in manuscript of Madame D'Arblay's. Some years previously it had been whispered about that Mrs. Inchbald was engaged in writing her own "Memoirs," and the quiet whisper soon grew into common talk. The richest of treats was expected from a woman of fine observation and lively pen, whose materials were to be drawn from the social, literary, and theatrical worlds in which she had so freely mixed. The talk passed into uproar as the time of publication drew nigh, and she adroitly kept the public interest awake by skilful and amusing arts. When questioned about the forthcoming "Life" she would lift up her hands, in an attitude of comic horror, and ask, "Do you wish me to be mur-r-r-dered?" Many hearts had reason to be anxious over the future disclosures, knowing the candour of the writer's mind, and gay sprightliness of her tongue. The book was enlarged and made shapelier, but to a conscience now almost morbidly sensitive publication of her collection of highly seasoned ana became a questionable proceeding. One publisher, without having read a line of them, came and offered her £1,000 for her work; she hesitated, and carried her doubts to Dr. Poynter, Vicar Apostolic of the London District.

Query—What should I wish done at the point of death. Dr. P.—Do it now.—4 vols. destroyed.

All literary work that in any way interfered with her one consuming occupation of her preparing for death was now declined by her. So when Colburn offered her the editorship of some work she gently but firmly refused. "I have been aspiring all my life, and now my sole ambition is to go to Heaven when I die." John Bell wished her to accept the management of *La Belle Assemblée*, but this likewise she declined. "She had done with the fashionable world and thought only of a better."

Though Mrs. Inchbald had withdrawn from the engrossing arena of literature, and the excitements of general society, it was not from any want of sympathy towards her kind; no canker of moroseness had eaten into her genial spirits, marring her loveliness. She was getting on towards fifty when she inspired the breast of Charles Moore, son of "Zeluco Moore," and a most promising young barrister, with the most ardent affection ever felt for her by any of her many admirers. Sir Charles Bunbury had dishonourably sheared off, and whilst awaiting his expected proposal, Mrs. Inchbald had refused the handsome offer of a Mr. Glover—a carriage, and a marriage settlement of £500 a year. Young Moore wished to marry her now, but she would never entertain the idea on account of her sedate age. When Taylor, Editor of the *Sun*, addressed a sonnet to her, she said to a friend, "I hate the word sonnet; at sixteen it might have been applicable, but at sixty-five dirge would be more suitable." Yes! her day was assuredly in its eventide, though setting calmly and as softly-beautiful as the sun in a summer sea. One friend, when asked, never flattered. She looked questioningly into the bright face of her glass and as honestly it gave back its candid reply. We turn over the leaves of her Diary and remembering that she is only a woman and has been the idol of much homage, the entries are not without pathos:—

1798. London: happy, but for suspicions, amounting almost to certainty, of a rapid appearance of age in my face.

1800. Still happy but for my still increased appearance of declining years.

1801. Very happy but for my years.

1802. Very happy but for ill-health, ill-looks, &c.

Vanity was the last failing this beworshipped woman cured in herself, if indeed she did not rather take the fault along with her into another world, there to be burned away in divine fires. Adorned with beauty that always received adequate recognition, the dangerous gift had been highly prized, and its loss proportionately dreaded. And what is vanity, after all, but the misdirection, as in so many vices, of a noble aspiration—the centring in a wrong object of God-given yearnings? The cold

creed, the inevitable outcome of the life she had been irreligiously misspending, would have riveted, link by link, its chains about her soul, to preach to her, last of all, its dismal dogma of annihilation—a dreary prospect for a heart athirst for love and for beauty, a means to love. How much more cheering was the teaching of her earlier days that had now come back to her memory like the sweet strain of an old hymn. “It is sown in corruption, it shall rise in incorruption; it is sown in dishonour, it shall rise in glory; it is sown in weakness, it shall rise in power; it is sown a natural body, it shall rise a spiritual body.”\* In some subtle, and perhaps unconscious way, the very craving that lay at the root of her vanity helped ultimately to work her conversion.

In 1819 she took up her abode at Kensington House, then under the charge of Mr. and Mrs. Saltarelli; whilst residing in this, her last earthly abode, she had the consolation of hearing Mass every day that her health would permit. The Archbishop of Jerusalem was staying in the same house, and he was succeeded by the Abbé Mathias. Kemble wrote to her for the last time: “Know, dear muse,

’Tis our fast intent  
To shake all cares and business from our age,  
Conferring them on younger strength, while we  
Unburthen’d crawl toward death.

In plain prose I have assigned over my sixth part of the property in absolute fee to my brother Charles, and ‘God give him good on’t.’ When I left you before, dearest, it was to visit Spain, and you managed for me in my absence; now, I think I shall make out my tour to Italy, and end perhaps like an old Roman.” They never met again. Rogers, too, sends her a tender little note. “Dear, Mrs. Inchbald,—You gave me your promise, that, if I sent you Eustace’s ‘Travels,’ you would keep them for my sake. It is a promise I shall not release you from, and whenever you open the leaves, may his gentle and enthusiastic spirit be with you. Many, many thanks. Your letter I shall treasure up, among three or four I keep to open and read whenever my spirits fail me.—Ever yours, SAM ROGERS.”

In the spring of the year 1821, she made her final will, bequeathing, among a number of other charities, fifty pounds to the Catholic Society for the Relief of the Aged Poor. Her friend Cosway died in July, and his death was a great blow to her in her sinking health. Her appetite began seriously to give way; at last she became indifferent to food. Whilst her frame became thus very much weakened from want of nourishment, a violent cold seized

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\* 1 Cor. xv. 42-4.

her, which she could not shake off. Then comes a badly written entry in her diary : "Went down to dinner ; and, very ill of cold and fever, could not eat, and retired to bed." This was on Saturday. She rose for half an hour the next day, but did not leave her bed again alive. Inflammation set in, and she died on the following Wednesday, the 1st of August. Her friends buried her, according to the instructions in her will, in the churchyard of St. Mary Abbot. The old church has recently made way for the handsome building by Sir Gilbert Scott, but the graveyard is mostly undisturbed. One day last summer we paid a visit to Mrs. Inchbald's grave. The guardian of the cemetery did not know the spot, but he knew where Canning's son was buried, and the author of "A Simple Story" lies next to him. The western sunlight flickered through tremulous broad-leaved limes and fell on the moss-eaten lettering of an horizontal slab. It was not without difficulty that we traced the epitaph :—

*Gloria in Excelsis Deo.*

SACRED TO THE MEMORY  
OF

ELIZABETH INCHBALD,

WHOSE WRITINGS WILL BE CHERISHED  
WHILE TRUTH, SIMPLICITY AND FEELING  
COMMAND PUBLIC ADMIRATION;  
AND WHOSE RETIRED AND EXEMPLARY LIFE  
CLOSED, AS IT EXISTED,

IN ACTS OF CHARITY AND BENEVOLENCE.  
SHE DIED AUGUST 1ST, 1821. AGED 68 YEARS.

*Requiescat in Pace.*

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P. HAYTHORNTHWAIT.

### ART. III.—PROTESTANT MISSIONS IN SOUTHERN INDIA—TINNEVELLY AND RAMNAD.

I HAVE already had occasion to say something in these pages of Protestant mission work in India. If I return to the subject it is because in a former article\* I was able to touch only upon some of its more salient points, and the matter is of sufficient importance to demand more detailed treatment. For some seven years highly coloured narratives of missionary successes in Tinnevely and Ramnad have been before the public, the "harvest" of 1877-78 has become a kind of legend of the mission press and platform, and the large accession of converts in these years is appealed to as a standing proof that the blessing of Heaven is with the Protestant mission societies. It is time to speak plainly of these transactions in Tinnevely, however reluctant one may be to say anything of men whose intentions are doubtless excellent, but whose acts are dragged down to the level of the system under which they work. While fully recognizing the earnestness and zeal of many of the Protestant missionaries, one can only regret that their anxiety to show large results has led them to take steps that can, in the long run, bring little credit to Christianity in India. Moreover, methods of action have been adopted or permitted by some of the leading missionaries, which have at times been equivalent to persecution of their Catholic neighbours, and oppression of the natives. However painful it may be to speak of such things, attention must be called to them, because it is not easy to believe that those who support and direct the operations of the Protestant missionary societies in England can be really aware of what is going on in Southern India.

The mission of Tinnevely, with its branch mission of Ramnad, forms the chief centre of Protestantism in India. Tinnevely is the most southern district of the Madras Presidency; Ramnad is a zemindary under the control of an hereditary chief, and is situated in the adjacent district of Madura. Both missions are within the limits of the Catholic Vicariate Apostolic of Madura. The low sandy shore of Tinnevely is the "fishery-coast" of St. Francis Xavier's letters, and Ramnad is the old capital of the Marava country, the scene of the labours and martyrdom of B. John de Britto.

Tinnevely district is about 100 miles long from north to south, and has an area of 5,381 square miles, with a population of

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\* "The Encyclopædia Britannica on Missions," DUBLIN REVIEW, July, 1884.

1,699,747 souls (census of 1881). Ramnad and Shivaganga have a joint area of 3,663 square miles, and the population is 908,906; of those about half-a-million are in Ramnad. Thus the two mission districts have together upwards of two millions of inhabitants, chiefly agriculturists. The great mass of the people are nominally of the Hindu religion, but really worshippers of local gods, demon-worship or the propitiation of malicious deities being the main element in their religious practices.

The origin of the Protestant missions in this district dates back to the closing years of the last century, though little progress was made before 1820. The suppression of the Society of Jesus, and the dispersion of the religious orders in Europe by the French Revolution, had almost entirely deprived Southern India of Catholic missionaries. Several hundred thousand native Christians were left without pastors, and this state of things continued in many districts so long into the present century, that thousands lived and died without ever seeing a priest. Some kept up the practices of religion, met for public prayer, and baptized their children, but immense numbers fell into a state of carelessness and ignorance, and were Christians only in name. It was during this dark period that the German Protestant missionaries, employed by the English societies, obtained a footing in Tinnevelly. I have little doubt that in many cases their congregations were reinforced from the wrecks of the old mission of Madura. The new teachers must often have been taken by native Christians for the representatives of those who long years before had taught the faith of the West to their fathers.

The main work of the Tinnevelly and Ramnad missions is now done by two English societies—the Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.), and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (S.P.G.); both represent the Church of England, and I may note that some of the S.P.G. missionaries appear to be very pronounced Ritualists. In one of its official publications the C.M.S. gives the following account of the beginning of Protestantism in Tinnevelly:—

It is not quite certain when or by whom Protestant missions were begun in Tinnevelly; but it was certainly visited by Schwartz and the Danish Lutheran missionaries in connection with the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. In 1785 there was a congregation at Palmacotta of 100 native Christians, under the charge of an ordained catechist, Saththianādhān. In 1816 the late devoted Rev. James Hough, chaplain H.E.I.C., found 3,000 converts in the province. The first European missionaries [*i.e.* the first *Protestant* missionaries] who ever resided in Tinnevelly were sent there in 1820 by the C.M.S.—the Rev. C. T. E. Rhenius and the Rev. B. Schmid. Great blessings

followed on the former's labours, and thousands of Shānars\* sought Christian instruction. Rhenius, however, still a Lutheran, was betrayed into controversy on ecclesiastical questions; and the Society's faithfulness to the Church of England constrained them to dissolve communion with him. His death soon after extinguished all differences. The advance and consolidation of the mission has been of late years remarkable. Apart from the native Christians in the district gathered by the labours of other Protestant societies, there are now (1873) in connection with the C.M.S., 471 congregations in 814 different villages, and 38,908 registered adherents, of whom 26,798 have been baptized, and 6,265 are communicants.†

From the same source I take the following statistics of the C.M.S. mission from its foundation up to 1873:‡ —

	1820	1830	1840	1850	1860	1870	1873
European missionaries	2	3	5	13	13	9	8
Native clergy ...	—	—	2	2	17	30	33
Native agents...	—	77	237	425	537	614	689
Communicants ...	—	95	548	2680	4381	5986	6265
Schools ...	8	46	153	239	306	323	377
Scholars ...	471	1070	5324	6245	7941	9377	11,632

At the same date the S.P.G. claimed about 30,000 native Christians (adherents) in Tinnevely.§ Thus the total Protestant population, baptized and unbaptized, communicants and non-communicants, would be, according to missionary statistics, about 60,000, or more than half of the 118,000 Protestants of Southern India.

It had taken more than fifty years to get these 60,000 adherents together, but four years later converts began to come into the mission churches of Tinnevely and Ramnad by thousands. In little more than a year and a half (from the middle of 1877 to the end of 1878), the S.P.G. and the C.M.S. had added 35,000 to the number of their adherents, which thus rose to nearly 100,000. This influx of converts, unparalleled in the whole history of Indian Protestant missions, coincided with the time of the heaviest pressure of the famine of 1876-78, "the widest spread and the most prolonged that India has experienced," a famine "which will be known in history as the great famine of Southern India."||

In November, 1876 [says Dr. Hunter],¶ starvation was already at work, and Government adopted measures to keep the people alive.

\* *Shānars*—an agricultural caste (cultivators of the palmyra or toddy palm), the most numerous caste in the district.

† "Church Missionary Atlas," 1873, p. 43.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 44.

|| Hunter, "The Indian Empire," p. 429.

§ *Ibid.*

¶ *Ibid.* pp. 430, 431.

The next eighteen months, until the middle of 1878, were devoted to one long campaign against famine. The summer monsoon of 1877 proved a failure; some relief was brought in October of that year by the autumn monsoon, but all anxiety was not removed until the arrival of a normal rainfall in June, 1878.

I now proceed to ask and answer the questions: What was the precise nature of the connection between "the great famine of Southern India" and "the harvest" reaped by the Protestant missionaries of Tinnevelly? What was the exact value of these wholesale conversions? What light has the subsequent history of the mission thrown upon the exceptional movement of 1877-78? I must repeat here what I have already said in my former article—that I am far from maintaining that real conversions cannot be made in famine time. The sight of Christian charity is no doubt often a motive for a genuine conversion, and when men are brought face to face with death, human respect and other obstacles to conversion disappear, and hesitation is reduced to a minimum. I must add that I make no general charge against the Tinnevelly missionaries of attempting to deceive their supporters in England. Some of their reports are thoroughly honest and outspoken as to the true character of the movement; others are plainly the work of men who really believed that it was a sound one; but I regret to add that there are some others which are the work of men whose proceedings, had they been fully reported, might have startled subscribers in England. That the movement was not in any true sense a general conversion of large numbers of pagans I now proceed to show.

As soon as famine began seriously to menace the district active steps were taken to meet it. In connection with the central Relief Committee of Madras, and the Mansion House Committee of London, a district relief committee was established in Tinnevelly, with sub-committees in all the chief centres of population. The two Protestant bishops, Dr. Caldwell (S.P.G.), and Dr. Sargent (C.M.S.), were members of the district committee, and of the nineteen sub-committees, seven were under the management of the missionaries. Of these seven sub-committees, one (Megnanaipuram) was directed by Bishop Sargent, one (Sivakei) by the Rev. H. Horsley, two (Edeyengoody and Radhapuram) by the Rev. J. L. Wyatt, one (Nazareth) by the Rev. A. Margoschis, and two (Sawyerpuram and Vilatikulam with Vaipar) by the Rev. T. Adamson.\* In Ramnad there was a relief committee, of which the Rev. G. Billing, the local missionary of the S.P.G., was secretary. Besides the funds placed at their disposal for famine relief by their official connection with the committees, the S.P.G. missionaries had a large special fund

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\* *Tinnevelly (Official) District Gazette*, Nov. 14, 1877, p. 367.

placed at their command by the society in England. Further, both the S.P.G. and C.M.S. agents were able to make use of the ordinary funds of the two societies.

Though these two societies were at work side by side, it is a notable fact that the accessions began in the S.P.G. districts. According to Dr. Caldwell's reports, there had been some even before the famine relief was in operation. But he does not say that these accessions took place before the alarm of approaching famine, and the hope of relief were stirring the native mind; nor does he tell us if they were above the average of preceding years. But, however this may be, all allow that the great influx of converts came after the organization of famine relief. An incident related by Dr. Caldwell\* throws some light on the beginnings of the movement. He had found that some of the people were under the impression that the relief given to them was Government money, which they would have to refund later on, and that even some of his native agents had used language that might confirm this view. He therefore took steps to put the relief work in a different light.

On making this discovery [he says] I assembled all the native agents of the district, explained to them how the facts of the case stood, and pointed out to them the legitimate use they might make of the Christian kindness of the English people as an intelligible and telling argument in favour of the religion they taught, and as a reason why the people should be willing to embrace a religion which was evidently so good and so divine. I did my utmost to enkindle within them a flame of Christian zeal, and commended them and their work to God's special blessing. The following week, I met them all again, when I found that thirty-five persons had been induced to join the congregations during the week. The week following 105 more had joined, and now the fire was kindled and went on burning brightly of itself. The accessions in that district alone now number more than 2,000. People in other districts were ready to recognize and appreciate at once the benefits they saw arising from this combination of good advice with help, and the movement spread from district to district with better and better results. This incident appears to me to show very clearly that the results that have been accomplished are due, not to money, but to Christian zeal and Christian work.

The Bishop is not fortunate in his logic. His conclusion is open to the obvious retort that the incident shows still more clearly that the Christian zeal of his catechists was most efficacious when their hands were full of money, and when a terrible crisis had made money so valuable. Such were the beginnings of "the harvest." In his annual letter for 1877-78, Dr. Caldwell thus speaks of the general features of this new influx of converts:—

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\* In his letter of February 26, 1878 (published by the S.P.G., under the title of "The Harvest: a New Movement in Tinnevely," March 30, 1878), pp. 7, 8.

All through the year, but especially during the period when famine relief was being distributed, the accessions from heathenism were very numerous. The motives of persons who join the Christian community during a period of famine are necessarily open to some suspicion, but it has been repeatedly stated, and is quite certain, that those persons might have obtained relief whilst remaining in heathenism, as many thousands actually did; so that some other motive besides the pressure of distress must have been at work. I have already explained how two classes of influences were brought to bear on their minds at one and the same time, and I cannot do better than quote here what I have already said in my letter to the parent Society, dated June 29, 1878: "The principal cause of the movement was undoubtedly, as I have already stated, the conviction that while Hindooism had left the famine-stricken to die, Christianity had stepped in like an angel from heaven to comfort them with its sympathy and cheer them with its effectual succour. The Indian agricultural classes are certainly on the whole very ignorant, but they were not too ignorant to be able to comprehend one of the first lessons taught them by famine relief—viz., the superiority of a religion of love to a religion of indifference. The second most important fact in this movement is admitted by every person to whom I have spoken, to be the voluntary evangelistic work which has been carried on for some time past in each of the S.P.G. districts in Tinnevely and Ramnad. . . . It is evident that each of the causes I have now mentioned co-operated with the other. . . . If the heathen masses had not been stirred up beforehand by the evangelistic efforts carried on amongst them, famine relief might have been given on the largest possible scale without any result, or with only a very small amount of fruit, whilst evangelistic work might have been carried on for years with comparatively small success, if the hearts of the people had not been touched and softened by the extraordinary kindness shown them by the Christians of England in their distress." But whatever be the motives by which these people may have been influenced in the first instance, it is a fact, and a most important fact, that they have been actually brought into the Christian fold.\*

In the same letter the Bishop states that he assigned the special fund of the S.P.G. (as distinguished from the Relief Committee funds), "primarily, though not exclusively," to the relief of the native Protestant congregations; and he adds:—

It cannot be doubted that the moral effect of the interest we were thus enabled to evince in the welfare of our own people was very great. The general mass of the famine-stricken were helped by means of the other funds we administered, as far as those funds went, whilst the members of the household of faith found that by means of this special fund they were sought out and helped with special tenderness and care.†

Now this report, even taking it by itself, contains some im-

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\* Report of the Madras Diocesan Committee of the S.P.G. for 1877-78, pp. 4, 5.

† *Ibid.* p. 4.

portant admissions. Read in the light of the documents from which I shall presently quote, they amount to strong presumptive proof against the genuineness of the work done in Tinnevely during the famine in the way of conversions. Let us note these admissions. The Bishop allows—(1) that the conversions were especially numerous during the famine relief period; (2) that special funds were at the disposal of the missionaries for the relief of the Protestants, so that they were better off than the non-Christians; (3) that the principal motive in many cases was that the Protestants were giving relief, while the Hindus *as a body* were not doing so.\* It is further to be noted that (4) his plea that the people might have been relieved, and in many cases were relieved, while remaining heathens, goes for very little beside the fact that at a moment when the obtaining of relief was a matter of life and death the Protestant natives were more readily and amply relieved, and this so effectually that “not many died from want,”† while the Hindus were dying by thousands. No one denies that a secondary cause of the new converts declaring themselves Christians was the presence and activity of the S.P.G. agents. Had there been no mission stations, and had the money been placed in the hands of Hindu and Mohammedan officials, there would have been no movement of conversion. This much the Bishop has proved, but no more.

I have already remarked that the movement began in the S.P.G. districts. It did not spread to those worked by Bishop Sargent and the agents of the C.M.S. till later. Before this new development had taken place the Madras *Church Missionary Record*, the local organ of the C.M.S., had expressed its opinion of the conversions in guarded but still sufficiently outspoken terms to confirm the view I have taken of Dr. Caldwell's report. From a series of articles published in 1878, in this Indian missionary periodical, it is quite clear that at first the agents of the C.M.S. kept aloof from the movement, and looked upon it with not a little suspicion. Later on they too were drawn into the current; but I may note here, at the outset, that at no time do I find any trace of such transactions on their part as the curious system of lending on mortgage bonds, practised by some at least of the agents of the S.P.G.; and, moreover, the reports of Dr. Sargent of the C.M.S. are pitched

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\* It is only fair to the Hindus to say that many wealthy native gentlemen gave most generous help, though, as the higher officials in India are nearly all Europeans, the administration was chiefly in Christian hands. Dr. Caldwell gives the Christians far too exclusively the credit of the relief work.

† Report of the Madras Diocesan Committee of the S.P.G., 1877-78, p. 1.

in a much more moderate key than those of Dr. Caldwell of the S.P.G. These articles in the *Madras Church Missionary Record*, the official organ of a great missionary society, written by missionaries, and published in India at the very time of "the harvest" in Tinnevely and Ramnad, are so important that I shall make a series of extracts from them. I find in the *Church Missionary Record* for August, 1878, an article headed "The Accessions in Tinnevely." The writer begins by saying that while previous numbers of the *Record* had spoken only of the depressing effect of the famine on the work of the C.M.S. in Tinnevely, the organs of the S.P.G. had been reporting the accession of thousands of converts. Surprise had been naturally expressed at such a difference between the results obtained by the two societies. It was asked how it was that while the S.P.G. had been so successful, the C.M.S. had done so little. The writer first speaks of the movement in Tinnevely:—

Our readers are probably aware that in February last Bishop Caldwell wrote a letter to the London Secretary of the S.P.G. reporting that in the six preceding months 16,000 heathen in the S.P.G. districts of Tinnevely and Ramnad had abandoned idolatry and placed themselves under Christian instruction; and that he asked for a large reinforcement of English missionaries, and for funds to employ a large addition of native catechists to instruct those new inquirers. An appeal for £20,000 for these purposes was at once put forth by the S.P.G., in which Bishop Caldwell's letter, giving all particulars, was printed in full. To this some incautious statements were added implying that this large accession of catechumens was the result of a kind of Pentecostal effusion of the Holy Spirit. Since February the movement has continued, and we hear that by the middle of June the total accessions from heathenism amounted to 19,300.\*

The writer then proceeds to point out that inasmuch as Bishop Sargent and the C.M.S. missionaries had been working and preaching as zealously as Bishop Caldwell and the men of the S.P.G. without any such remarkable results, the cause of the large accessions in the S.P.G. missions must be looked for elsewhere than in a comparison between the zeal and energy of the agents of the two societies. Then he gives the reason plainly enough:—

We feel that we shall only be reiterating the sentiments of Bishop Caldwell, whose letter lies before us, and of some at any rate of the S.P.G. agents themselves, if we state that these large accessions are mainly due to the kind and opportune relief administered to the sufferers from famine, through the instrumentality of the agents of the S.P.G. in Tinnevely.†

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\* *Madras Church Missionary Record*, August, 1878, p. 249.

† *Ibid.* p. 250.

He then points out that as the famine was more severe in one part of the S.P.G. mission than elsewhere in Tinnevely, far larger sums were placed at the disposal of its agents for famine relief than those received for this purpose by the C.M.S. Moreover, the two societies having different special objects in view, it might well be that there was some difference in the mode in which the relief was distributed. The S.P.G., he says, had always been anxious to extend its borders, the C.M.S. looked rather to the consolidation of the congregations already formed. Hence during the famine Bishop Sargent and his clergy had been "doubly cautious to abstain from offering any apparent inducements to draw over bodies of inquirers." The article concludes by insisting that the new adherents of the S.P.G. were only "converts" in a very loose sense, and by pointing out that some time must elapse before it would be possible to make a sound estimate of the value of the movement. The passage is an important one:—

With regard to the conversions themselves, a great mistake appears to have been made in home papers in the estimate formed of the spiritual condition of those who have put themselves under instruction. No one, we believe, is more keenly alive to this than Bishop Caldwell. The words *convert* and *conversions* are used in various significations, and have perhaps given rise to some misunderstanding. It is a happy thing when large bodies of heathens place themselves under Christian instruction, even though their motives may not be in all cases quite pure; but putting themselves under instruction is a very different thing from being brought, by something like a Pentecostal outpouring of the Holy Spirit, to a sense of spiritual need and a saving knowledge of Christ, or even from being baptized Christians. In some respects these large numbers may even prove in the end a source of weakness, unless the very greatest care and caution be used in admitting them into the Christian Church. . . . On the whole we feel that there is among the heathen in Tinnevely a decided movement towards Christianity, and that there is reason to thank God that so many have, from whatever cause, come under regular Christian instruction. At the same time we feel that time alone can give us a true insight into the motive power, the spiritual character, and the abiding results of the recent accessions.\*

In the September number of the same periodical there is evidence that the C.M.S. agents were beginning to take up the movement, but still the Society did not abandon its attitude of reserve. The accessions were extending to the C.M.S. districts adjoining those of the S.P.G. Bishop Sargent had met delegates representing 419 families from twenty-six villages who wished to be admitted as

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\* *Madras Church Missionary Record*, August, 1878, pp. 252, 253.

“adherents.” The Bishop’s report on this conference is published in the *Church Missionary Record*, and the editor remarks upon it :

What Bishop Sargent has written confirms us in the general views which we expressed in our article last month, especially in regard to the cautious estimate which should be formed of the spiritual condition of those who have, in such large numbers, placed themselves under Christian instruction. We should consider them as persons who, from a variety of very mixed motives, have asked to be taken into connection with the Christian body, and who have been received on probation.\*

As to what these “mixed motives” were the Bishop’s report is very outspoken. He thus sums them up :—

1. With not a few worldly trouble has been the turning-point. Why not try a change? We cannot be worse off than we are.

2. Many have been induced by the fact that so many of their relations in other places have become Christians—they do not like to be isolated.

3. Many had once been Christians and had backslided; they feel convinced that since then they have not prospered, but have yearly become more and more wretched.

4. They look on Christians of long standing, and see how they have advanced in education, respectability, and worldly prosperity.

5. The opinion is gaining ground on all sides that the *Pèys*—i.e., the demons, or objects of former worship—have lost their power, their day is past and gone. (I fear an outbreak of cholera will shake the belief of many on this point.)

6. Many are affected by the sympathy shown them by Christians; they feel that in distress Christians are the only party from whom they may expect friendly aid.

These form the motives by which the great majority of the late accessions in the C.M.S. have been effected. But there remains now the mention of the high motive which has moved a very small minority—viz., a conviction of the truth of Christianity and an earnest care about salvation. This spiritual motive may be traced more or less in several who have joined us in the villages of Alvartope, Maniyarantattu, and Pannivillei.†

He notes incidentally that such was the superstition of the new-comers that many of the promised accessions (about 500 in all) were put off till the following month, because *the present month was in Hindu opinion an unlucky one!* and he exclaims, “How I have longed to be able to find that spiritual motives actuated any large body of these professors, but in all honesty I must acknowledge that this spiritual element is absent in the vast majority of cases.”‡ Although the Bishop took this

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\* *Madras Church Missionary Record*, Sept. 1878, p. 283.

† *Ibid.* p. 287.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 288.

depressing view of the influx of new converts, by the end of September the C.M.S. had in great part abandoned its attitude of reserve and was vying with the S.P.G. in gathering together new adherents. Dr. Sargent himself issued a proclamation calling upon the heathen to flock into the Church, a document the imprudent language of which called forth some sharp comments in the Anglo-Indian press. The Bishop committed the further imprudence of involving himself in controversy with the *Pioneer* of Allahabad, which had been one of his most severe critics. Amongst other facts that came out in this controversy it appears that the native gentlemen of Tinnevely (Hindus) had done much to relieve the homeless beggars who flocked into the towns; \* amongst these last no conversions were made—the conversions, it seems, were confined to the villagers and small farmers, among whom the relief agencies of the S.P.G. and the C.M.S. were at work.

Now let us see how much the documents I have quoted have told us. I submit that the coincidence between the pressure of the famine, the relief administered by the missionaries, and the unprecedented influx of converts justifies something more than a suspicion that the conversions were in great part unreal. We get something very like proof of this when we find that the converts were only converts in the sense of a loose adhesion and willingness to listen to instruction, and further confirmation is afforded by the articles in the *Church Missionary Record* and Bishop Sargent's honest outspoken report. But we must test the matter further. If these conversions were real, we should expect to find that there were no underhand proceedings on the part of the missionaries in the distribution of relief, no attempts to get material pledges of the converts' perseverance, no refusal of help to those who did not show a willingness for instruction. We should also expect to find that within two or three years at most the new adherents would be baptized Christians, and that although there might be some relapses among so many, these would not be numerous enough to tell seriously upon the mission statistics, new accessions and the natural increase of population balancing any such trifling loss. But all this is precisely *what we find not to be the case*. I proceed to adduce evidence on these test points, much of it only very recently available, for the *Church Missionary Record* was perfectly right when it told its readers in August, 1878, "Time alone can give us a true insight into the motive power, the spiritual character, and the abiding results of the recent accessions."

What, in the first place, is the significance of the undeniable

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\* Letter of Bishop Sargent to the Editor of the *Pioneer*.

fact that in the midst of the famine, missionaries of the S.P.G., and some even of those who were officially engaged on the relief committees, were lending small sums to the natives on mortgage at 18 per cent.? How is it that the poor borrowers have been left unmolested for years, but when they showed a disposition to change their religion have been dragged into court and forced to pay? Questions were asked in the House of Commons as to these transactions on the 9th and 13th of last November. The Under-Secretary for India in reply held out some hope of a semi-official inquiry at Madras. I do not know if any such inquiry has been made, but I have in my possession evidence that puts the facts beyond dispute. I gave in a note to my former article a translation of one of those bonds, omitting only the names of the lender and borrower. As this omission has led to my being charged with publishing a document with no clue by which its genuineness could be tested,\* and as this matter must be put beyond challenge I proceed to give names and dates of bonds in my possession. I notice that the *Madras Mail* has already published a bond of this kind with the missionary lender's name in full.

The bond, of which I published a translation in the DUBLIN REVIEW for last July (p. 142), was given by Ramasamy Achary, of Putthiamputtur, to the Rev. Thomas Adamson, S.P.G., and acknowledges a loan of 20 rupees at 18 per cent. secured on mortgage of land.

I see by the minutes published in the *Tinnevely District (Official) Gazette* of November 14, 1877, that on November 7, 1877, this same missionary, the Rev. T. Adamson, took part in a meeting of the District Famine Relief Committee. From a bond in my possession it appears that on November 8 (*i.e.*, the day after) he lent 5 rupees (= 10 shillings) on mortgage at 18 per cent. to Thoppa Nadan, of Putthiamputtur. No doubt the money lent was not public property—still, what is to be said of such transactions in famine time by men who were officially engaged in the distribution of public money? I have another bond dated December 1, 1877, by which Sangara Mudali, of the same place, mortgaged his land to the Rev. T. Adamson for a loan of 7 rupees at 18 per cent. interest. That Mr. Adamson was not the only missionary engaged in these transactions is shown by a bond of which I have a copy. It is dated December 6, 1877,

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\* This is the allegation of a writer in the *Church Missionary Intelligencer* of November last. As a fact, I gave several clues—the date, the name of the S.P.G., and the statement that the lender was on a relief committee. Thus the choice lay between five or six individuals, all employed by one society, to the secretaries of which my article was duly forwarded.

and is given by a native of Ramnad to the Rev. G. Billing, S.P.G. (who was then in charge of the mission at Ramnad and secretary of the relief committee); it acknowledges a loan of 19 rupees at 18 per cent, secured on mortgage. The bond states explicitly that the borrower has received the money through the catechist Abraham "out of the charity fund"—i.e., the fund of the Society.

The existence of this money-lending system is further proved by judgments given in the local courts. Thus, on November 21, 1883, the civil court of Tuticorin gave judgment in favour of the Rev. T. Adamson on a bond signed during the famine and bearing 18 per cent. interest. The defendants were two "adherents" of Protestantism who had lately become Catholics. There appear to have been other cases of the same kind, in which Mr. Adamson was concerned, at Tuticorin. His colleague, the Rev. A. Margoschis, S.P.G. (also a member of the Famine Relief Committee), recovered money in the same way in the court of Strivaigundam. The Rev. G. Billing has, since the famine, been promoted to the post of secretary of the Madras Diocesan Committee, and the Rev. Mr. Matthews has taken his place at Ramnad. On February 9, 1884, the Rev. Mr. Matthews brought an action in the court of Paramagudy against two natives to recover money on a mortgage bond given by their father to the Rev. G. Billing on March 18th, 1878. Judgment was given for the plaintiff, who recovered 83 rupees on a loan of 50. On the same day and in the same court Mr. Matthews recovered a second sum of 83 rupees from another native on a bond given to Mr. Billing on the same date. In both cases defendants had recently become Catholics. It was also alleged that in both cases the money had been given to the defendants, as headmen of their villages, to be used for relief purposes, and that they had subsequently been induced to sign the bonds. The large sum in question makes this look probable, but I have no proof of it.

I note one more case, as it shows how these loans were used as a weapon against converts to Catholicism. In this case no bond could be produced, but an attempt was made to prove a verbal promise. On September 30, 1881, the Rev. Mr. Samidasen, S.P.G. missionary, residing at Melikidarem, brought an action in the court of the district munsiff at Paramagudy to recover a sum of 43 rupees from three natives who had lately become Catholics. Mr. Samidasen himself gave evidence of a verbal promise to pay, alleged to have been made on July 8, 1878, and he called two witnesses. But his case broke down completely, and the court gave judgment that the evidence was "wholly false" and contradictory, and dismissed the suit. Application was made to the court for an order to prosecute the

Rev. Mr. Samidasen and his witnesses for perjury. The order was granted on June 15, 1882. In giving this order the local magistrate (a native gentleman) says :—

I went through the whole case and heard the arguments of vakeels on both sides. It is clear from the statement of Rev. Samidasen (plaintiff), and that of his witnesses, that plaintiff and his witnesses have given false evidence. Plaintiff's own statement is most contradictory and unsatisfactory. The district munsiff who decided the case has declared that their evidence is wholly false, and I do not for a moment differ from him. I therefore grant sanction to prosecute Rev. Samidasen and David and Santiagonadan for the offence of giving false evidence. (Signed) V. NARAYANA ROW, Ag. District Munsiff.

The criminal case against this reverend gentleman did not come on for hearing as he died the same summer. In connection with all these transactions it is to be noted that :—

(1.) The Tinnevely Relief Committee in their instructions for the guidance of the sub-committees, said (paragraph 1) : “ It is important that all should know that the money is not given by Government as a loan, but is a gift sent direct by the people of England.” These instructions were published under the sanction of a special committee of nine members, of whom six were native gentlemen of high official position as judges and vakeels. Thus while the mortgaging and money-lending of the S.P.G. funds was going on, the lenders were engaged in administering another fund publicly proclaimed to be a gift and not a loan. What wonder if some of the natives mistook one fund for the other, and that they have sometimes protested that when they signed the bonds they did not understand the nature of the transaction.

(2.) We read in the Report of the Madras Diocesan Committee of the S.P.G. for 1877-78 :\* “ Many [of the natives] had to mortgage or sell their little plot of land that they might buy food ; so that the native church will be impoverished for some years to come.” There is no hint that, at least in some instances, the land was mortgaged to the pastors of the Church, the agents of the S.P.G.

(3.) But a very clear admission of the existence of this system is to be found in the Report for 1881-82. By that time defections had begun, and the bonds were being enforced ; accordingly, the Rev. Arthur Margoschis, of whose own transactions we have heard something already, reports from the Nazareth district of Tinnevely :—

The ancient and pernicious custom of lending out money on interest having been discontinued, considerable effort has been made to call in the money, and in some cases the mission has been compelled, as a last resource, to adopt severe measures. This has naturally produced more or less unpleasantness and ill-feeling amongst certain of our people,

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\* P. 9.

who have not failed to take advantage of their position to influence their friends and relatives otherwise than for good.\*

Mr. Margoschis does not tell us how many of these loans dated from the great famine.

So far I have proved that the agents of the S.P.G. in Tinnevely and Ramnad, at least in some cases, took bonds for money supplied to the natives during the famine, and put these bonds in force on the converts abandoning Protestantism. This is one suspicious element in the "harvest" of souls in Tinnevely in 1877-78. But I am also positively assured by Catholic missionaries at work in the district that help was in several cases refused to the Catholics by the S.P.G. agents, who were officially connected with the relief system of the district. I know that the S.P.G. missionaries assert in their reports that relief was given to all without regard to caste and creed; but against these general assertions I can set definite statements as to names, place and date of such refusals of help. Moreover it must not be forgotten that Bishop Caldwell admits in his report that the Protestants were better off than others, and had special funds "chiefly but not exclusively" devoted to their support. Perhaps in cases where we find native agents turning away Catholics, it was the distribution of these special funds that was in progress. However this may be, the superior advantages at the command of the Protestants did unfortunately lead to the perversion of some hundreds of Catholics, but like the "soupers" of the Irish famine, once the pressure of hunger was over most of them abandoned their new teachers.

So much for some of the more suspicious features of this combination of famine-relief and wholesale conversion. Now let us see what light is thrown on the accessions of 1877-78 by the subsequent history of the converts. It is striking to see the immense number of unbaptized adherents still borne upon the lists four, five, and even six years after "the harvest." Thus the C.M.S. reports give us the following results:—

TINNEVELLY.—C.M.S. MISSIONS.

Christians.	Baptized.	Unbaptized.	Total.	Baptisms.	Adults.	Children.	Total.
June 1, 1883...	42,128 ...	13,629...	55,757	1882-83 ...	567 ...	1,696 ...	2,263
„ 1884...	43,644 ...	12,813...	56,457	1883-84 ...	796 ...	1,786 ...	2,582

As there have been no large accessions of late years, we may take these twelve or thirteen thousand unbaptized adherents as in great part representing the converts of the famine years and their families. The statistics of the S.P.G. give the same results. On June 30, 1883, in the Tinnevely and Ramnad missions there were 14,050 unbaptized adherents to 30,758 baptized Christians. Thus in June 1883 in the two missions, there were still upwards of 27,000 unbaptized adherents, and this though there had been

no large influx of converts since the famine years. From the S.P.G. statistics it appears that about three-sevenths of the unbaptized adherents are children, presumably of parents who are still unbaptized. The gradual increase in numbers of the baptized is of course due partly to the baptism of adult catechumens and their families, partly to the baptism of Christian children. The numbers of the adherents is also kept up by the ordinary increase of population. Bearing this in mind it is not possible to look at all closely even at the C.M.S. statistics without suspecting a considerable falling off of adherents. Without exact statistics of the birth and death rate in Tinnevely it is not possible to test them closely, but if the statistics of baptisms are any guide it would seem that births and infant baptisms have done something to keep up the figures since 1877-78, and have compensated for a good many defections. For the S.P.G. missions there are fuller statistics available, not indeed in its home reports, but in those published in India by the Madras Diocesan Committee, and apparently circulated only among the friends of the institution. From these reports for 1880-81 and 1881-82 I extract the following tables, showing the state of affairs in the S.P.G. missions of Tinnevely and Ramnad three and four years after the famine:—

TINNEVELLY AND RAMNAD.

*Comparison of the totals of persons under Christian instruction,  
Baptized and Unbaptized.—June 30, 1880, 1881, 1882.*

Districts.	1880.	1881.	Difference 1880-81.	1882.	Difference 1881-82.
Edeyengoody ...	4770	4808	+ 38	4813	+ 5
Mudalur ...	2812	2887	+ 75	2837	- 50
Christianagaram ...	3008	3126	+118	3131	+ 5
Radapuram ...	3303	3410	+107	3391	- 19
Nazareth ...	6277	6340	+ 63	6044	-296
Sawyerpuram ...	3178	3230	+ 52	3066	-170
Pudukottai ...	2376	1942	-434	1914	- 28
Tuticorin ...	1982	2048	+ 66	} * {	-212
Pudiamputtur ...	1159	1158	- 1		+ 19
Scytalai ...	1596	1568	- 28		+173
Kullatur ...	1317	1275	- 42	1425	+150
Iral ...	561	563	+ 2	511	- 51
Attangkarai ...	2307	2178	-129	2081	- 97
Negalapuram ...	3840	3881	+ 41	3899	+ 18
Mathalapuram ...	832	917	+ 85	856	- 61
Kadalgudai ...	883	912	+ 29	802	-110
Ramnad ...	5238	5043	-195	4920	-123

\* It is not easy to compare the tables for 1880-81 and 1881-82 as far as Tuticorin and Pudiamputtur are concerned. The tables for 1880-81

For 1880-81 the total loss shown by these tables is 153, for 1881-82 it is 810 (*i.e.*, 687 in Tinnevely and 123 in Ramnad). But these are only the net losses; the actual number of defections must be much higher, for such losses are compensated in part in ordinary seasons by the increase of the population, and there are always a few new accessions. Moreover, these are only the *acknowledged* losses—catechists and native pastors, and even European missionaries are naturally unwilling to strike off their lists the nominal adherents of past years. In some instances the local reports of the S.P.G. speak of these defections and their causes. Thus in the report for 1880-81 Bishop Caldwell mentions the relapses in Pudukottai. He says of them:—

The people who relapsed were mostly illiterate labourers of the poorest class,\* and they appeared to have been enrolled in the congregational lists too hurriedly, without probation, without waiting to see whether they really meant to embrace the new faith. They appeared also to have been left with little or no instruction, and in many cases without places of worship to meet in.†

Here is a first admission as to the character of some at least of the conversions that had gone to swell the statistics of 1877-78. There are more of the same kind in Dr. Caldwell's report for 1881-82. In that year the statistics showed a decrease in ten out of the seventeen districts of Tinnevely. The Bishop writes of these losses:—

The total diminution is 687. As the number of the baptized has increased, it would follow that the number of the unbaptized should be diminished in proportion. But this does not account for the whole of the loss. I have been informed also from time to time of new accessions from heathenism. These amount in the aggregate to 815 souls. But even this increase has failed to counterbalance the number of the unbaptized who have disappeared from the church lists. What is the

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give the figures to be found in my second, third, and fourth columns, but the tables in the report for 1881-82 give much lower figures for 1881. The table stands thus:—

	1881.	1882.	Difference.
Tuticorin ...	850	638	-212
Odaipatti Puttur ...	1077	1096	+ 19
Pudiamputtur ...	1248	1285	+ 37

The mention of a new district (Odaipatti Puttur) suggests that there has been a rearrangement of districts. In the tables of the general report for 1882, issued by the S.P.G. to home subscribers, several districts are not named, but *en revanche* Pudiamputtur is credited with 7,393 baptized Christians and 6,409 catechumens.

\* To this class, if I am not mistaken, a considerable portion of the converts of 1877-78 belonged.

† Report of the Madras Diocesan Committee of the S.P.G. for 1880-81, p. 3.

cause of these losses? This is a subject to which I gave my most anxious attention during my visitation of the various districts. In some cases the people inquired about had relapsed into heathenism. In a larger number of cases they had simply got tired of coming to Church, tired of learning lessons, tired of being expected to live well, tired of being asked to give. Their Christianity had not gone deeper than this. . . . The largest number of cases consisted of persons who had wandered off in search of a livelihood, some of whom might possibly return, but the majority seemed to have hopelessly disappeared. These people had joined us during the famine, and they continued to retain the characteristics of famine refugees, never making real progress, never settling down contentedly to any kind of work, and at length slipping away no one knew whither.\*

And he comes to this very practical conclusion: "This shows that it is very doubtful whether the number of the unbaptized should receive such prominent notice as it does in our published statistics." Some of the local reports are equally outspoken. Generally these frank confessions come from missionaries newly placed in charge of a district, and unable to find all the sheep that are numbered in the lists of their pastorate. But this is not always the case. The Rev. Mr. Margoschis, a veteran of the famine-relief period, reports that since the accession of 2,532 people and fourteen villages in 1877-78 there had been no epidemic in the district; but in 1881-82 there was an outbreak of cholera, and Mr. Margoschis notes that "it only remained for a time of trial to come to separate the wheat from the tares." He can only "thank God the results have not been *very discouraging*." The people of Komaligudy "have relapsed for the sixth time, the Maravars of Alvar-Tirunagari have relapsed for the fifth time." The net loss for the whole district is 206, all the relapses being in the ranks of the unbaptized. He adds:—

No doubt many will be willing enough to rejoin the mission when it serves their purpose, and the Komaligudy people to this day declare they have not relapsed. They did not, however, attend any of the Church services, they refused to be instructed, and they beat their catechist. Under these circumstances, after much persuasion and kindness had been shown to them without avail, the whole congregation was removed from the registers. The presence of such nominal Christians in our missions is always a source of weakness, and tends to bring shame and dishonour to the cause of Christ in this land. The lack of discipline in many congregations also is very hurtful to the growth of religion pure and undefiled.†

If we may judge from previous reports of Mr. Margoschis, it was not till the outbreak of cholera that he became fully alive to

\* Report of the Madras Diocesan Committee of the S.P.G. for 1881-82, pp. 5, 6.

† *Ibid.* p. 48.

the state of things in his district. From Pudukottai and Sawyerpuram the Rev. Mr. Sharrock reports that two new native ministers having been appointed to these districts discovered that they were not in as good a condition as was generally reported; and he allows that this is a discovery generally made by clergymen on taking charge of a district. In these two cases, he says :—

So many Christians were recorded in each of the village registers, but it was often found that the numbers were far from correct—the names of people, who had not for months and months attended the Church, were entered there, and in some cases the names of those who had long ago left the villages, or even been taken away to their last account. A catechist is a wonderfully hopeful creature, or in other words he does not like to give a bad impression of his work, and so speaks of those who have relapsed simply as irregular Christians, who will soon be brought back to a sense of their duties. In Sawyerpuram a scrutiny of the registers revealed a loss of 680 souls out of a present total of 3,230, while at Pudukottai a similar distressing discovery was made.\*

Some of the relapsed were reclaimed (probably to relapse again). In one village the people on being urged to come to Church, replied, “It is three years since you helped us, have we not knelt [*i.e.*, come to Church] long enough for that?” In these afflictions Mr. Sharrock finds consolation in the remark that there are black sheep in every flock. More than 20 per cent. of the flock at Sawyerpuram seem to have been of this colour. From Ramnad, Mr. Billing’s successor, the Rev. F. Matthews, reports for 1882–83 :—

A great tax has been put upon the zeal and patience of the native clergy this year. We have been blessed with very prosperous seasons, and the people, in proportion to their prosperity, grow proportionately cold in religion, and show a spirit of indifference. Many of them have gone back to heathenism, declaring that Christianity stripped them of their ceremonies, &c., and gave them nothing in return. Large numbers are too indifferent even to return openly to heathenism, or to attend to their duties as Christians.†

I might easily add more testimony of the same kind. I have also evidence that in village after village the Catholics who embraced Protestantism under pressure of the famine have returned to the Church, and in many cases numbers of Protestant converts from heathenism have also become Catholics. These defections become still more important when it is considered that

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\* Report of the Madras Diocesan Committee of the S.P.G. for 1881–82, p. 57.

† Report of the Ramnad Mission for 1882–83, p. 2.

they have taken place in spite of no little persecution on the part of the missionaries and their agents. We have already seen that in many cases such deserters from the Protestant camp exposed themselves to prosecution on bonds signed during the famine. Besides this there have been acts of personal violence against converts to Catholicism and backsliders to heathenism. Conversions to Catholicism have even been made the pretext for disgraceful rioting, in one instance the funeral of a convert being outraged by the employés of a Protestant mission. In some few cases the aggressors have been brought to justice. But, nevertheless, between legal annoyance in the courts and illegal persecution in the villages, there is enough to hold back many a waverer from either coming forward to Catholicism or going back to heathenism.

Throughout this inquiry I have used the statistics of the mission reports, although they are not always very reliable; they are sure to minimize losses and to pass lightly over weak points. The local reports of the Madras Diocesan Committee show that in several cases the Indian mission statistics of the S.P.G. have year after year been drawn up in a very misleading way. In some districts it seems to have been the recognized practice to count as separate villages different quarters of the same town, and occasionally to return single families as congregations. We have already seen the admission made by a Tinnevely missionary, that a newly-appointed clergyman generally finds that his district is not in quite so good a condition as the reports had led him to expect, and that the hopeful disposition of the catechists sometimes leads them to return as Christians people who are really heathens. The census returns afford no certain means of checking the reports drawn up in this way. As was to be expected, the census returns of 1881 show an enormous increase of Protestants in Tinnevely, but they throw no light on the point we are investigating—namely, the real character of this increase. Comparing the census of 1871 and 1881, we have the following figures for Tinnevely:—

	1871.	1881.	Increase.	Increase per cent.
Catholics ...	52,780	58,080	5,300	10·04
Protestants ...	49,796	82,866	33,070	66·41

The Protestants in Tinnevely district mainly represent the adherents of the two great Church of England societies. These census returns have sometimes been appealed to in confirmation of the mission reports, but, unfortunately for this argument, an Indian is not like an English census. The returns are not filled up independently by the people themselves, but are made up by

the local enumerators, and before laying much stress on these figures as an argument, one would like to know to what extent the schoolmasters, catechists, and other agents of the mission societies were employed as local enumerators. Of course the returns of Protestants include the miscellaneous mass of "adherents" as well as the baptized Christians. As to the high percentage of increase among the Protestants as compared to that of the Catholics, it must be remembered that not only did the Protestants recruit largely during the famine, but also that they were so well off for money that not many died, while the Catholics lost heavily by death and emigration. The wonder is that the Catholics show any increase at all.

As to the internal condition of the mission we know, of course, little more than what the missionaries choose to tell us, but certain weak points cannot be concealed. In the printed reports much is made of the "native contributions" to the mission funds, as substantial proof of the Christian zeal of the converts. But even this branch of missionary finance appears to have its own peculiarities. A native Protestant of Tinnevely, in a letter to the editor of the *Madras Mail* of June 8, 1879, writes thus of "native contributions":—

The majority of the native Christians are poor, and it is by unremitting exertions and importunities of catechists and pastors that their promised contributions finally reach the mission coffers. It is difficult to believe that the contributions are other than voluntary; but I can assure you, sir, as one born and bred in the district, that in a majority of cases they are wrung from the poor people, who are quick to promise but very, very slow to pay. It often happens that the pastor or catechist has recourse to the very questionable measure of removing the eating and drinking vessels of a family, and holding them as pledge until the money should be paid.

I am assured that another element in the native contributions consists of deductions from the pay of employés. For instance, a catechist is paid 25 rupees, but his salary is nominally 30 rupees, the other 5 rupees being credited to the society as a "native contribution." This ingenious arrangement satisfies both parties. The missionary society is enabled to show a large list of native contributions, rising year by year as the number of its agents increases; and the catechist can boast that his salary is 30 rupees, of which he gives 5 rupees to the Church.

Besides these doubtful methods of finance, there are also weak points in connection with something very like a tendency of the native congregations to run into sects and schisms of their own making. For six years before 1881, a native clergyman of the C.M.S. was going about Tinnevely predicting the end of the

world for that year. He won many adherents. Dr. Caldwell admits that, although he looked on the whole affair as a mischievous delusion, he gave the followers of this false prophet a place immediately after the native clergy in processions on public occasions, and allowed them to wear "their peculiar dresses and badges." \* The movement spread rapidly, aided, no doubt, by what must have looked like episcopal sanction. In 1881, it collapsed on the non-fulfilment of the prophecy. Only last year there were disturbances on another subject in the C.M.S. missions, and the troubles were at one time so serious that a large secession of natives was expected. On April 6, Bishop Sargent was at Megnanapuram. The people had sent a petition to the Bishop asking him *not to come*, but come he did. He had the church bells rung, but no one appeared except the paid mission agents. The people meanwhile held a service of their own elsewhere. A writer in the *Madras Mail* (June 12, 1884), explains that the people were irritated because they thought the Bishop had acted offensively towards their caste. He adds that the Bishop was also badly received in other villages, and predicts a schism or a secession to "the Roman Faith," if these troubles continue. Besides these quarrels among their own people and their continual warfare with the Catholics, the missionaries appear to have had at least one quarrel with the Lutherans on their hands of late, and there is some strong language on the subject in the reports. Altogether the life of a Tinnevely missionary must be full of activity.

To sum up:—I submit that I have shown that "the harvest" of 1877-78, in Tinnevely and Ramnad, the greatest recent triumph of the Protestant mission societies, was at best a doubtful success; that it was won by a combination of proselytism and famine relief; that some of the leading apostles of Tinnevely used the mission funds to secure material pledges of their converts' fidelity in the shape of mortgage bonds; that the new adherents were a mass of famine-stricken people acting, with rare exceptions, from purely temporal motives; that if they came in by thousands, they have been going back by hundreds—some relapsing again and again after giving the societies the trouble of converting them four or five times; others, like those of Ramnad, remaining in a state of indifference, too careless to be either heathens or Christians. There is, moreover, evidence that these defections have taken place in the face of persecution, annoyance, and even violence, at the hands of the mission agents, who have taken every means to retain their proselytes; that of

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\* Report of the Madras Diocesan Committee of the S.P.G. for 1881-82, p. 12.

those who have not gone back, thousands have remained for years unbaptized, though special funds and special agencies were established for their instruction; that, finally, the inner condition of the congregations leaves much to be desired, the native mission contributions being exacted by the frequent seizure of pots and pans, the people being ready to run after a false prophet like the founder of the "six years' movement," and village after village giving its Bishop anything but a loyal reception. It was not without good reason that the *Church Missionary Record* of Madras wrote, five years ago, that time alone would give us "a true insight into the motive power, the spiritual character, and the abiding results of the recent accessions." Time has already thrown much light upon the events of the great Indian famine, but without waiting for this test, writers on Protestant missions have hastened to enroll the famine work in Tinnevely and Ramnad among the proudest triumphs of missionary zeal, and probably for years to come we shall hear from time to time the legend of "the harvest" of 1877-78.

A. HILLIARD ATTERIDGE, S.J.



#### ART. IV.—THE EDUCATIONAL CRISIS IN BELGIUM.

THE triumph of the Conservative and Catholic party in Belgium, in the elections of the tenth of June last; the overthrow of the so-called Liberal Ministry, which had been in power five years, and the crisis which has resulted from it, have attracted attention to the political condition of this country. The events which have occurred since then are full of useful lessons even for the greater States. Thoughtful men cannot regard them with indifference. An exact account of these events, written by an impartial observer, who has had the advantage of being on intimate terms with the leading politicians of Belgium, will doubtless be acceptable to our readers.

To understand the full significance of the crisis we are passing through, and the gravity of which it would be foolish to deny, it is necessary to inquire into the causes which have brought the Catholic Ministry into power.

According to the Belgium constitution education in every grade is free. Individuals as well as the State are allowed to erect primary schools, colleges of humanities and universities. In virtue of this liberty, the bishops erected in 1834 a Catholic University in Louvain; the Masonic Lodges founded the free University of Brussels, to which the city of Brussels itself and

the provincial government of Brabant give considerable subsidies. The State established two official universities: the one at Ghent and the other at Liège. In virtue of this same liberty, a large number of establishments of the second class, colleges, or *petits-seminaires*, have been founded either by the secular or by the regular clergy. No town of any importance is without a college of humanities, founded and sustained by the clergy without any intervention of the State or subsidy from the Government. There are more than fifty of these establishments. In them three-fourths of the whole youth of Belgium receive their education. The State has erected in all the chief places of the provinces and in other towns a college, or, if the town be too small, a middle school—*i.e.*, a superior primary school with a highly developed syllabus.

In this way there was before 1879 in each town a college of humanities, directed by the State, and a similar establishment under the direction of the clergy. Each strove with a laudable emulation to gain the confidence of the surrounding families. It cannot be denied that the religious establishments had the advantage in this pacific contest. The Liberal Ministry, brought in by the elections of 1878, could not endure this state of things. They multiplied the "athénées" to such an extent as to establish them even in the little towns of Marche, Virton, Bouillon, Thuin. In these little places the official establishments had almost as many professors as students. These professors were rewarded with a prodigality which plunged the communes into debt, and contrasted singularly with the parsimony of the Government towards its other *employés*.

As to elementary education, it developed very quickly after the year 1830, under the efforts of the Government and of private enterprise. In 1842 there were more than two thousand private primary schools. The Government then made a law which raised primary education to a high degree of perfection. This law, the result of a laudable contest between the State and the Church, which made mutual concessions, permitted the teaching of religion in all the schools under the control of the clergy. Those who disagreed with this might have their own school, and wherever they were not numerous enough, they might, on the demand of the parents, be exempted from assisting at the religious instruction. This law gave such general satisfaction, that in 1878 more than half of the private schools erected previous to this law were absorbed into the communal schools. There was not a single village without its school. The last Catholic Ministry had expended 20 millions of francs in subsidies for the construction of schools. A healthy emulation was stirred up among the school-teachers, who were watched over and stimulated

by the inspectors. Schoolmasters and mistresses lived under the double influence of religion and pedagogic instruction in the excellent normal schools. In the religious atmosphere of the schools, children learned at one and the same time to serve God and their country, to obey the Church and the King, and to respect public authority. And such results acted as a powerful brake upon the revolutionary spirit which consumes our modern societies.

When the Catholic Ministry, after having been in power eight years, was overthrown in 1878, the Liberal Ministry, driven on by the Masonic Lodges, which had become atheistic, and by the Radicalism with which it had been obliged to associate itself, created a Minister of Public Instruction, and immediately started operations by banishing religion from the schools. It began with primary education. The law of 1842, which had never caused any dissatisfaction, was abolished, and a new law, which banished religion from education, or tolerated it only when given outside class hours, was presented to the two Chambers and passed in 1879. The royal sanction was accorded to it, notwithstanding that it had passed in the Senate only by a majority of one vote, that of M. Boyaval, senator of Bruges, who was carried, though at the time in almost a dying state, to the Senate Chamber to give his vote. It is a strange coincidence that this very senator had been elected in Bruges by a majority of one vote only.

The Bishops of Belgium having assembled at Mechlin, immediately condemned the new law as forcing secular schools on the people. The faithful were forbidden to send their children to the "godless schools," and Catholic masters were forbidden to teach in them. Without delay, all the masters and mistresses belonging to religious congregations gave in their resignations and left the communal schools. Many lay masters did the same, notwithstanding the loss of their right to a pension and of other advantages. A certain number, for legitimate reasons, were authorized to retain their posts. The faithful, urged on by their bishops and priests, built free schools, thus making use of the right they possessed according to the Constitution. Their efforts were prodigious. In one year two-thirds of the country parishes had one or two private schools, and the communal schools were completely deserted, or at best attended by an insignificant number of children, whose parents sent them there, compelled to do so by governmental pressure. This was the ruin of the official education. The Government, instantaneously deprived of its most conscientious and in general its ablest masters, was forced to supply their places with men unprepared for teaching. The following fact enables one to judge of the result. In Western

Flanders in 1878, whilst the law of 1842 was in force, the number of children frequenting the primary communal schools was 66,012. In 1881, according to the official statistics, this number had dwindled down to 19,912, which number, besides, was exaggerated by a good third.

The Government had thought that the opposition of the clergy would only be of short duration, and the leader of the Left and the head of the Cabinet, M. Frère-Orban, had declared before the whole Parliament that the Catholic efforts would terminate in "a pitiable abortion" (*pitoyable avortement*). The "abortion" did take place, but it was on the side of the Government, who were hardly able to keep any of the schools in a flourishing condition, except in the large cities, where Liberalism has a larger share of power.

After that there commenced a series of arbitrary and vexatious measures against the Catholics, which ended in disgusting the Liberals themselves. The Government, irritated by the opposition which it encountered, laid the blame first on the bishops and clergy, then upon the communes. In order to deceive the people and bring odium upon the clergy, it forced the schoolmasters, contrary to the existing law, to give catechetical instructions, and it paid them for it. Not having succeeded, in spite of all efforts, in discrediting the bishops with the Pope, it dismissed the Apostolic Nuncio and broke off all relations with Rome. The result was quite to the detriment of the Government, which from that time onward was deprived of the Papal influence. After that, private instruction, although formally authorized by the Constitution, was treated as an enemy to public order. The parish priests and curates were forbidden, under pain of losing the already little stipends they possessed, to teach the alphabet in the schools. Since the clergy, in spite of their little means, contributed largely to the maintenance of the free schools, the Government next tried to starve them. One after another the canons, professors of the *grands séminaires*, the coadjutors, a certain number of curates, and of army chaplains, were deprived of their stipends. Then the bursas which, according to the Concordat of 1801, were accorded to the *grands séminaires*; exemption from military duty; subsidies for the constructing or repairing of churches, were successively suppressed, and the foundations made for Catholic education were seized upon. The budgets for the *fabriques* of churches, grants allowed for processions, benedictions, sermons, &c., were erased. In fact, the Government went as far as to arrogate to itself the right of deciding how many Masses might be said for a departed soul; and then, not content with taking upon itself the work of the sacristan, it went further, and enacted

severe penalties against priests who should preach of the "*loi de malheur*;" it expelled all foreign priests, and decreed that famous commission of inquiry (*enquête scolaire*) which, under the pretext of ascertaining the state of primary education, went about in all the villages striving to gather together whatever calumnies were possible against the clergy. This "inquiry" cost more than a million of francs, and occasioned a waste of money which, when denounced at the tribune by M. Woeste, provoked the indignation of the public.

At the same time the Communes were obliged to build schools on a palatial scale, which, however, remained empty, to increase the salaries of school masters and mistresses, and to pay masters who had no pupils. When the Communes refused to submit to this shameful squandering of their money, they were compelled to do so by commissioners appointed specially for the purpose. The Communes and the *fabriques* were forbidden to let their buildings or lands for free schools, under the anti-constitutional pretext that it would be against public order. On the other hand, normal schools for both sexes were multiplied beyond measure: they were built like palaces; grants were bestowed upon all the "normalists." In this way the Budget of Public Education, which in 1878 had been only ten millions of francs, was more than doubled in 1880 and the following years. The following curious statistics from West Flanders, were presented to Parliament by one of the ministers:—primary education cost in 1878, for 66,012 children, just 1,122,307 francs, or 17 francs per child; in 1881, for 19,912 children (an exaggerated number as mentioned above), 1,414,711 francs, or 71 francs per child. Speaking of the *arrondissement* of Courtrai alone, which contains 46 communes, he cited 15 communes where the two official schools for boys and girls had together less than 6 children who attended, and 13 communes where the communal schools had not one solitary child. Each of these communes had to pay between 4000 and 5000 francs for school masters and mistresses who had no other employment in the world but to keep themselves warm in the winter and contentedly stroll about in the summer.

This reckless waste, and the constant vexation it caused, stirred up the country and shocked a good number of the well-intentioned Liberals. This is what led to the triumph of the Catholics on the 10th of June last, and the overthrow of the Liberal party. "Belgium suffers not for long the yoke of servitude whencesoever it may come from," a poet has said—*Nescit Belga haereticum subire jugum*. It was the school law which, endeavouring to trample on the consciences of the people, ended by dragging the Frère-Orban Ministry into unconstitu-

tional proceedings and into that vexatious *modus agendi* which shocked all honest minds. The officious organ of the chief of the Cabinet, *L'Echo du Parlement*, acknowledged it the day after the defeat. The Liberal Ministry had been wrong in allowing itself to be drawn away by the advanced section—the Socialist and Republican fractions of the Left—at whose head stood M. Janson.

It must be confessed that the triumph of the Catholics was greater than they had expected. The Liberal Ministry had exercised such pressure upon the functionaries in the Service, and had so manipulated and altered the electoral laws to suit its own convenience, that it had confidently hoped to have rendered the struggle quite impossible. Besides, it seemed absurd to expect that the Brussels deputation, which consisted of sixteen members, would be overthrown. The Liberal party is so strongly supported in the capital by the Masonic Lodges, the communal and provincial authorities, the free university, and the thousand and one seductions to be met with in all capitals, as to make the struggle within it truly a difficult one.

Nevertheless, the Catholic and Conservative party, which had struggled there as elsewhere for the schools, undertook the political campaign. The old saying, "Fais ce que tu dois, advienne que pourra," ought never be forgotten. The Catholics fought at Brussels to fulfil their duty as citizens. As the Brussels deputation was gangrened with radicalism—eight of its members belonging to the "advanced" party, which desired a change in the Constitution, together with the annihilation of religion, even a revolution itself—a small part of the well-minded and moderate Liberals joined with the Catholics under the name of "Independents," and a mixed list was formed which passed entire the poll on June 10. The victory of the Conservative party was so complete that out of all the members of the Left put forward for re-election only two were successful. Such a result was unprecedented. The next day the principal organ of the Left wrote as follows:—"It is not a defeat; it is a disaster." All the Liberal papers expressed themselves in a similar fashion. The true cause of the disaster is the school law of 1879. *L'Echo du Parlement*, M. Frère-Orban's organ, admitted it openly. The Catholics, in spite of this triumph, hitherto without a parallel in the annals of our electoral campaigns, did not for an instant think of crushing down the vanquished, but only of repairing the waste of money, and the refusal of justice which the Liberal Ministry had been guilty of. On the 11th of June the *Journal de Bruxelles*, the most authoritative paper of the Catholic party, wrote as follows:—"We have triumphed, not to take away liberty from our vanquished adversaries, but rather to restore it

to all." The Liberal party did not show this moderation, dictated by the spirit of justice ; it had but one resource ; to rush into the streets and arm itself with paving-stones, and to trample in the hour of triumph on its adversaries. We shall see the revolutionary characters breaking out into all manner of shameful excesses.

After their overthrow, the Liberal Ministry knew that their time was come, and that nothing remained for them but to retire. They accordingly handed in their resignations to the king, who thereupon instructed M. Malou, chief of the Right, to form a new Cabinet. That peculiar invention of the Liberals, which was so odious in the sight of the Catholics, the Ministry of Public Instruction, was suppressed, and re-united to the Ministry of the Interior, as was the case previous to 1879. The new ministers, after taking the usual oaths before the king, set energetically to work, and the era of reparation began. It consisted in undoing all that the Liberal Ministry had effected since 1879 : in overthrowing the whole edifice of secular education, and of the godless schools which it had been the great aim of the fallen party to set up, finally to destroy the hopes and aspirations which had been for five years indulged in by the Liberals.

The Liberal party cannot resign itself to defeat ; no longer possessing power, it tears up the paving-stones from the streets, manifesting everywhere its revolutionary sentiments. It demands liberty, but only for itself ; its opponents are fit only to be oppressed. Let the elections favour them, and then, in very truth, the elections are the expression of the nation ; but let them be unfavourable, and then public opinion has been duped. However, the crash of the 10th of June was so complete, that Liberalism was for a time stunned and unable to offer opposition. The new Cabinet was obliged straightway to dissolve the Senate, where there was still a feeble Liberal majority. This was its first act. In a ministerial circular, the employés of the State were informed they should vote according to their conscience, and were cautioned not to allow Governmental influence to have any weight upon the electors. This was the reverse of Liberalism which cries out, it is true, for liberty, but maintains itself by enslaving its subjects. The elections gave a strong majority to the Catholics. The Liberal Senators of Antwerp and Ghent, together with some others, were overthrown. At Brussels there was a slight re-action ; the first scrutiny was indecisive, but in the "ballotage" the Liberals proved to have succeeded. This local success, due to the influence of the Liberal press, which is more read than the Catholic press, and besides counter-balanced by the defeat of Ghent and Antwerp, infused fresh courage into the vanquished : they raised their heads once more.

The new Cabinet continued its work of reparation with energy.

Ministerial circulars were issued, suppressing the special Commissioners, who had been appointed by the preceding Ministry to enforce the payment towards the schools on the part of recalcitrant communes: the just arrangements which had previous to 1878 regulated the church endowments and *fabriques* were re-established. An extraordinary session of the Chambers was convoked. The "credit" for the re-establishment of diplomatic relations with the Holy See was renewed. But the greatest question of all was the abolition of the law of 1879 on primary education.

The new Cabinet, continuing its work of reparation, but at the same time of pacification and moderation, presented a new project, which put an end at once to the wasteful expenditure of money on schools, and left to the communes liberty to organize elementary instruction according to the wishes of the populations. Thus the large towns, in the hands of the Liberal *conseils communaux*, were enabled to retain their secular schools, and the country communes might get rid of teachers, who had been imposed upon them despite their wishes. These teachers received a suitable provisional salary. Twenty heads of families having children of their own, of school age, might compel the commune to furnish them with a Catholic or neutral school, according to their desire. In case of a refusal, the Government could adopt and subsidize the school which had been demanded. As it was impossible to re-establish the law of 1842, this arrangement was accepted by the different parties concerned. Though it occasioned the disappearance of the chief causes of complaint, it did not give entire satisfaction to the Catholics. The law of 1879 had commanded the communes to have none but neutral schools. The new project allowed the Liberals to keep their secular schools, but at the same time granted permission to the Catholics to have "confessional" schools. Thus it seemed that every one's interest was studied. It was a law of pacification. But Liberalism wants everything for itself, nothing for others! The project was accordingly bitterly opposed by M. Frère-Orban and the Left. It was passed, however, by a large majority in both Chambers. Its principal articles are as follows:—

Art. 1.—There is in each commune at least one communal school situated in a suitable place.

The commune may adopt one or several private schools, in which case the King, after consulting with the permanent deputation, may dispense the commune from the obligation of establishing or maintaining a communal school: this dispensation may not be accorded, if twenty heads of families having children of an age to attend school oppose the establishment or maintenance of a school for the instruc-

tion of their children, and at the same time the counsel of the permanent deputation be conformable to their request.

Art. 2.—The primary communal schools are directed by the communes.

The communal council may determine, according to the requirements of the locality, the number of schools and of teachers. It also regulates, if necessary, all that concerns the establishment and organization of *écoles gardiennes* (day nurseries) and schools for adults.

Art. 3.—Poor children receive instruction gratuitously. (Various detailed prescriptions follow.)

Art. 4.—Primary education necessarily includes reading, writing, and the elements of arithmetic, the legal system of weights and measures, the elements of the French language, and also of Flemish or German, according to the requirements of the place, geography, the history of Belgium, the elements of drawing, singing, and gymnastics. Moreover, it includes needlework for girls, and, for boys in the rural communes, the elements of agriculture.

The communes have the power of adding to the programme whatever extensions are recognized as possible and useful.

The communes can place the teaching of religion and morals at the head of the programme for all or any of the primary schools. This instruction must be given at the beginning or end of the classes, and children whose parents object will be dispensed from assisting at it.

When in any commune twenty heads of families, having children old enough for school, request that their children may be dispensed from attending a course of religious instruction, the King can enforce the establishment of one or more special classes for such children.

If, in spite of the demand of twenty heads of families having children old enough for school, the commune refuses to insert religious instruction in the programme of studies, or prevents in any way the instruction being given by ministers of their own religion, or by persons sanctioned by themselves, the Government may at the request of the parents adopt one or more private schools, according to their necessities, provided that they fulfil all the conditions requisite for being adopted by the commune.

Art. 5.—The teacher must apply himself with equal care to the education and instruction of the pupils committed to his charge. He must neglect no occasion of instilling into the minds of his pupils the precepts of morality, the sentiment of duty, love of their country, respect for national institutions, and affection for constitutional liberty. He must abstain in his instruction from all attack upon the religious convictions of the families whose children are entrusted to his care.

The remaining articles assign to the commune the right of the nomination and dismissal of teachers, determine their salaries, and regulate everything that concerns normal schools, their inspection and hours of class.

Liberalism, defeated in Parliament, had recourse to the strong measures which had succeeded in 1857 and in 1870; an appeal was made to the mob. From the first meetings for the discussion of the law, the members of the Right and the King's ministers were hooted and hissed as they came out of the palace by a party of roughs. The Burgomaster of Brussels, M. Buls, one of those rejected in June, allowed the mob, which did not number a thousand persons and which the police could have dispersed in five minutes,\* to act as it pleased. For several consecutive days the same uproar occurred under the eyes of the police, who remained indifferent and inactive. The governor of Brabant had to intervene both to re-establish order and prevent the representatives of the people from receiving further insults. And, what was against all precedent, one of the fallen ministers, M. Bara, dared to propose a vote of censure against the Chamber for the perfectly legal act that had been passed by it to repress disorder. Then the burgomaster of Brussels had recourse to other measures, he summoned all the Liberal burgomasters to send in a petition against the law and prevent it from receiving the sanction of the king. At the same time the street disturbances still continued, but under a more legal form. The Catholics answered the demonstrations of their opponents by similar demonstrations, while the Liberals held their demonstration in one part of the town, the Catholic procession paraded the other. This was not exactly what the Liberals liked. A mass meeting of the Liberals was organized for Sunday, August 31st; the Catholics wished to oppose it by an anti-demonstration on the same day, but M. Buls would not permit it. Only the Liberals were allowed to assemble. Their meeting, which consisted of twenty or thirty thousand persons, was able to parade the streets in full liberty without receiving the slightest molestation during its progress along the route that had been marked out for it, up to the gates of the royal palace, where it presented a petition against the law that had just been passed. The Catholics respected the liberty of their opponents, and allowed their procession to pass without the slightest disturbance, but they at once demanded that they should be allowed to hold a similar meeting and in their turn parade the city on the following Sunday. M. Buls gave the necessary authorization, marked out the route by which they should proceed to the palace, and promised that the security of the processionists should be protected by the police. He gave his word as burgomaster that the procession should not be molested.

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\* According to the Belgian laws, the Burgomaster of Brussels, and not the Government, controls the police of the capital.

Trusting to this promise, from eighty to a hundred thousand Catholics, who had come from all parts of the country with bands, banners and emblems, assembled on the 7th of September at mid-day before the Gare du Midi, and commenced their march across Brussels, quite defenceless and fully confiding in the good faith of the burgomaster's promise. At a pre-arranged signal the procession was broken through, the banners snatched from the hands of the bearers, the processionists insulted, hooted, hissed, and even assaulted under the very eyes of the police, who were either quite helpless, or were accomplices in the attack, and of the *garde civique*, who protected only the assailants. This ambuscade caused much displeasure throughout the land, and has branded the name of M. Buisson with an ineffaceable stain. In spite of the dishonour which this shameful attack brought upon the Liberal party, the burgomaster of Brussels had the audacity to assemble his colleagues from the large towns and beg an audience of the king in order that they might transmit to him the petitions of the Communal Councils against the law. The deputation was received in the palace on 18th September. His majesty gave it this royal answer: "I receive your petition as being the expression of the wishes of a great number of citizens invested with the office of magistrate. But, gentlemen, I have also received, as you well know, very numerous petitions couched in terms directly contrary to yours. In presence of such conflicting opinions I am bound to act in conformity with the will of the nation as manifested to me by the majorities of the two Chambers. You are too kind when you praise me for my wisdom, but I accept without reserve all that you say to me about my scrupulous fulfilment of the duties of a constitutional sovereign. I shall always remain faithful to my oath; as far as I can, I shall always try to ensure the regular progress of our parliamentary *régime*. I shall make no distinction between Belgians. I shall do for one party whatever I have done for the other. My conduct was the same in 1879 as now. In using my prerogative in accordance with the spirit of our fundamental law, I am serving Belgium—our two great parties of the noble cause of liberty to which I am so deeply attached."

After this declaration the law was sanctioned and came into force on September 20th.

The burgomasters withdrew in great confusion; but did not dare to question this energetic step, which had been taken in perfect conformity with their constitutional system. The *Echo du Parlement* was compelled to say: "On whatever day the law be promulgated we shall respect it; we shall obey the law." But the less respectable part of the press was not so scrupulous; it recommenced fomenting discontent, and even

went so far as threaten the king. Its language became scurrilous. Every day there were demonstrations. The ministers were again insulted. The king himself did not escape this time. He was insulted at a distribution of prizes at which he was present, and even the queen was not respected by them. Very soon there might be heard from nearly all the French refugees cries of "Vive la Republique!" Many journals added hereto threats of further troubles if the Catholics should triumph in the communal elections, which occurred in October. Innumerable falsehoods were spread abroad concerning the school question. The teachers, who, up to this, had been pampered beyond measure, were set to pose as martyrs suffering great persecutions. In Brussels, the teachers made many parents believe that they were about to lose their salaries, while all the time there was not the slightest chance of this taking place. The falsehood had serious consequences, thanks to the diffusion of the Liberal press. In the capital the Liberals, by joining the Radicals, the Progressists, the Socialists, and revolutionists of all kinds, gained a large majority. The same thing occurred at Antwerp and at Liège. On the other hand, the Catholics formed the majority in nearly all the small towns. In short, taking the whole country into consideration, the Catholics were the more powerful body. But the loss suffered by them in the large towns, known as it was before the result of the country elections, made a great impression.

The day after the communal elections of the 20th of October, the king signified to the chief of the Cabinet his intention of dismissing two of his ministers, against whom the Liberal press was particularly incensed. These two ministers were M. Jacobs and M. Woeste. M. Malou pointed out to his majesty that the elections were on the whole favourable to the Conservatives, and that there was no special fault to find with these two ministers. As his majesty persisted in his intention, the chief of the Cabinet thought proper to retire with his colleagues. This act, performed by the king in the plenitude of his constitutional rights, caused great discontent among the Catholic body. The irritation was manifested in meetings, in the language of the Conservative press, in addresses to the resigning ministers, and even in addresses to the king. The dismissal of the two ministers was looked upon as something that had been forced from the king by fear. The Liberal party, encouraged by this first success, began to clamour still more loudly, and to demand the dissolution of both Chambers. Such a concession as this would have altogether violated constitutional institutions. The king would not or dared not proceed to such an extremity; one of the remaining ministers was appointed to reconstitute the Cabinet. A meeting

of members of the Right, specially summoned, decided upon remaining in power. Two days after, the resigning ministers were replaced by other members of the Right. M. Thonissen, professor at the University of Louvain, a writer distinguished both in literature and in law, who was the member for Hasselt, accepted the office of Minister of the Interior, whose duty it was to bring the school law into force. Apparently the election of the learned deputy of Hasselt, who was admired and esteemed by all parties, has restored a little calm. The disturbances in the streets have ceased, and the discussions in Parliament are not interrupted by any noisy scenes.

Such is the historical and exact account of the crisis through which we have been passing. In it the Liberals have proved themselves to be what they are in reality—a disorderly body, fomenters of disturbance, consumed by their insatiable desire for power, seeking to regain it *per fas et nefas*, and if once they lose it, stopping short at nothing, and fully deserving the name bestowed upon them—*le parti de l'émeute*.

On the other hand, the Conservatives have shown great spirit, and a firmness that nothing could shake. Their ministers have displayed as much political wisdom as talent and energy. Still it would be wrong to trust too soon to present security; the opposition journals have not yet ceased to make use of violent and misleading language, and the public peace is still in considerable danger of being disturbed by their continual provocations. All lovers of peace ought to unite, if they would avert the danger. The sudden change in the Ministry brought about by the street disturbances, weakens the power and tends to pervert the spirit of the national institutions. If these violent means are still to prevail, our fundamental pact will be ruined. There is another circumstance which is sure to cause alarm in any serious thinker, and that is the monstrous alliance of the Liberals with all the revolutionary parties. Had it not been for the Republicans, the Radicals, and the Socialists, the Liberals would never have triumphed in the communal elections of Brussels. Without their assistance, and notwithstanding all the alterations that have been made by the fallen Ministry, the party of M. Buls would have been overthrown.

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Thus far had we written for the January number of this Review. Since then, the new Ministry has been not a little consolidated and Liberalism weakened by its internal divisions. Recent discussions in the Chamber of Representatives furnish some useful information, which may now be added to what we have already said on the state of elementary education in Belgium, and the crisis brought about by the new law. We may pass by

the unjustifiable violence of language which Liberal members permitted themselves in the discussion on the Budget of Public Education. For the honour of the Belgian Parliament, which numbers so many men of high worth, let us throw a veil over these ugly features of passion. M. Thonissen replied to his opponents with a precision and moderation of language that was in strong contrast to their want of both. And he furnished details concerning the state of primary education in Belgium, which may prove interesting.

The total expenditure in Belgium in the cause of elementary education in 1882, amounted to 37,118,000 francs (£1,484,720), in round numbers, assessed as follows (the amounts being in francs):—Cash in hand, 1,519,617; school fees, 1,044,274; foundations, gifts, legacies, 146,829; other gratuities, 45,345; bureaux de bienfaisance, 583,768; communes, 13,882,742; provinces, 2,317,600; the State, 17,578,023.

On the other side, expenses towards general management amounted to 659,321 francs; head inspectors costing 374,751, and cantonal inspectors, 284,570; primary normal teaching cost 3,179,479; expenses for building, mending, and furnishing schools and teachers' houses amounted to 9,788,650; the annual working of primary schools and of primary girls' schools, with the *programme développé*, make a total of 19,249,016; and those of the *écoles gardiennes*, 3,641,890. "Encouragements" amount to 599,843, gifts and donations towards them from Liberals amounting to the ridiculous total of 5,933, whilst the column for "publications and 'missions' towards the object of elementary teaching" comes to a total of 82,772.

Such are the edifying statistics of a year's accounts under the Ministry which was overturned in June. To appreciate the awful squandering of public money, it must be borne in mind that the official schools did not contain half the children of the country. For in the cities and in most villages the Catholics, using the liberty granted by the constitution, had erected at their own cost, by the side of the official schools, their own free schools, and with such success, that of the 4,797 communal schools, 270 were either absolutely empty or could not count ten scholars. This the inspectors themselves acknowledge.

The present Ministry has much reduced school expenses. The budget for 1885 economizes to the extent of four and a half millions of francs under the head of "the State" alone. We must remark, too, that the budget thus diminished under every head, is yet three millions more than the one before 1879, when all the children, except very few, went to the official schools.

The law of the 20th September, 1884, leaves the communes

free to insert religious instruction in the syllabus of elementary teaching; they are also left free, under certain conditions, to adopt the free schools and to suppress useless schools. Acting on this, the suppression of 836 of the 4,797 communal schools existing at the beginning of 1884 has already been asked for; whilst up to the present the minister has granted only from 25 to 30 of these petitions. On the other hand, communes have adopted 1,180 of the free schools which combine all the conditions demanded for elementary teaching. Of a total of 8,652 teachers, 792 have been "*mis en disponibilité*," with interim salaries, often very high ones.

In communicating the above details and figures to the Chamber, M. Thonissen added:—

The sketch which I have traced of the real situation as regards schools would be incomplete, the truth would not be in clear relief, if I omitted to draw your attention to the large number of resolutions spontaneously adopted by the communes, unaffected by any Governmental influence. These resolutions are significant. They attest that the neutral system was repugnant (*antipathique*) to the Belgian people. The fall of the Bill of 1879 has assumed in all the provinces, even in those where liberal opinion prevails, the character of a *real deliverance*.

Everywhere the communal councils have been prompt to reject neutral teaching and to make religious teaching obligatory. And yet, I hasten to say, the Government has not used any pressure whatever.

In the province of Antwerp 35 communes have decided to insert religious teaching in their programmes. Others are disposed to have that teaching done by the ministers of religion.

In the province of Mechlin, of 88 communes, 80 have taken the same resolution.

In the province of Brussels, inquiry shows 114 communes having 184 schools where religious instruction forms part of the course, either *de fait* or by a decision of the communal council.

In the province of Louvain 145 communes have inserted religion. "All the other communes," says the inspector, "except Louvain itself, are inclined to have religious instruction given in their schools; they are at present engaged with the necessary preliminaries."

In the province of Bruges 65 communes have adopted religious teaching, and three others are inclined to do so. In Courtrai 71 communes have adopted it. It has also been adopted by the 184 communes of Alost, and by 40 of Ghent, the inspector of which last province writes: "I believe I may affirm that in this province the step will be general and without exception." In the province of Charleroi the capital is the only exception to the actual or intended adoption of the religious programme. In the province of Mans 37 communes have adopted the change by a special resolution, and 69 others show a disposition to follow the example.

In Tournay 45 communes have adopted religion into the school

course; the rest, with a few exceptions, appear ready to follow suit. In Liège 124 communes, in Hug 206 communes have made the actual change; in Limburg the town of Hasselt has not made known its intentions, but all the other communes have already made religion obligatory.

In the province of Arlon 99, in that of Marche 95, and in that of Dinant 99 communes, all either show a desire to change or have actually done so; in Namur 174 communes have made their decision in favour of religion.

Definite information is not yet to hand for a few communes; but already it is possible to affirm in a general way, that with the exception of Brussels and its *faubourgs*, Antwerp, Louvain, Charleroi, Liège, Hug, and a small number of other towns, the communes of Belgium have of their own accord pronounced against neutral teaching. The system of the law of 1879 is rejected by the country.

It appears, therefore, that the school contest draws to a close. It will still go on for a while in Brussels and a few other large towns where power is in the hands of the Masonic Lodges. The city of Ghent, although governed by a Liberal administration, has been the first to enter on the path of conciliation, having concluded an arrangement with the Bishop of Ghent for having religious teaching by the clergy in all the communal schools of the city. The conditions are: 1st. That the character of the ecclesiastics who go to the schools shall be respected by both teachers and scholars. 2nd. That the teachers shall not go in any way against the instructions given by the clergy. 3rd. That the books used in school shall contain nothing against the teachings of religion. 4th. That the teachers shall take care that the children know by heart the lesson of the week. Namur and other towns have followed suit. Conditions very nearly the same as those made by the Bishop of Ghent have been adopted in the other cases. Not a few communes have made their arrangements *vivâ voce* with the clergy.

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## ART. V.—THE ORIGIN OF TERRESTRIAL LIFE.

IF the Nebular Hypothesis be accepted as a true account of the origin of our planet, this earth was at one time a revolving and rotating mass of enormous size (compared with its present size), and of enormous heat; for it can hardly be doubted that intense heat was the cause of its diffused nebulous condition. At the time it threw off the ring which became the moon, its diameter was nearly half a million of miles; and, during the long ages it was condensing to its present dimensions, it was continually radiating heat and cooling down.

But, whether we accept the Nebular Hypothesis or not, it is certain, from the very shape of the earth, as an oblate spheroid—which is the form a fluid or semi-fluid mass would assume under rotation—and also from the vast stores of heat which still occupy its interior, that it was at one time, and when little larger than at present, in a semi-fluid or molten state, in which nothing living could exist.

Life, therefore, must have had a beginning on this planet. Whence did it spring? How are we to account for its appearance?

If the fanciful and perhaps hardly serious suggestion, that a meteor from some other planet may have conveyed to this the first germs of life, be dismissed as not only most improbable, but as only throwing back the difficulty a step (for whence did the other planet receive *its* life?), we have before us two theories of terrestrial life.

The upholders of Evolution in its strictest and completest sense maintain that life sprung from *matter*, that when certain elements of matter happened to combine in due proportions, life and the phenomena of life necessarily resulted as the effect of that combination, just as, when oxygen and hydrogen chemically combine, water is the result. Life being viewed by the Physicists as merely a "property of matter," they demand nothing more than a peculiar arrangement of the molecules of matter to account for its origin.

On the other hand, the Vitalists, or those who believe that life is a principle or force, distinct from the matter it vitalizes, hold that there was a moment when that vital force or principle was first imparted to matter, in order to originate living organisms.

Dismissing, as far as possible, all prejudices and preconceptions, let us endeavour to see to which of these two opposite opinions a scientific view of the material and living worlds would lead us.

And, first, be it remarked, that we know nothing of what lifeless

matter is *in itself*, and nothing of what living matter is *in itself*; we only know them by their properties—that is, by the phenomena they respectively exhibit.

But these properties are most notably different, nay, directly contrary the one to the other.

Look at a lifeless piece of matter. It is not absolutely motionless, for, under the influences of the physical forces which are ever and everywhere at work, its molecules are incessantly vibrating; but, as a mass, it is passive and motionless, possessing no source of active change, solely acted on from without. This is what we mean when we call matter “inert.”

Contrast this passive inert state with the phenomena presented by a living being, however humble and simple. Take one of the lowest in the scale of being—the “*amœba*.” It is a mere tiny jelly-like lump of granulated matter, to all appearance destitute of structure or organization, without limbs or eyes or mouth or stomach. Yet its whole existence is one of action and movement. It is aware when any particle of organic matter is near to it which it can turn into nourishment, and out of its shapeless mass it extemporizes an arm, and seizes its prey, and draws it to itself, and thrusts it into its soft substance, and in that temporary and extemporized stomach the morsel is digested and assimilated. It moves about, it grows, it comes to maturity, it multiplies itself by fusion, and forms new individuals. In short, it is a lump of jelly manifesting the very functions we see in organized beings far higher in the scale of being.

When, therefore, lifeless matter and living matter possess these diametrically opposite properties, surely it is rash and unphilosophical on the part of the physicist, *without adducing cogent proof or reason*, to assert that the former can produce the latter. Surely the *onus* lies on him to *prove* that life, with all its activities and wonderful functions, is solely due to a certain arrangement of the molecules of inert matter. And in the absence of any such proof, surely we are justified in believing that life is distinct from the matter it animates; and that when it first appeared upon the earth, it was through the intervention (direct or indirect) of that Power which had created matter.

But perhaps the physicist *can* adduce sufficient reasons, if not to prove his opinion, at least to make it probable. Let us see.

Biologists are generally agreed in this—that the “matter of life,” or the stuff of which living bodies are composed, is essentially the same in all living beings; and that it is an albuminous substance (such, for example, as we see in the “white of egg”), and composed of carbonic acid, water, and ammonia, or more ultimately, of carbon, hydrogen, oxygen, and nitrogen, in very high combining proportions; and often accompanied by

minute quantities of sulphur, phosphorus, iron, and some other metals.

This albuminous compound has been called "protoplasm," or perhaps more correctly, "bioplasm;" and it may be considered the "*life-medium*"—that is, a medium which is essential for the exhibition of life, in something the same way as the atmosphere is a medium for the conveyance of sound, or the æther for the propagation of light.

Now Professor Huxley, in his well-known Essay, "The Physical Basis of Life," argues thus :—

Carbon, hydrogen, oxygen and nitrogen, are all lifeless bodies. Of these, carbon and oxygen, united in certain proportions and under certain conditions, give rise to carbonic acid; hydrogen and oxygen produce water; nitrogen and hydrogen give rise to ammonia. These new compounds, like the elementary bodies of which they are composed, are lifeless. But when they are brought together under certain conditions they give rise to the still more complex body, protoplasm; and this protoplasm exhibits the phenomena of life. I see no break in this series of steps in molecular complication; and I am unable to understand why the language which is applicable to any one in the series may not be used to any of the others. When hydrogen and oxygen are mixed in a certain proportion, and an electric spark is passed between them, they disappear, and a quantity of water, equal to the sum of their weights, appears in their place. Is the case in any way changed when carbonic acid, water, and ammonia disappear, and in their place, under the influence of pre-existing protoplasm, an equivalent weight of the matter of life makes its appearance? . . . . If the properties of water may be properly said to result from the nature and disposition of its component molecules, I can find no intelligible ground for refusing to say that the properties of protoplasm result from the nature and disposition of *its* molecules.

Again, speaking of the properties of water in a liquid and solid state, he says :—

We call these the properties of water, and we do not hesitate to believe that in some way or another they result from the properties of the component elements of water. We do not assume that a something called "Aquosity" entered into and took possession of the oxide of hydrogen as soon as it was formed, and then guided the aqueous particles to their places in the facets of the crystal, or among the leaflets of the hoar-frost. . . . What justification is there, then, for the assumption of the existence in the living matter of a something which has no representative or correlative in the not-living matter which gave rise to it? What better philosophical status has "Vitality" than "Aquosity"?

To this argument I reply, first, that it offers no kind of direct

proof of the doctrine advocated, but merely argues from *analogy* that it is probable. Anything like a direct proof would have shown the way, or at least indicated some possible way, in which the phenomena of life may be conceived as arising from a combination of dead matter. Nothing of the kind is attempted. The argument simply is:—Carbon and oxygen combine to form carbonic acid, nitrogen and hydrogen combine to form ammonia, oxygen and hydrogen combine to form water; *therefore, from analogy*, we are justified in believing that carbonic acid, ammonia, and water combined together, and *nothing but these*, are the source of living matter.

The question then is, Is this a real and sound analogy? If it be so, the *conditions* under which these various combinations of matter are made must be *essentially similar*; and just as the chemist combines his carbon and oxygen to make carbonic acid, and his nitrogen and hydrogen to produce ammonia, and his oxygen and hydrogen to produce water, so, if he is to do something *analogous*, he must be able to combine his carbonic acid, ammonia and water to produce living protoplasm. A cursory reader of Professor Huxley's argument might suppose that the chemist *can* do this. As all experiment demonstrates, he is powerless to do it. Living protoplasm is only formed by the influence and operation of *antecedent living* protoplasm. The very force or principle of vitality which Professor Huxley rejects as a needless supposition, is the very force or principle which Nature shows to be *indispensable* in the formation of living bodies.

Thus there is no real analogy between the cases in question, for in the pretended analogue an essential condition must be present, which is not in any way represented in the cases which are supposed to lead up to it. The analogy being unsound, the argument which is built on it falls to the ground.

If a mixture of hydrogen and oxygen could only combine to form water, under the influence and operation of pre-existing water, it would be a very unscientific and unphilosophical account of the transaction to omit this latter indispensable condition; and we might rightly express the unknown influence of the pre-existing water by some such terms as "aquosity," or the "water-force." Equally, therefore, is it unscientific and unphilosophical to attribute the phenomena of life to the albuminous compound alone, when it is certain that it becomes possessed of life only by the influence or operation of pre-existing life.

And how can we better express that ascertained fact than by calling that which operates, or exerts the influence, the "life-force" or "vitality"?

Thus vitality *has* a perfectly "philosophical status," whilst "aquosity" has none at all.

Professor Huxley is of too vigorous an intellect, and is too practised a logician, not to foresee that his argument might thus be turned against himself; and he endeavours (so at least it seems to me) to weaken the force of the reply by insinuating that what the "electric spark" is in the production of water, such only is the influence of the pre-existing life in the production of living protoplasm.

In a subsequent passage, he more distinctly implies that there is a parallelism between the two cases; for whilst acknowledging that "the influence of pre-existing living matter is something quite inexplicable," he adds, "but does any one *quite* comprehend the *modus operandi* of an electric spark which traverses a mixture of oxygen and hydrogen?"

The question is not as to the amount of our comprehension, for we are equally ignorant of the *modus operandi* of either force, as indeed we are of the *modus operandi* of every other force in nature. The question is, Is there a real parallelism between the two cases? The Professor's implied assumption seems to be, that as the electric spark operates by uniting the atoms of oxygen and hydrogen, and then ceases to operate, so, in like manner, pre-existing life operates in forming protoplasm, and after doing that, ceases to exert any influence on it. If this be not the implied assumption, the comparison he has suggested between the two cases would have no bearing on his argument.

Now, as every day's observation may convince us, it is simply untrue that protoplasm, once formed under the influence of living protoplasm, can continue to exhibit the phenomena of life *without the uninterrupted continuance of that influence*. Cut off the limb of a living man, and it is protoplasm still—protoplasm which has been formed under the influence of life; but it exhibits none of the phenomena of life.

If, therefore, the electric spark, after bringing together the atoms of oxygen and hydrogen, has finished its work and has no further influence in holding together the molecules of the resulting water—a fact which seems very doubtful, for, on the decomposition of that water into its component gases, the electricity is again liberated, and has probably, therefore, been doing *some* kind of work, perhaps in the form of molecular attraction; but if, I say, it be held to be good science that the electric spark has accomplished its entire task in combining together the atoms of oxygen and hydrogen, then there is no parallelism between the two cases in question. If, on the other hand, after bringing together the atoms of the two gases, it *does* continue its work in some guise or other, then there *is* a kind of analogy between the two cases, but one which is at the expense of Professor Huxley's implied argument.

The physicist's contention is that life is a "*property*" of a peculiar combination of matter. Now, what do we mean by a "*property*" of a thing, in scientific language? We mean something which inseparably and indispensably belongs to it; so that if the thing in question could be deprived of it, it would cease to be that thing. For example, it is a property of water that, under a given atmospheric pressure, it is solid at a certain temperature, liquid at another, vapour at a third. If any fluid, however, resembling water, did not fulfil these precise conditions, it would not be water, but some other substance.

Apply this test to protoplasm. At one moment, whilst forming part of a living man, it exhibits the phenomena of life; separate it from that living subject, and it is dead matter—still protoplasm, but incapable of manifesting life. Therefore, if we are to adhere to scientific terms and ideas, life is *not* a property of protoplasm, or of any other combination of matter, but only of matter which has been formed by the operation, and is *constantly vitalized by the operation*, of some special and mysterious force or principle.

The controversy between the Biogenists and the Abiogenists—that is, between those who deny and those who maintain spontaneous generation—has been going on for more than two centuries, and for the greater part of that time with varying fortune, first one side then the other claiming the victory.

But during the last fifty years, when experiment had become more exact and more exacting, and when a new light had been thrown on the subject by Schwann's discovery, that putrefaction is due to decomposition of organic matter, caused by the multiplication therein of minute organisms, and can be prevented by their exclusion, and especially during the last twenty years of Pasteur's and Helmholtz's more refined experiments, the conviction has been forced on the scientific mind that "even in the lower reaches of the scale of being, life does not appear without the operation of antecedent life." \*

No Englishman has had so great a share in settling this most important controversy as Professor Tyndall, who is as skilful in experiment as he is eloquent in description. "To be a disciplined experimenter (he most truly says) implies the ability, not merely to look at things as Nature offers them to our inspection, but to force her to show herself under conditions prescribed by the experimenter himself." Acting on this golden rule—with a patience as great as his genius—putting Nature to the test by every variety of experiment and under every variety of condition,

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\* Professor Tyndall, "Spontaneous Generation." *Nineteenth Century*, January, 1878.

Professor Tyndall has convinced himself, and all who are capable of appreciating the demonstration he offers, that "no shred of trustworthy experimental testimony exists to prove that life, in our day, has ever appeared independently of antecedent life." \*

Why, then, does Professor Tyndall "see in matter the promise and potentiality of all terrestrial life"? If he has satisfied himself that matter *now* does not give rise to the lowest and minutest forms of life, *why* should he suppose that, in the beginning of things, the case was reversed, and life arose from matter? Has he reason to believe that matter was essentially different then from what it is now? He would emphatically deny it. Or that there were physical forces in operation then which have now ceased to operate? The modern doctrine of the persistency of force invalidates the supposition.

In an article written in 1865 he says :—

Supposing a planet carved from the sun, and set spinning round an axis, and sent revolving round the sun at a distance equal to that of our earth, would one consequence of the refrigeration of the mass be the development of organic forces? *I lean to the affirmative.* Structural forces are certainly in the mass, whether or not those forces reach to the extent of forming a plant or animal. In a drop of water lie latent all the marvels of crystalline force; and who will *set limits* to the possible play of molecules in a cooling planet?

I should have thought that his own experiments as to abiogenesis would have "set those limits," or at least have suggested them. The atoms of matter in his laboratory are the same as they were in the young earth. He can raise his hermetically sealed infusions to what degree of heat he chooses, and thus bring them to the temperature of "a cooling planet," but all in vain; no life or symptom of life results.

Surely, then, so far as science can decide the question, it would have been expected that, in the supposition I have quoted above, such an eminently scientific mind would have *leaned* to the *negative* rather than to the affirmative.

What is the motive force which has caused it to lean in so unexpected a direction? Is it not that it is so prepossessed and fascinated by an over-mastering idea—the outcome by evolution of all things from matter—that the intimations of Science herself are powerless to throw doubt on that all-embracing conception? †

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\* "Spontaneous Generation: a Last Word." *Nineteenth Century*, March, 1878.

† I speak, of course, only of the biassing influence which (as I cannot but think) the hypothesis of evolution *unconsciously* exerts upon Professor Tyndall's mind. For I know well how loyal to all *perceived* truth that mind is; and that its very labours in the cause of Biogenism are a signal instance of that loyalty.

In a discourse delivered before the British Association at Liverpool, Professor Tyndall, speaking of those who hold the strict evolution doctrine, said :

In the utter absence of any proof of the illegality of the act, they *prolong the method of Nature from the present into the past*. Here the *observed uniformity of Nature is their only guide*. Having determined the elements of their curve in a world of *observation and experiment*, they *prolong that curve into an antecedent world*, and accept as probable the unbroken sequence of development from the nebula to the present time.

Excellent principles, and most eloquently expressed ! But how have they been observed in practice ? If "observation and experiment " have convinced Professor Tyndall that life *now* only springs from life, and never from matter, he is surely *not* following "his only guide;" he is going directly *contrary* to the principle of the "uniformity of Nature," when he thinks it probable that in "an antecedent world" life *did* spring from matter.

Instead of "prolonging the method of Nature from the present into the past," he claims for Nature in the past a "method " which he denies to Nature in the present ; and is thus contravening the very principle on which, according to him, the doctrine of evolution can alone logically rest.

For my part, if it could be proved to me that a chemist had "brought together" carbon and nitrogen and oxygen and hydrogen, and had so cunningly combined them as to produce "protoplasm exhibiting the phenomena of life," my belief in the "uniformity of Nature" would compel me to acknowledge that the beginning of life on this earth was probably due to mere natural causes, and that the notion of any "life-force," distinct from the known physical forces, is a superfluous notion.

In the absence, or rather failure, of any such exploit of the laboratory, it appears that I have the warrant of Science for the belief that when life first appeared upon this globe it was due—not to any rupture in the previous chain of cause and effect, for these acted and interacted as before, in the wide realm of the inorganic world—but to the *incoming of a new cause*, the inbreathing of a new and marvellous *endowment*.

It thus seems to me that the voice of Science corroborates the witness of a diviner voice, in bidding us acknowledge that the self-existent Power which, in the beginning, had created matter, revealed Itself, in the fullness of time, as "the Lord and GIVER OF LIFE."

WILLIAM HAMILTON BODLEY.

ART. VI.—RECENT EXPLORATIONS OF ANCIENT  
SITES IN ROME.

1. *Notes from Rome.* By Signor RODOLFO LANCIANI. The *Athenæum*. 1882-4.
2. *Archæology of Rome.* By J. W. PARKER, C.B., &c. Oxford. 1876.
3. *Early and Imperial Rome; or, Promenade Lectures on the Archæology of Rome.* By HODDER R. WESTROPP. London. 1882.

THE effect produced on the barbarian pilgrims of the Northwest, visiting Rome in the early Middle Ages, is recorded by the Venerable Bede, and quoted thence in "Childe Harold," embodied in the form of a Sibylline vaticination, connecting the fate of the empire, or, at any rate, of the city, with that of its chief monuments. "While stands the Colosseum, Rome shall stand; when falls the Colosseum, Rome shall fall; and when Rome falls, the world."\*

The word "stupendous," in its strictly etymological sense, best expresses the stare of awe and bated breath with which the then newly converted Frisian, Jute, or Angle, brought to the focus of the now shattered empire, so lately become the central shrine of a highly organized and widely ramified religious community, would regard the Colosseum, and behold, in its conversion to the uses of the Church, the grandest trophy of the conquests of the Cross. Gladiatorial combats ceased early in the fifth century; wild-beast combats are known to have survived them by about a century and a half, perhaps by more. But the Gothic, Vandal, and Lombard kingdoms were now not only overshadowing the borders of what had been once the wide domain of heathen Cæsars, but the second of these had crossed the Mediterranean, and revived in Africa a rival more substantial than the commerce of Carthage. In the East there was, even as now, a "Sick Man" at Byzantium. It was no longer possible to levy a tribute of panthers, lions, and elephants on the distant provinces, "to make a Roman holiday." Thus the olden glories of the Colosseum, when the world's heart throbbed in its arena and on its crowded benches, panting with

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\* The original, as given by Ducange, "Glossar." ii. p. 407, ed. Basil, from "Bedain Excerptis seu Collectaneis," is "Quamdiu stabit Colyseum, stabit et Roma; quando cadet Colyseum, cadet Roma: quando cadet Roma, cadet et mundus." It is cited by Gibbon, "Decline and Fall," end of ch. lxxi. It was doubtless brought home by visitants, and became widely current, and as such was recorded by Bede.

the anxious horrors of the combat below, and the wild gluttony of the spectacle from above, had faded for ever. It bore its part for a while in the grand religious demonstrations of the sovereign Pontiffs, and torch-lit processions with solemn litanies gleamed and pealed through its venerable arcades. No wonder the sight impressed itself on the astonished eye and ear of the visitant, who chronicled his impressions in a portable form in the above-quoted prophecy. The stately symmetry, grand spatial proportions, and harmonies of light and shade in the vast oval sweep, still substantially intact in its perfection, with the Gordian Colossus,\* dwarfed by its immensity, standing perhaps still entire, beneath its shadow, would appeal to emotions which are nowhere so powerful as in the simple mind utterly incapable of analysing them.

Recent discovery has illustrated with singular curiosity and exactness the zealous devotion which carried our rude forefathers in pilgrim shoals to Rome. On the 7th of November, 1883, under the remains of a mediæval house, built within the north-east corner of the Atrium of Vesta, newly rescued from the rubbish of centuries, was found in a piece of crockery a hoard of silver pennies, with a single Byzantine gold-piece among them, all save half a dozen or so being from the mints of English Aelfred, his contemporaries and successors down to the year 950. An inscribed fibula, found in the same hoard (see the P.S. on p. 354), points to the date of the deposit as nearly coincident with that of the latest coin, Martin III. having been Pope in 942-6. The English coins are, beyond doubt, a collection of Peter's pence, a payment set up some sixty years before by the Mercian King Offa, but, so far, only customary in Britain, and not yet general in the West. Spelman, in his "*Origin of Christianity in Britain*," records how on a visit to Rome, after "interviewing" the Pope, that monarch "on the next day entered the English College, which then flourished in Rome, and there from his royal munificence gave in support of the folk of his realm who might come thither, a penny from each family every year for ever."†

The burial of the treasure was evidently by design. It was found put away under the mediæval pavement, no doubt by some then inhabitant, and presumably some official of the Papal Court, who had been paid his salary in those coins. The evidence is thus, further, curious of that Court tenantry in the tenth century, not the Lateran, nor the "Leonine City" beyond Tiber, but the Palatine itself, close against the corner of which

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\* Distinct from the Colossus of Nero, which, as Mr. Parker has shown, was far too vast for the comparatively narrow pedestal near the Colosseum.

† Spelman, "*De Exordio Christ. Relig. in Brit.*," ed. Lond. 1639, p. 311.

hill, the house of the Vestals stood. Long before this discovery an inscription from the Church of St. Anastasia recorded the repair of a staircase leading up to the ancient palace of the Cæsars on the same hill, as executed by a personage known in the Pontifical annals as the father of Pope John VII. (705-8). This shows that some part of it was then habitable and in use. Other indications confirm the notion that the inhabitants were the Pope and his Court, and their tenancy may well have continued into the tenth century. There were, indeed, cogent reasons for its continuance. The Lateran Palace lay close on the south-eastern edge of Rome, and on the side most easily accessible to an enemy from the sea, as was shown a century later by the successful onslaught of the Norman Guiscard; while the Vatican, although within the most recent circumvallation, was wholly without the city proper. The Palatine was the old seat of empire, and the very heart of Rome. No doubt, amidst the alarms of the invasion of the Saracens, who threatened to dispute the Corsair empire of the seas with the Norsemen, as they had the empire of the East with the Byzantine Cæsars, and who were now striving for the supremacy of the West, the Curia would feel more secure on the Palatine than elsewhere in Rome. Thus we find them with their dependants quartered in and near the house of the Vestals, and paying those dependants in English pennies.

The latest important discovery in that subterranean museum, which the spade of research has laid bare in Rome, is this of the house of the Vestals. There is reason to believe that it was unearthed in the fifteenth century, ransacked and looted, and overlaid again with rubbish, the further accumulation of which had buried it "full fathom five" below the surface. The whole area, save a probably unimportant portion, covered by the Church of Sta. Maria Liberatrice, is now laid open to the sky. But that discovery of 1497 was fatal to it. No inventory of course was then taken, since the only object of the discoverers seems to have been destruction. We, therefore, shall never know how much or how little of havoc was perpetrated then. There must have been in the lower story, when entire, forty-eight Corinthian columns of *cipollino* marble, of which a single base alone remains, and in the upper the same number of *breccia corallina*, of which, being useless to the lime-burner, two have escaped entire, and are valued at 2,000 lire each. The lower floor consisted of state apartments, the living-rooms being on the upper floor. Of the former, the splendid *Atrium*, from which the entire building was sometimes denominated the *Atrium Vestæ*, occupied nearly one-third of the area. There was also a muniment-room, in which were often deposited the most confidential and important documents of State, as the wills of Emperors and

other papers of domestic or public interest. For such deposits the Sacred Hearth and the spotless Sisterhood were deemed to offer the most inviolable security of all. Of these, of course, no trace remains. How vastly superior in permanency of material, one cannot help remarking, was the more simple and primitive fashion of Babylonian bricks and cylinders, which neither flood nor fire, nothing, in fact, short of actual pulverization, could wholly destroy. Some important and interesting portrait statues of the Vestales Maximæ, or ladies superior, although of course greatly mutilated, have been found, besides the inscribed bases of thirty-three such, twenty-eight, however, only in the house itself, the rest in other sites of the exhumed city.

A series of photographs lately published in Rome give a very clear notion of the site and its surroundings. That site is a depressed area made by scarping the N.E. roots of the Palatine. No. 3,358 of these photographs shows the line of view of its longer axis, about 115 mètres long, looking towards S.E., from where the Via Nova (new in the same sense as our "New Forest") runs at our back.\* The modern street level on three sides is some thirty feet above it. On the left the broken shoulder-masses of the minor chambers reach or overtop that level, their rounded juts of wall impending over the area like cliffs over a beach, with deep angular bays amid them. The main structural idea is that of the kind traceable from Homer downwards—a large hall with a recess at the upper end, subordinate chambers on the wings, and a storey added above.† Its architectural style is compared to our double-storied cloisters of the mediæval and Renaissance periods; probably the latter fits best the Corinthian capitals aforesaid. The floor, once splendid with far-fetched marbles, is now the bare earth. On the fourth, or right side of our view, rise shelf above shelf the solemn ruins of the palaces of the Cæsars, with a tuft of wild ilex in their receding crown. The limit of the area forward, near the edge of the Nova Via, shows the recess retiring between the two faces of the limiting wall, with a single window in it twenty feet or so above the area, or possibly a doorway to the street without, since the area was depressed and the wall banked up against the earth. In the distance, just over that recess and its window, the Arch of Titus rises behind, partly screened by a tall nearer scaffolding. Left of the central distance the eye catches

\* Signor Lanciani gives the site as bounded by the Sacra Via on the E., Nova Via on the W., Vicas Vestæ on the N., and an unknown lane on the S. But the sides do not seem to conform to the cardinal points.

† All readers of Homer will remember the μέγαρον, the μυχός, the θάλαμοι and the ὄρεσθον. One part of the building only shows the elevation of the last named, but the view shows plainly all the other members.

the Church of Sta. Francesca Romana, with its tall perforated tower of four stages, between which and the arch we glimpse the upper tiers of the Colosseum's broken coronet, its lower ones being lost in the depression behind. No. 3,358a shows the same general aspect from a point more to the left, losing most of the Palatine ruins (right), and including (left) a vast cavern of panelled vaulting, the further bay of the Basilica of Constantine, built really by Maxentius, but named by his victorious successor. In both views the area is fringed (right) with a grove of statuary, stumps of shafts and bases of columns, a few more of which lie about just in front of the distant recess, like captured chessmen on the edge of the board. This statuary, shown obliquely in perspective, forms the chief feature of No. 4,225; in which, also, the close apparent abutment of the Cæsarian ruins on those of the house is shown. In No. 5,093a, however, which traverses obliquely the lines of view of these former, we see that a narrow shelf separates the steep gulf of the area from the masses above, a double row of substructural arches yawning in void gloom. We are looking at what was once the eastern angle of the Palace of Caligula, but all angularity is crumbled and well-nigh effaced from the gaunt skeleton of ruin, throwing forward its lower courses on the steep Palatine slope in these arches on the S.E. face, and on the N.E. face rising in ridge over ridge of vast slabs, as of flag-stones set on edge. In the foreground we take in rear the outworks of the house, which formed the left flank of our previous views. Their dwarf, lumpy screens of brickwork look like half-molten snow masses, with here and there a clean horizontal line or well-squared angle, and show that the house on that left flank extended considerably further than the square recess which limits apparently our former view, having a spacious apartment thrown out beyond its line.\* What was our right becomes now the far side of the area, seen somewhat obliquely, and its grove of statuary is glimpsed in the right centre above the brickwork screens aforesaid, and below the Cæsarian promontories of ruin which rise on the shelf above.

The statuary grove aforesaid counts some ten or a dozen statues or fragments of statues of the Vestales Maximæ. That nearest the eye in our first view is No. 3,130 and 3,131a, being side and full face of the same lady, a half figure, arms gone, but face fairly preserved. It is a face with a strong "Quos ego" look about the rather massive jaw and broadly orbéd brow, an expression of "Pro ratione voluntas" in every line of the head, well carried on a columnar neck, wide bust and shoulders; but no weak spot or touch of feminine softness anywhere. Too much

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\* Perhaps the Tablinum or muniment-room above mentioned.

of a statue by nature for the statuary to find much difficulty, and, therefore, probably a capital likeness; one likely to rule any house she entered, and to make the better half of any pair. Nos. 3,132 and 4,228 are the full and side view of a full-length, well preserved, save the arms and nose—a queenly lady of elegant figure, probably not much over forty years; a good deal of penetrating and subtle persuasiveness beams in her profile, while the full-face has a reserved force of firmness about the mouth. This we take to be the lady named Flavia Publicia, of 247 A.D., whom Signor Lanciani describes as probably the most venerable of her whole order, whose numerous “eulogies and pedestals (seven) have been a plague to the discoverers of the Atrium,” hardly a week passing without some new memento of her turning up. He gives a list of fourteen ladies of whom inscribed pedestals are extant, the remainder being duplicates, triplicates, &c., owing to their popularity. Among these are: Vibidia, who generously interceded for Messalina in her infamy (Tacit. Ann., xi. 32); Cornelia, murdered by Domitian (Pliny, Ep., iv. 11), the same, perhaps, as mentioned by Tacitus (Ann., xv. 22); Cælia Concordia, who closes the list, and was perhaps the actual last of her order. One pedestal, however, is remarkable for an inscription, highly eulogistic, from which the lady’s name has been erased. Its date corresponds with June 9, A.D. 364. Signor Lanciani argues that this “*memoriae damnatio*” is referable only to one of two causes: a breach of her vow, or her conversion to Christianity; that the former cause is unlikely by reason of her probable age, and because the fact would have been mentioned by contemporary Christian writers, and infers, therefore, the latter, the rather as Prudentius (Peristeph. hymn) mentions one such case as having actually occurred.

The toilet of these ladies’ statues will perhaps set the fashion in Rome this season. The long short-waisted stola falling over the feet offers nothing remarkable. Over this, waist-high, is wrapped a mantle falling below the knees, being its extremity carried on the left arm by both statues. A veil falls on the shoulders under a close-fitting cap, the latter modelled seemingly on a series of *infulae* or rolls of wool, four or five of which traverse the forehead. The half-length has lappels long and narrow under either ear, with oval ends drooping forward on the bust.

We have said that the house stood embanked against the earth. The backwalls of the state apartments on the west side show signs of saturation by damp. To bake it out, ventilators and hot vapour furnaces abound. The walls are in places double, and both the floors likewise. Large amphorae, sawn across, support the flag-tiles, which bore the pavement, while terra-cotta pipes

poured hot air between their pieces. To the damp was added the perpetual gloom of the lofty palace impending near, which even now in ruin blocks the sunshine after 9 A.M. Previously to the fourth century A.D. no physician was allowed to enter, but a sickening vestal was instantly removed. From that period a physician was attached to the institution. Enough remains to show at the southern end of the cloisters a large hall laid out in coloured marbles, and walls crusted from still choicer quarries corniced in *rosso antico*. The last rebuilding was by Julia Domna, the Syrian consort of Septimius Severus, a lady of famous horoscope and infamous memory.

Omitting the Pyramids, which can hardly rank as organized structures, and which simply seem to exist and endure, in a match against time, while the world lasts; omitting also the now hardly traceable barbaric splendours of the ancient East, the grandest secular building which the world has seen is the Colosseum. Its more classic name is "the Flavian Amphitheatre," or simply, as proved by an inscription cited by Mr. Parker, "Theatre." In the year 1812, the French, then masters of Rome (an *idée Napoléonique*), removed about ten feet of the accumulations on the surface and exposed the substructures, tops of arches, &c., to that depth. There remained, however, eleven feet more before the actual floor of the *souterrain* was reached in 1874, showing a lower labyrinth of stupendous contrivances, masterly engineering and consummate ingenuity, which more than matches all that met the eye above. All this was in order to enable Rome literally to "bleed" the conquered world for her own amusement. Every stone, up to the ladies' gallery, where the awning met the sky, may be said to stand cemented in blood, human and bestial. If one seeks for a monument of all the baser instincts of man's nature, triumphant for centuries over the nobler, let him stand in the centre of the Colosseum and look around. The grand spectacles, which made and kept the Roman people, Vestal Virgins (who had their reserved seats) and all, from the prince in his purple to the lowest slave in the prætor's retinue, mere voluptuaries of carnage, were here enacted. Massacre was here superbly mounted on the trophies of all the conquerors from Scipio to Theodosius. Whether without Christianity the Empire would ever have shaken off the ghoul-appetite of carnivorous amusement is a question which we need not argue here. The Empire had indeed been nominally Christian for close upon a century, an edict of Constantine for the suppression of gladiators remaining all that while a dead letter, when the devotion of an Eastern monk, named Telemachus, 404 A.D., did a signal service to humanity, with which that of John Brown in the United States, as regards the suppression of slavery, may be distantly compared. Rushing into the

arena between a pair of gladiators, he was stoned to death by the populace, indignant at the interruption of their sports, or, as others say, cut down by the fighting men. But the revulsion of feeling, which soon followed, enabled the Emperor Honorius to give effect to Constantine's edict, and Rome, *nimis longo satiata ludo*, at last acquiesced in the suppression of her favourite spectacle.

Mr. Westropp, to whose descriptive powers we may refer as a model of lucidity says (p. 146 foll.):—

The exterior of the Colosseum had four storeys carrying different orders. The first three are arcades, adorned with engaged columns, the first of the Tuscan order; the second, the Ionic; the third, the Corinthian. The fourth storey presents a wall pierced with rectangular windows, and adorned with pilasters of the composite order. From the evidence of coins, the spaces which alternate with the rectangular windows exhibited circles, which were probably the *clypea*, doubtless bronze shields,\* up to which it has been stated that Domitian carried the building. From the use of the composite order in the highest storey,† we can doubtless see the reason why it was adopted by the Romans, for the prominence of its Ionic volutes makes it appear more distinctly at a great height or at a great distance. Each storey had eighty columns and as many arcades. The highest stage had eighty pilasters and forty small windows. In the centre of the arches of the second and third arcades statues were placed. Seventy-six of the arches of the lower storey served as entrances for the spectators, and bore each a different number over the arches. The other four not numbered, and situated at the extremities of the axis of the ellipse, formed the principal entrances. The two at the extremities of the minor axis were reserved, one for the emperor, the other for the *editor*, and those who occupied the box opposite the emperor. The other entrances at the extremities of the major axis led to the arena. In the lowest storey there are four *ambulacra*, or corridors, parallel to the ellipse of the arena. The first *ambulacrum* was the lower arcade of eighty arches; the second *ambulacrum* was separated from the first only by pillars, which corresponded with those of the façade—it gave entrance to the stairs (*scalae*) and passages (*viae itinera*). The third led to the first *maenianum*, while the fourth gave immediate entrance to the podium. The arcades of the upper storeys lighted the corridors, which encircled the building, as well as the stairs. The whole is crowned with a bold entablature, which is pierced with a series of holes, beneath which are brackets, which supported the feet of the masts upon which the *velarium*, or awning, was extended, and above the entablature was an attic. The length and breadth of the exterior of the Colosseum is 650 feet by 513 feet. The height of that part

\* This may be questioned. They were probably medallions in the form of shields—a common architectural device in Rome. Mr. Parker erroneously renders *clypea* the “top-cornice.”

† This was not part of the original design, in which the top storey was of wood, and was burnt in the time of Macrinus, 218 A.D.

of the building which remains entire is 157 feet. The storeys are respectively about 30, 38, 38 and 44 feet high. . . . The cavea, or the part destined for the spectators, was divided into three parts: the podium,\* the *maeniana*, and the porticoes. The podium was a platform raised above the arena, which it encircled, and was sufficiently high to place the spectators out of reach of the wild beasts.† It included the places destined for the emperor, the senators . . . . and for persons of distinction. . . . Above the podium were the *gradus*, or seats, for the other spectators, which were divided into *maeniana*, or stones.‡ The first *maenianum* was appropriated to the equestrian order. Then, after a horizontal space, termed *praecinctio*, and forming a continued landing-place from the several staircases which opened on to it, succeeded the second *maenianum*, where were the seats called *popularia*, for the third class of spectators, or the populace. The openings from the staircases and corridors on to their landing-places or *praecinctiones* were designated by the appropriate term *vomitoria*. Behind the second *maenianum* was the second *praecinctio*, above which was the third *maenianum*, where there were only wooden benches for the *pullati*,§ or common people. . . . According to Publius Victor, 87,000 persons could be accommodated in the seats, and some consider that 20,000 more could have found places above. According, however, to a calculation which Mr. Fergusson has made, allowing four square feet for each spectator, the amphitheatre might contain 50,000 spectators at one time. We now come to a more detailed description of the arena. It was of an elliptical form, the major axis being 287 feet, the minor 180 feet.

It is probable that the above description, coupled with half an hour's inspection of Mr. Parker's admirable photo-engravings in his volume on the Colosseum, will give a better notion of the building than most tourists have derived from a fatiguing series of personal visits of exploration. The thoroughly faithful work of Mr. Parker on this building was continued, and its results confirmed, in visits to similar structures in Italy. He says ("Colosseum," Pref. p. viii.):—

I have been to Capua, Pozzuoli, Pompeii, and Verona, and found, as I expected, many confirmations of what had been stated in Rome. I took with me Professor Cicconetti, one of the best architectural artists in Rome, to Capua and Pozzuoli, and have added some photo-engravings from his drawings.

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\* The podium was at the level of the street without.

† This does not seem to have been regarded as an absolute protection. Mr. Parker figures (in his "Archæology of Rome:" Colosseum) an ornamental iron work or *grille*, which fenced them off, and states that the top bar of it revolved (being probably of wood), so that any beast springing upon it would be unable to hold on, and would fall back into the arena.

‡ "Galleries" would rather represent the precise force of the word.

§ Literally, "those in dark clothes" (not to show the dirt), as being unable to afford more easily soiled and, therefore, more costly apparel.

What we take to be the photo-engravings from these drawings have the one defect in Mr. Parker's unassisted works of the same kind supplied—viz., a scale of feet and yards to indicate size. This, in the otherwise careful and probably exact ground-plans, sections, &c. (Plates viii., xiii., and others), is wholly wanting, and so throughout his volumes on Forum, Aqueducts, &c.

The Colosseum was a theatre where there was no "behind the scenes." All that was not "house" was stage. Thus all the machinery which produced illusions was below the surface. Hence the vast depths and extent of crypt and vault, with their intricate recesses, passages, capstans, lifts, dens, and ladders; this, too, was why Apollodorus, the professional critic of Hadrian, the imperial amateur, suggested that the vaults under "Venus and Roma," if the basement had been higher, might have been useful as an adjunct for the stage properties of the Colosseum, the site being almost within stone's-throw.

The necessity of being seen equally all round, imposed on the construction of scenic decorations arduous conditions, which, combined with the necessity of elevating the whole from below, and working therefore with defective light, could only be met by a wonderful economy of organization beneath the surface.

The substructures as now found represent a restoration of 423-425 A.D., "a period of decline," as Mr. Westropp remarks—that is, both in the fine arts and in the arts and resources of empire generally; but not probably in engineering and mechanical contrivance. There is, however, an important difference in the objects aimed at by the earlier as compared with the later substructures. In the former period contrivances for the *naumachiae* or naval fights were included. The whole interest of these must have turned on the actual combatants, who were, of course, gladiators, since in so narrow a space as an oval of 96 yards by 60, even if the whole surface were flooded and navigable, which it is difficult to conceive, there would be hardly any margin for evolutions. But the abolition of gladiatorial displays, twenty years earlier, must have robbed these combats of their interest in Roman eyes. It follows that the restoration referred to, although it might leave standing a good deal of such "plant" as had served for the *naumachia*, would probably break up and confound the lines of it by other arrangements of a less amphibious character. This is a conclusive reason against the possibility of studying the *Naumachia* on the lines which exist now; an error into which Mr. Parker, it seems to us, has fallen. He gives consummate photo-engravings of the underground interior, in which troughs of square section, following the elliptic curve of the building (canals, as he supposes, and perhaps correctly), each ten feet deep and wide, are crossed by a deep rectilinear channel running the entire length of the building, and extending beyond it in the major axis

of the ellipse. The walls of this channel are so high as to approach the level of the arena itself when boarded over for non-naval exhibitions, and therefore to bisect the water surface into two pairs of equal semi-elliptic rings, one within the other, on either side of the central channel. That this channel itself was sometimes, at least, partly flooded appears from a communication with a drain, with sluice-gate sliding in a groove, and a grating fixed over the outlet at one end of it or both. The notion of barges punting up and down two curved lanes of water where they could not even turn round, as representing a naval combat, is of course absurd. That an effective representation was, in fact, given rests on sufficient evidence; and that the surface was suddenly changed from water to *terra firma* for gladiatorial, &c., combats; but *how* the translation from wet to dry was effected turns on details which no study of the existing remains can elucidate. This difficulty Mr. Parker does not seem even to have seen, and the details which he seeks to explain and harmonize only complicate it more severely. In the great groove referred to was found an article which looks like the double ladder of a modern fire-escape laid horizontally, but which he takes to be a ship cradle, and detects in certain small marble stools at intervals along each side of the channel the necessary supports to keep a ship's hull, when laid upon it, from heeling over. But if the ships were lodged there, they would in effect be dry-docked in a long cellar open at top and ends, twenty feet below the surface of the earth, the walls of which exactly intercept the galley from the water-surface intended for it. Mr. Westropp sees in the supposed cradle one of the "pegmata for raising the spectacular arrangements to the level of the arena." This is probably the correct view. He adds that

two vaults have been discovered, one on each side of the *cryptoporticus* which leads to the Lateran,\* which were evidently docks for keeping the galleys—two in each—which were used for fighting in the *naumachia*. There are side-doors with steps to each dock for the soldiers to enter the galleys. There must be two similar vaults or docks at the other side of the arena,† and consequently eight war-galleys could be introduced.

Mr. Parker thinks that the earlier erection by M. Scaurus, the

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\* The line is that of the major axis of the ellipse prolonged towards its S.E. extremity.

† This seems an assumption merely, and does not agree with the underground plan given by Mr. Parker, Colosseum, plate viii., where the position of the substructures is apparently at the opposite or N.W. end of the major axis; and they do not suit the notion of a dry dock for galleys in shape and arrangement, which appears intended by the "other side of the arena" in the citation above.

edile, step-son of Sulla, was on the area of the Colosseum, and that the substructures were originally his, but this is conjecture only, although not improbable. Pliny tells us (N. H., xxxvi. 27, 7), how Scaurus reared it in three storeys, having in all 360 columns. The lower storey was of (*i.e.*, faced with) marble, the second with glass—an extravagance, says Pliny, unheard of before or since—and the upper works of gilded woodwork. What is certain, however, as regards the site of the Colosseum is, that it covered the earlier Stagnum Neronis, in which Nero exhibited *naumachiae*, availing himself, Mr. Parker thinks, of the work of Scaurus above mentioned. Thus, Mr. Parker regards the entire building as the work of several hands, the Flavian Cæsars only completing and giving their names to what their predecessors had begun; and thus he regards the Gymnasium as well as Naumachia, built by Nero in connection with his Golden House, as both included in the Colosseum—a negative inference from the fact that, in or near the ample area of that Neronian folly, no site to match any gymnasium has been found. This seems a doubtful conclusion; but that a large part of the shell of the existing building is of “the fine brickwork of Nero,” for which Mr. Parker had an enthusiastic eye, may be taken as proved. He adds that “the great stone arcades, containing corridors of the Flavian emperors, are built round the older galleries, which are chiefly faced with brick,” and his photo-engravings closely illustrate the fact; also that the stone arcades are simply “built up against” these earlier masses of brickwork “without any bond of masonry” to unite them. In the same way he notices that the vast piers of travertine, which run from top to bottom, and carried the weight of the topmost storey, when rebuilt of stone after the older wooden gallery was burnt, were a structural necessity, the architects deeming that weight too great for the softer tufa. These, being therefore an afterthought to the original plans, were similarly without any bond of masonry—mere adjuncts without incorporation. He thinks that the massive “consoles”—corbel-like projections from the vertical wall which ran round the sunken area—were to receive the planks of the flooring, cleared away and piled upon them, when the land-show gave way to the *naumachia*. It seems doubtful whether they would suffice for such immense stacks of boarding, but perhaps the edge of the podium may have been capable of a similar use. In the sunken area, twenty-one feet below the level of the arena which these planks formed, a row of dens ran round for wild beasts, all opening towards the great central pit, which was probably the original Stagnum Neronis. In front of the dens ran a shallow channel of water, for the animals to lap; and, by placing a cage close before each den, the animal was turned out into the former,

which was then run on wheels or rollers, we must suppose, till vertically under one of the traps, through which lifts were conducted. At a signal, by means of a capstan (the bronze shod sockets of which engines are copiously marked in the pavement), the lift was hoisted and the trap and lid of the cage raised, through which the creature sprang out upon the arena as if from underground.\* In this way, says Herodian, a hundred lions at once were projected on the stage. From the central channel before mentioned, running like that of a spinal column from end to end and further, huge elements of picturesque spectacle were evolved when the diversion changed to one of a mytho-scenic character. Thus we hear of Mount Ida with forests and fountains, ambitious goddesses and judicial shepherd, all rising from below, like Milton's Pandæmonium, to represent realistically the popular legend of the *spretæ iniuria formæ* which led up to the Trojan War.

The more noticeable features of the whole upper structure were of travertine, with brick or tufa interior parts; the podium was cased with marble, with seats of the same. Some of the exterior blocks of travertine are eight or ten feet by five, and are numbered to indicate their position. Owing to the immense popularity of its sports, the wear and tear of the building was enormous. It was not completed till Domitian's time, about 85 A.D., and needed thorough restoration under Antonius Pius, 140-160 A.D. Under Alexander Severus, 230 A.D., it was again completely restored, and about 425 A.D. again extensively repaired. The Romans inoculated the subject nations with similar wild-beast passions to their own, and made their Colosseum the cockpit of the world. Thus minor variations of the great

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\* Minor arrangements of a subsidiary character are man-holes, through which attendants might descend and feed the animals in safety; lamp-sockets against the wall of the recess which formed the den—the only hint at the method of lighting, which must have been a serious matter when the traps were all shut in the floor above—also smaller traps to let up men and dogs are all minutely and perspicuously figured by Mr. Parker; also the subterranean entrance in the line of the great central channel for the animals, and at the lowest level of all, in the same line, the great drain with its grating to catch any objects swept away in the rush of the escaping water. The whole forms a marvellous study of zoological barbarity. The human combatants were, at least in the later period, after the substructures were complete, introduced on the arena from above, being quartered in certain cells under the edge of the podium, along which would also be stationed military guards, slaves, messengers, signal-men, &c. It is supposed by Mr. Westropp that the paved bottom of the cavity was the original arena, when emptied of its naumachian water, but that the combats were too imperfectly seen at that depressed level, which defect was subsequently remedied by the artificial superimposed arena near the level of the podium.

amphitheatre are repeated at Nîmes, Arles, and elsewhere.\* The gladiatorial combats ended, as we have seen, in 404 A.D., and the last recorded wild-beast show in the Colosseum was in 523 A.D.; but the Spanish bull-fights, with their arena and arrangement of spectators, are a direct descendant, and our own once popular bear or bull baitings are mere sprinklings of the same torrent of savagery which ran so fiercely for centuries in imperial Rome.



The calm audacity with which he repeats himself, sometimes for pages together, is the distinctive feature of Mr. Westropp's book on "Early and Imperial Rome." Thus, a statement on the methods of Roman masons, with a remark of Dionysius, is found on page 48 and again on page 64. The question of the direction of the Via Sacra is discussed on pages 90-92, and in identical terms on pages 129-130, and the enumeration of the buildings on its line is even three times given—pages 90, 129, 130. The scholarship, moreover, is loose. Thus we find on page 96 that Fabius commemorated "his victories over the Allobrogi" (*sic*). The name "Mamertinus" applied to the prison is discussed (page 93) as if classical, and we are told "may have been derived from its being built by Ancus Martius. Mamers was the Sabine name of the god Mars, and consequently from the name Mamertius, the Sabine way of spelling Martius, may have been derived Mamertinus." When we reflect that the name does not occur till the mediæval period, and that Varro and Sallust speak of the prison as the "Tullianum," it will appear that the above philological speculation is sufficiently superfluous. On page 213 an inscription is so rendered as to give us *three* Consuls in one year by carelessly inserting "and" between Flavius and Gratianus, which denote together one person. On page 240 we read a statement of Pliny, that "the Ægyptians have discovered in Æthiopia the stone known as 'Basanites,' which in colour and hardness resembles iron, whence the name has been given to it (βάσανος)." One would suppose from this that βάσανος was the Greek term for iron. The loose geography common at all periods among Roman writers led Pliny to talk of "Æthiopians" and "Ægyptians" when a region of Palestine was what he should have named. It is none other than the well-known "Bashan," and the "iron bedstead" of King Og is probably a sarcophagus made of it.† But the writer here puts down Pliny's gossip without mistrust.

\* Clerisseau, "Antiquités de la France" (referred to by Mr. Burn, "Rome and the Campagna," p. 62), enumerates sixty-two amphitheatres as still existing in ruin, all apparently younger provincial brothers of the Colosseum.

† Captain Conder thinks that "Og's bedstead," or, as he prefers to call it, "throne," is recognizable in a huge solitary dolmen standing on a bare rock close to Rabbath Ammon. The top stone measures nearly 13 feet in length, which may be taken as equivalent to nine cubits.

We have no space now to touch upon the various topographical controversies raised by Mr. Parker and others regarding the Temple of Rome and Venus, the Temple of the Sun and Moon, the later position occupied by the Colossus of Nero, the site of the Porticus Liviae, &c. The discovery of the Capitoline Plan of Rome, incised on marble in the fourth century, and found broken to pieces, probably by earthquake action, would be of first-rate importance but that so few of its fragments have been recovered. Probably, however, more evidence may turn up in other forms, if ingenious theorists will only have the patience to wait for it.

H. HAYMAN.

P.S.—Since the above was written, we are enabled to describe more exactly the fibula referred to on p. 341, said to be of a form previously unknown to archæology. Its device is a central trefoil with the legend  DOMNO MARINO PAPA  in the margin, its form a pair of oval plates, its material copper inlaid with silver. There are peculiar attachments of the hook and eye character, which would allow it to clasp a mantle and present its device to the eye in the usual way. Such a lettered fibula is declared by Signor de Rossi, who has catalogued the coins, to be absolutely unique. Of early English coins the Vatican Museum contains only eleven, and these presumably, but not certainly, found in Rome. This extreme rarity of the actual material of payment, whereas the fact of the payment itself went on for some centuries, has led to the supposition that the practice of the Papal Court was to melt the English coins down and convert them into Roman currency. We cannot help thinking that if the site of the "Schola Anglorum quae tunc [temp. Offae Reg.] Romae floruit" were carefully explored by the spade, some examples of English coins would be recovered. Their types, as at present known, exhibit vast diversity, and few duplicates in many instances are known. There are about 400 different types among the 830 now discovered. One fruitful cause of this diversity was of course the multiplicity of mints. Such different sites as Bath, Canterbury, Dorchester, Leicester, Maldon, Stafford, Winchester and York, with about as many more, furnished the coins of the Vestals' treasure. The moulds also were probably weak, often broken and constantly renewed with a different stamp, diversity of design being probably aimed at, as a point of the self-assertion of art. The only other such sudden find of early English coins known to have taken place is in Norway—the "Dane-geld"—operating there similarly to the "Peter's pence" in Rome. But Rome, as above suggested, mostly recoined the treasure, and regarded English pennies as so much bullion only. This makes the present exception the more remarkable and valuable.

## ART. VII.—THE DESTINY OF KHARTOUM.

1. *Report on the Egyptian Provinces of the Sudan, Red Sea, and Equator.* Intelligence Department, War Office. London : Messrs. W. Clowes & Sons. 1884.
2. *Der Sudan.* Von JOHANN DICHTL. Graz. 1885.
3. *Exploration du Sahara.* Par HENRI DUVEYRIER. Paris. 1864.
4. *With Hicks Pasha in the Soudan.* By Lieut.-Col. the Hon. J. COLBORNE. London : Smith, Elder & Co. 1884.
5. *The Dervishes.* By J. P. BROWN. London : Trübner & Co. 1868.

**A**N ancient and familiar fable tells how in the early days of Rome a portentous omen of calamity to the State was averted by the self-immolation of its noblest citizen. England has tried a like experiment with a less happy result. She too has flung her best and bravest into the gulf of doom, but only to see the abyss yawn more widely for fresh prey instead of closing over a single grave.

Nor is the catastrophe of merely national significance, for the British hero was the bulwark of Christendom, and all Islam exults in his overthrow as its first signal triumph over the Cross for many generations. Standing singly at bay against aggressive Mohammedanism, fronting an infidel continent in arms in tragic sublimity of isolation, the man was worthy of the cause, since surely no figure in all history shows relieved in atmosphere so luminous of steadfastness and faith, against so black a background of disaster. For behind it rolls up, as though temporarily stayed by its presence, and waiting for its downfall as the signal to advance, one of those storm-clouds of humanity, charged with the lurid electricity of fanaticism, which barbarism sometimes nurses below her dim horizons, to launch them, ripe for havoc, on the unsuspecting serenity of civilization.

Twice before has Africa seen such a tempest gather among her illimitable wastes—and twice a dynasty has foundered in its track. The future must tell what mark the third and latest of these movements will leave on history.

The desert—the most awe-inspiring fact in Nature—has ever been the cradle of monotheistic faith. In the desert Abraham received the primitive revelation ; in the desert the creed of his descendants was affirmed by the dread sanction of Sinai ; and in the desert the morning star of Christianity announced to a perverse and incredulous people the coming regeneration of mankind. But Mohammedanism, which mimics the Hebrew tradi-

tion like its distorted shadow, still draws its vital strength from the wastes that brought it forth, and the sands of the torrid zone, like the core of a volcano, ever contain a reserve of latent fury, capable of firing its votaries to a white-heat of eruptive fanaticism.

Thus it was the highlands of Barbary that sent forth 300,000 warriors to rally round the Mahdi of the tenth century, and raise the *soi-disant* seventh Imam to the African Caliphate; it was the nomads of the Sahara who, a century and a half later, flamed into fury under the preaching of El-Morabit, swept in a human hurricane across the Straits of Gibraltar, and, after overthrowing Spanish Christianity at the battle of Talavera, founded an empire extending from the Guadalquivir to Timbuctoo.

Precisely similar inflammable material has been fired by the present revolt of the Soudan, for the Arabs of to-day are on the same level of civilization with these earlier reformers, and furnish a like compound of faith and ferocity. But in the changed circumstances of the modern world they are no longer formidable save with the desert as their ally, and beyond its friendly shelter would be impotent against the organized forces of society. The danger of the new revolt of Islam would rather be in the contagious influence of its example in creating fresh centres of disturbance elsewhere.

The belief in a Mahdi or heaven-sent regenerator of the earth is founded on an instinctive craving of humanity. The ejaculation "*Aymata ydhar el Mahdi?*" (When will the Mahdi appear?) common in Mohammedan countries as an aspiration for relief in woe and suffering, represents the pathetic side of the idea, which, however, like that of the Messiah among the carnal-minded Jews, is more generally associated with the dream of temporal dominion and aggrandizement. From several of the traditions recording Mohammed's predictions on the subject, we take one, on the authority of Ibn Abbas.

"There will be twelve Khalifs after me," the Prophet is reported to have said; "the first is my brother, the last is my son." "O Messenger of God," said the people, "who is thy brother?" He replied, "Ali" (his cousin-german). "And thy son?" "Mahdi, who will fill the earth with justice, even if it be covered with tyranny. He will come at last; Christ will then appear and follow him. The light of God will illuminate the earth, and the empire of the Imam will extend from west to east."

The twelve Khalifs in this prediction are the twelve Imams, or high-priests, of the Shia'ah sect, the last of whom, Abu'l Kasim, spirited away into a cavern near Semara in the 266th year of the Hejra, and still hidden there, is expected to reappear as the Imam Mahdi (The Guided) in the latter days of the earth.

The fourteenth Mohammedan century was by common expectation looked to as the era of the Mahdi, and three pretenders to the title announced themselves at its opening. Sheikh Senoussi of Tripoli is one of these; another obscure claimant in the Soudan was put to death by his more famous rival; while the latter, Mohammed Ahmed of Dongola, has for the moment distanced all competition by his success in arms. His prestige was much enhanced by the fact that his victory over Hicks Pasha, which first blazoned his name to the world, actually took place on the opening day of the fated century; November 2, 1883, being in the Mohammedan calendar Moharrem 1, 1301, Hejra.

With this dramatic event the revolt in the Soudan entered on its second phase, becoming, from a mere local insurrection, a danger threatening the entire of North Africa. The extent of this danger must be measured by its power of propagating itself from secondary eruptive centres, since the primary Arab wave from Nubia and Kordofan will have spent its initial force ere reaching the sea. The Orders of Dervishes, widely diffused through all Mohammedan countries, seem to provide the requisite machinery for its further propulsion.

The tenets embodied in Sufism, the mystical school of Mohammedanism whence sprang the religious Orders, are extraneous to its original teaching. The dualism in Arab thought dividing it, under Greek and Persian influence respectively, into Mechaïouns, (walkers) and Echrachaïouns (contemplators), had indeed existed long before the time of Mohammed, and survived the apparent fusion of his reform. He so far violated a universal instinct of humanity that he instituted a religion without a sacrifice, of which pilgrimage to some extent supplies the place. Yet the cardinal precept of Islam, implied in the word itself, enjoining absolute submission to the Divine Will, is held to be typified in a supreme sacrifice—that of his own son by Abraham, while Hosein, the martyred son of Ali, is mystically identified with the ram slain as a substitute. The frenzied lamentations with which the death of Hosein is annually solemnized and re-enacted, as well as the use of sacrifices, customary, though not enjoined, on many occasions, are outlets for an order of ideas not represented in the original teaching of the Koran.

From the farther East, the cradle of Buddhist and Brahminical reverie, came too the ascetic ideal, the correlative of sacrifice, grafted, like it, from a foreign stock on the Arabian creed. It early found votaries among its disciples, and twelve of the principal Orders of Dervishes date from a period antecedent to the foundation of the Ottoman Empire.

Of similar Orders, called Tarikât (paths; the word Dervish

itself, meaning a door-sill, being of Persian origin), there are thirty-six principal fraternities, with many minor branches. Constantinople contains over 200 tekkiehs, or convents, where the dervishes live in community, but the larger number of members, those affiliated in the lowest degree, are only bound to certain observances in their own homes. On the murids, or novices, desiring to follow the rule in the tekkiehs, a severe probation is imposed, lasting in some Orders for 1,001 days of menial service. The rite of initiation recalls that of Freemasonry in the exchange of a peculiar hand-grip with the Sheikh, in which the opposing thumbs meet in an upright position, as well as in the guardianship of the door by two armed brothers. A glass of water, too, as in some European secret societies, plays a part in the proceedings. The aspirant then receives the insignia of the Order, the tesbih, a bead, for the recitation of the ninety-nine names or attributes of the Deity; the tayhend, a woollen belt, containing the palenk, or cabalistic stone of contentment; the mengusay, earrings shaped like the horse-shoe of Ali; and the taj, or high, semi-conical cap, divided into sections, differing in number for each Order, and called terks, because each signifies the abandonment of an evil inclination. The lowest grade is called sheriat (observance of the law); the three higher, tarikat (paths or rites), marifat (knowledge), and hakikat (truth). The production of the state of trance, frenzy, or convulsion seems to be the aim of all the Dervish Orders, their habitual exercises, such as repeated outcries or gyrations, being means to this end, while hashish or opium, and mesmerism, are also used. Travellers in the East are familiar with the zikr, mention or invocation of the Deity, "La ilaha illa Allah" (No Deity save Allah), whose muttered cadence is heard from house-roofs and terraces through the summer night, now hushed like a sigh, now swelling to an angry roar.

Mohammed Ahmed, the Mahdi, is a Dervish of the Kadiireeyeh Order, so called from its founder, Abd ul Kadir el Ghilami, whose tomb at Bagdad is a venerated shrine. A rose embroidered on felt of camel's hair is worn in their caps as a distinguishing sign by this confraternity. The number of letters in Bismillah er Rahman er Rahim (In the name of God, the Clement and the Merciful), is indicated by the eighteen points of this mystical decoration, and they give also the numerical value of the word Hy, the Living, h standing for 8 and y for 10. The four stages of initiation are symbolized by its four colours, yellow, white, red, and black, and the crossed triangles forming the mohur, or Solomon's seal, occupy its centre. White banners and turbans distinguish the Kadiireeyeh in Egypt, and, as it numbers there many fishermen, they carry in their processions different coloured nets as standards.

The present insurrection has been mainly fomented by the dervishes, and it was to their assistance Mohammed Ahmed appealed in the letter of May, 1881, in which he first proclaimed his pretensions. The body-guard of fighting fanatics who then gathered round him defended his person from arrest by the Egyptian authorities, and formed the nucleus of the revolt. Ever foremost in the fray, the dervishes have since led the Arab charge with a valour that extorts the admiration of their foes; and Colonel Colborne thus describes their losses at the battle of Marabia, in Sennaar, fought by Hicks Pasha's force on April 29, 1883:—

Nearly all the chiefs killed were dervishes. Colonel Farquhar states, in a letter to the *Egyptian Gazette*, that the rebels were greatly disheartened, not so much on account of the numbers slain, as at the loss of their seven principal chiefs, and nearly all the dervishes. "I counted," he says, "forty of the latter within a very short distance of the principal face of the square, and many more were doubtless killed."

While these Orders of the religion of hatred supply the machinery of a universal propaganda for its doctrines, there is another association in North Africa even more directly aggressive in its character, and furnishing a train of explosive material ready laid from the Senegal to the Nile. The Senoussite sect is a secret society directly aimed against the intrusion of European ideas, unscrupulous in the means employed to that end, and having as its watchword that Turks and Christians, being on a level, must be destroyed by the same blow. It owes its origin to the resentment produced by the French conquest of Algeria in the mind of an Arab of the Beni Senous tribe, from the neighbourhood of Tlemsen. Sheikh Senoussi brought to his task of reform all the zeal and learning acquired by a long residence in Mecca, Medina, and Cairo, where he had passed his early life in intimate association with the most enthusiastic champions of Islam. The Libyan Desert, isolated behind the sands from all contagion of civilization, was selected by him as the cradle of his movement, and the Djebel el Akhdar, about twenty kilomètres east of Ben Ghazi, was the centre whence it radiated over the entire Sahara. Associates were enrolled, and zaouiya, or monasteries, were founded in the principal oases, those of Sokna, Zouila, Ghat, and Ghadames forming a quadrilateral of fanaticism. In fifteen years eight branches had been founded from funds voluntarily supplied by the associates. The head-quarters of the sect had meanwhile been transferred to Djerabub, where a single well of bitter water formed a halting-place in the desert not far from the Oasis of Jupiter Ammon. A settlement was created here as if by magic;

fresh wells were dug, date-trees planted, and the desert was made to "blossom as the rose." Here the founder of the sect, dying in 1859, was succeeded by his son, Sidi Mohammed ben Ali es Senoussi, the present Sheikh. From the oasis, which he has never left, and where he leads a patriarchal life, surrounded by a large family, he moves the secret springs of his vast organization. Under him it assumed a more distinctly militant attitude, and fomented the rising of 1861 in the Algerian Sahara, terminated by the capture of Mohammed ben Abdallah, one of the principal lieutenants of the Sheikh.

M. Henri Duveyrier, in a paper in the *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* for the second quarter of 1884, gives a formidable picture of the growing power of the Senoussite brotherhood. Omnipotent in Tripoli, influential in Yemen and the Hedjaz, favoured indirectly by the Sultan of Morocco and actively by him of Wadai, it threatens to be one of the most potent factors in the future of North Africa. Its zaouiya are scattered through Cyrenaica, Fezzan, the Libyan and Theban deserts, and the Algerian Sahara, to near the walls of Oran and Orleansville. It has branches in the Somali country on the shores of the Indian Ocean, and adherents in the French settlements on the Atlantic. Throughout the Western Soudan, the new reformer's name is more revered than that of Mohammed himself; El hak Sidi Senoussi (The truth of Lord Senoussi) is the most solemn oath by which men swear, and in the Oasis of Kufra pilgrims from the Senegal were met by Herr Rohlf, the German traveller, whose goal was not Mecca, but Djerabub.

The number of the Khouan or Senoussite brothers is estimated by M. Duveyrier at a minimum of a million and a half, while he thinks that figure might probably be doubled. "Each of them," he says, "is not only *ipso facto* a missionary, but is ready at the signal of his superior to transform himself into a propagandist agent, a soldier, a bravo, or even a cowardly poisoner." To the agency of the sect he ascribes the massacre of the Flatters Mission in 1881, of Mdle. Tinné's party in 1869, and of many other Europeans; as well as the intrigues against the French in Tunis, and a series of risings in Algeria in 1861, 1873, and 1879-1882.

It is obvious that the declared aims of this formidable organization are sufficiently in harmony with those of the Mahdist rising in Equatorial Egypt to render a coalition feasible. The pretensions of the leaders are indeed antagonistic, since Senoussi, too, claims the  *rôle*  of the expected Prophet, and bears the title Sidi-el-Mahdi-ben-Senoussi. The success of his rival's arms may, however, be accepted by him as the patent of his mission, and his personal ambition be merged in the larger dream of the triumph

of his cause. Indeed, if the account of recent Arabic newspapers can be trusted, the decision will not rest even with Senoussi himself. The enthusiasm evoked among his followers by the victories of the Soudan Prophet is said to be almost uncontrollable, and he may have to choose between losing their allegiance and heading their revolt.

His position in the Libyan Oasis would enable him to co-operate in a Mahdist advance on Upper Egypt by striking at any point of the Nile between the Delta and the cataracts. Masked by the desert, his operations could be conducted with absolute secrecy until he was ready to confront the British authorities with the portentous apparition of a second Mahdi on the flank of Egypt to the north.

These sporadic upheavals of Mohammedan intolerance throughout the world have their fulcrum in the Pan-Islamite party in the Ottoman Empire; and the Sultan, whose pretensions to the Khalifate are openly impugned, is, in reference to this section of his subjects, in a dilemma resembling that of the Tripolitan Sheikh. The possible reaction of similar tendencies in India is one of the many grave elements of the present crisis; but it is probable that Mohammedan feeling there could only be raised to the explosive point if worked on conjointly with other causes of discontent. It must not be forgotten, however, that the Wahhabi revival wrought from 1820 to 1831 such a fermentation in the North-Western Provinces that its leader, Sayyid Ahmed, preached the jihad against the Sikhs, with the result of seating himself temporarily on the throne of Peshawur, and that the embers of the conflagration then kindled still smoulder among the natives of Oude and Northern Bengal.

In contrast with the aggressive machinery wielded by modern Mohammedanism is the organization of the counter-crusade of Christianity in Central Africa. The history of the Catholic Mission is told by Father Dichtl in the valuable work at the head of this article, which also contains the most complete social and historical sketch of the Soudan available in a compendious form. Christianity, early planted in these regions, perished in the fourteenth century before the scathing sword of Islam, and the fragments of its churches built into the mosques of Khartoum and Sennaar are the only vestiges remaining to attest its former presence. Its reintroduction was due to the zeal of the Polish Jesuit, Padre Rylo, and the Mission of Central Africa was created an Apostolic Vicariate under his direction, by a decree of Gregory XVI., April 3, 1846. Khartoum became its headquarters, and there it was installed in February, 1848, on a piece of ground fronting the Blue Nile. Its founder succumbing within a few months of his arrival to the effects of climate and

fatigue, its guidance passed into the hands of his energetic successor, Dr. Knoblecher, all whose efforts were required to preserve it from collapse during the first year of its existence. The sale of the produce of its garden furnished, indeed, its sole means of subsistence during the ensuing winter, when the disturbed state of Europe, cutting off all extraneous help, threw it entirely on its own resources for support. This state of abandonment was not, however, of long duration, as its enterprising chief in a visit to his native country succeeded in enlisting powerful patronage on its behalf. An association, styled the *Marien-Verein*, was formed in Vienna for its support, and Imperial protection was extended to it. The Emperor Francis Joseph not only obtained a firman in its favour from the Sultan, but created a consulate at Khartoum to take charge of its interests, and sent thither one of his Court gardeners to superintend the laying out of its grounds. A further extension was given to its sphere of operations, and the purchase of a large iron sailing vessel, or dahabieh, enabled Dr. Knoblecher to found stations on the White Nile—at Gondokoro in the Equatorial marshes, and at Ste.-Croix farther down the river.

In Khartoum itself a garden occupying over thirteen acres of ground was planted with some 1,200 fruit trees, indigenous bananas and date-palms intermingling with the foreign foliage of lemons, oranges, and pomegranates. The enclosure was surrounded with a wall ten feet high and two and a half feet thick, and within it a church, dwelling-house, and school-rooms were built of massive stone. The civilizing influence here exerted may be judged from the fact that the missionaries were the first to introduce the arts of baking bricks and preparing lime, and that the natives trained as workmen subsequently supplied skilled labour for the arsenal, while one of them rose to fill the place of Government engineer in Kordofan. These Mission premises figured conspicuously in the history of the siege, having been hired by Gordon as a supplementary storehouse and magazine, rendered defensible by the thickness of the walls, while the terraced roof covering the group of buildings furnished a commanding platform either for artillery fire or for look-out.

Father Dichtl tells an interesting anecdote of the zeal of the first little converts, waifs and strays of parti-coloured humanity, some of them ransomed slave-children, others half-castes of semi-European origin. Dr. Knoblecher, going into their dormitory to see if all was quiet for the night on the eve of their baptism, All Saints' Day, 1848, found them up and awake in various attitudes of devotion, and was told that they were asking Our Lady's intercession that they might live till the morrow in order to become Christians. The secular education of the little neophytes

was not neglected, as Arabic, Italian, arithmetic, singing, and drawing were taught in the schools.

The Missions on the White Nile had to encounter the hostility and intrigues of the slave traders, who decimated and demoralized the river tribes. Not for this reason, however, but from the deadly nature of the climate, these stations had eventually to be abandoned, as priests only went up to die on the fever-stricken shore. Khartoum itself was scarcely less fatal, and in the decade 1848-58, twenty-two priests out of a total of thirty-three fell victims to their vocation.

Hence the Mission was in 1861 confided to the Franciscan Order, but with no better result, and in two years the deaths rose to twenty-two out of fifty-one. This continuous drain of life necessitated the abandonment of all outlying stations, and that of Khartoum was held during nine years by a single priest assisted by a few lay-brothers.

But the Soudan found a fresh apostle in Mgr. Comboni, consecrated its first bishop on August 12, 1877, after many years of previous labour among its people. He created a special machinery for its evangelization in the institute founded at Verona in 1866 for supplying the Missions of Nigritia with trained male and female teachers and assistants. Funds were raised by a begging tour throughout Europe, and an auxiliary institution was established in Cairo, on a piece of ground presented by Ismail Khedive. With the aid of this organization, Mgr. Comboni was able to take over the Central African Mission, formally surrendered to him by the Franciscans in 1873, and in May of that year started from Cairo at the head of a missionary caravan, including Sisters of St. Joseph of the Apparition of Marseilles, the first female religious seen in Central Africa. One of these devoted nuns actually walked the whole distance from Korosko to Abu Hamed, nearly 300 miles, being unable to overcome her terror of mounting the camel.

Khartoum was not the goal of the expedition, as Mgr. Comboni, bent on the evangelization of Kordofan, proceeded to El Oheid, its capital, where a church and school were quickly opened. Branch stations were established at Djebel Nuba in the mountains, and at Malbes, half a day's journey south of El Oheid, founded as a rural colony to be occupied by married converts and their families. A terrible ordeal came upon these infant Missions in the desolating famine of 1878, which checked, among other beneficent projects, that of Gordon Pasha, then Governor-General, for the installation of the nuns in the hospitals built by him in Fashoda and Khartoum. Privation and anxiety so thinned the little band of workers at this time that Mgr. Comboni was at last left alone in Khartoum, the sole occupant

of the Mission. His own life long hung in the balance, but after a year's rest in Europe he was able to return to his diocese. He had the joy before his death of visiting his Missions in Kordofan, and seeing the fruits of his labours in an enlarged church and school in El Obeid, in a flourishing community of some thirty Christian households at Malbes, and in a little congregation of a hundred souls in the wilds of the Djebel Nuba. Exposure to a severe storm on his return from this last journey brought on an attack of fever, from which he died in Khartoum on October 10, 1881. The name Mutran Daniâl, or Bishop Daniel, by which he was known to the natives, was as dear and familiar to them as that of Abouna Soliman applied to his energetic predecessor, Dr. Knoblecher.

On his successor, Mgr. Francesco Sogaro, created Apostolic Vicar of Central Africa, September 22, 1882, has fallen the burden of the present calamities, and his entry into Khartoum on March 6, 1883, was followed by his withdrawal thence to Cairo, with all the *personnel* of the Mission, in December of the same year. Meantime, the survivors of the missionaries of Kordofan, originally thirteen, now reduced to nine—three priests, four sisters, and two lay-brothers—have endured for more than two years the miseries of captivity in the camp of the Mahdi, after seeing the ruin and plunder of their little folds in the wilderness. They are believed to be at Omdurman, with the head-quarters of the Arab army, all attempts to ransom them having hitherto proved vain.

The total death-roll of priests in the Soudan from 1847 to 1884 is thirty-seven, eighty-five being the number of those who have been sent there. Of these, sixteen, including a bishop, Mgr. Comboni, have left their ashes in Khartoum, where they lie buried within the grounds of the Mission.

For the moment it would seem as if so many sacrifices had been made in vain. The churches are desolate, the Missions wrecked, the flocks dispersed. The surging tide of infidel rage has swept over these scattered islets of Christianity, obliterating all trace of their existence. But because that narrow foothold for the faith was so hardly won we may assuredly hope that it will not be permanently lost. In the overmastering destiny by which a civilized Power is reluctantly hurried along to intervention in the Soudan we see a guarantee for its future regeneration, since only a violent revolution subverting all native rule could effect anything here, where experience has proved reform from within to be impossible.

Under Egyptian domination, the social pressure of Mohammedan intolerance must ever exclude Christian propagandism. Were this pressure removed, there would be, Father Dichtl

thinks, no obstacle to the conversion of the Negro and other non-Arab races of the Soudan, whose acceptance of their masters' creed is rather matter of necessity than conviction. Equally accessible to Christian influence are the Mohammedan women, of whom their own religion takes no account either in the present or future. Before Our Lady's altar in Khartoum, lights were kept perpetually burning by the offerings of poor Nubian women who came in secret to kneel at the shrine of her they know as Sitt Miriam, or Lady Mary, who raised their degraded sex to a dignity never conceived of before. But all such germs of Christian feelings or proclivities have been trampled into annihilation by the portentous triumph of the new Prophet of Islam.

The early career of this remarkable man was sketched in these pages twelve months ago, when he began to loom above the horizon of the desert as a possible shadow on the future of politics.\* The destruction of Hicks Pasha had then rendered him a danger to Egypt; the fall of Khartoum has now made him a menace to Europe. With that event he enters on the third phase of his victorious career, in the character of a great Mohammedan conqueror. Master, in November, 1883, of the solitary province of Kordofan, this fanatic leader of a fanatic horde has since subjugated an empire as large as half Europe; for the fall of Kassala, imminent, it is to be feared, despite its heroic defence, will place him in possession of the whole Soudan from Dongola to the Equator. But the crowning triumph of this almost unprecedented conquest has been the capture of the stronghold of the Upper Nile, with all the halo conferred on it by its heroic resistance, and the personal prestige of its defender; for here the struggle, as in some epic poem, took the form of a single combat, in which the English Paladin and the swarthy champion of Islam confronted each other as the standard-bearers of their respective faiths. The remoteness of the scene of action invested it with the same misty glamour conferred by long lapse of time, and coloured contemporary history with all the legendary mystery of romance.

The Soudan capital, now become historical, dates only from the early days of Mehemet Ali's conquest of the Soudan. In the forks of the Nile where the Blue and White Rivers converge on a sandy tongue of land, a site was chosen for its strategic value, and there, in 1822, a town was built. The name El Khartoum, the Elephant's Trunk, is fancifully suggested by its position between the tusks of the Nile. Its rapid growth justified the

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\* DUBLIN REVIEW, April 1884, Art. VII. "The Revolution in the Soudan."

choice of situation, and its normal population was estimated before the siege at 50,000. Of these, fully two-thirds were slaves, the remainder a heterogeneous mixture of nationalities—Arabs, Copts, and Nubians, Levantine Greeks, Syrians, and Maltese. The morals of this motley crew were such as might be looked for in a community whose principal *raison d'être* was the slave trade. Of this iniquitous traffic Khartoum was the stronghold and emporium, and it was not without reason that it was termed by Herr Hansal, the Austrian consul, "the ill-famed metropolis of the infernal regions." Its prosperity fluctuated with the fluctuations of this source of gain, and, after the anti-slave-trade campaigns of Baker and Gordon on the White Nile, a large fraction of its population migrated to El Obeid. Its more legitimate trade in ivory, gum arabic, ostrich feathers, grain, and cattle amounted to thirteen millions a year, and was carried on by 1,000 European and 3,000 Egyptian commercial houses.

A fluvial fortress, with its front washed by the Blue Nile, and its rear encircled by an earthen rampart and ditch resting on the rivers, the position of Khartoum is still further strengthened by the natural ditch of the White Nile commanded by the guns of its fortifications. An entrenched camp at Omdurman, about four miles below the town, at the junction of the streams, was designed to guard the ferry of the Nile, and maintain communications with the west bank. The defensive resources of the fortress were supplemented by a flotilla of fifteen river-steamers, and a dockyard, created by Gordon's energy and foresight during his first Governor-Generalship (1877-79), afforded means for repairing and reconstructing them. Vast supplies of arms and ammunition were stored in the arsenal, the central depot of the Soudan.

An agglomeration of some 300,000 flat-roofed, mud-built houses irregularly grouped in winding streets and alleys, Khartoum is redeemed from unsightliness by the luxuriant vegetation enshrouding its hovels, and by its crown of plummy-crested palms tossed against the sky. Fronting the Blue Nile stands the Hukumdirieh, or Governor's Palace, memorable as Gordon's headquarters during the siege. As large as Marlborough House, with a stuccoed white façade and stately alley of palm-trees, its aspect recalls that of the Italian villas on the Genoese Riviera.

Far different, however, is the landscape commanded by its terrace-roof, the watch-tower of the solitary sentinel of civilization during the long months of his wardenship. Sombre in colouring and monotonous in outline is that wide and dreary expanse, skirted by low hills of drifted sand, over which the doomed eyes of Gordon swept, as morning by morning he looked in vain for the help that never came. True that a sky of undimmed translucency rested on the spacious horizons, and



that the ample breadth of stream, pale or glowing as it flushed and faded with the light, brought down the smile of heaven to soften the asperities of earth.

It is too soon to write in sober circumstantiality the history of the siege of Khartoum, for the first passion of sympathy, grief, and admiration with which contemporaries regard such an event is as inarticulate as a tornado. Details, too, are wanting, and we understand but in part the romantic story we remember so well. It was in the early days of March that the picturesque chivalry of the desert began to gather on the right bank of the Blue Nile, until the beleaguered city became the centre of a vast encampment, whose wild war-music resounded within its walls, and whose missiles fell there from morning to night. The tragical silence of isolation that then fell on its defenders was broken only by still more tragical utterances, as demands for help and protests against abandonment, white-hot with indignation or keen-edged with scorn, breathed all the bitterness of a strong spirit taken in the toils of a relentless fate. They fell on deaf ears, and were received with incredulity or indifference. Sometimes the veil of darkness seemed to drift aside for a moment, affording glimpses of a gallant defence—of poor resources turned to account by an ingenuity pathetic in its inventiveness—of a tenacity of purpose that never flinched—of a spirit that seemed to draw fresh courage from despair.

The monotony of the siege was broken midway by a heart-rending episode—the attempt at escape of a portion of the helpless inhabitants and the two gallant sharers of the lonely watch in Khartoum. We can call up in imagination what no living eye-witness will ever recount: the departure of the little flotilla that carried so many hopes and so many regrets—the small group of wistful white faces on deck turned to the one white face on shore amid so many dark ones—the parting cheer from aching hearts of those who left to him who stayed—the last farewell look of friends to meet never again in this life, so soon to meet beyond it. The shipwreck in the Nile—the death in the desert—form a close so tragical that fancy almost shrinks from dwelling on it in detail.

A striking document received in Cairo on September 20 gives a picture of the feelings of the inhabitants of the city at about this time. Transmitted in Arabic through Debbah and Assouan, it was dated August 19, and addressed to the Khedive, the Council of Ministers, and the British Consul-General at Cairo.

We, the military, the civilians, the Ulema, and inhabitants and settlers in Khartoum, submit for the consideration of the Khedive, that for six months we have been unceasing in our defence of the

capital, of our own lives and those of our children, and our property, day and night, till our misfortunes have assumed stupendous proportions, which threaten our ruin. We are completely cut off from the outer world, and have in vain looked for reinforcements and succour from our Government. We have been allowed to delude ourselves with vain hopes from hour to hour, while the Government shows indifference and delays.

Weakened and reduced to extremities, God in His mercy sent Gordon Pasha to us in the midst of our calamities of the siege, and we should all have perished from hunger and been destroyed, and our fate have been like most of the other garrisons in the Soudan, such as Berber and Kordofan. But we, sustained by his intelligence and great military skill, have been preserved in Khartoum up till now, nor does he, in the arduous task of the defence, omit his benevolent care for the people.

We are penniless, and without resources, and our patience is nearly exhausted.

The Government neither succours us, nor does it regard God's law, nor its own political duties. It makes no effort to suppress anarchy, or to prevent the effusion of blood, nor yet does it try to maintain its own and our honour, though we are its people, its own subjects and co-religionists.

Your Highness is aware that the Mahdi's pretensions are not restricted to certain places, or only to the Soudan, but are universal, and that his first designs against the Powers are directed against our own Turkish Government, whose total annihilation in war he is meditating. This is confirmed by the letters sent in to us by the rebel chiefs and commanders of the besieging forces.

Therefore, if the Government persists in its inactivity, and abstains from sending us aid to put down the revolt during the two months of high Nile, the whole Soudan will shortly be lost and the crisis culminate in our ruin! Such as we, who are besieged, will perish, or be taken captive, sharing the fate of our comrades in previous similar disasters.

Therefore we appeal to your Highness, and show you the true state of our calamities, imploring your mercy to deliver us from this great and universal misfortune.

(Signed by twenty-four superior military officers and eighteen civil *employés* at Khartoum.)

This document is interesting as the only record of the feelings of the native population under the pressure of their terrible calamities. Hope—too long deferred, too late fulfilled—revived on the approach of the Nile Expedition, and Khartoum, we are told, was illuminated on receipt of the news that the advanced guard was at Dongola.

History records no more thrilling incident than the last hopeful episode of the siege, the meeting between the Khartoum steamers on January 21 and the little shattered column

that had fought its way so gallantly across the desert to keep that trust on the Nile. Bringing reinforcements of men and guns, and towing barges laden with goats and grain, nothing could have been better timed than the appearance of the flotilla just as a stinted half-ration had been served out to the English troops, weary from their arduous march. Thus Gordon's last act was to hold out a helping hand to his comrades, and give them a soldier's welcome, while yet a soldier's heart beat in his living breast.

For with the terrible swiftness of tragic climax, more crushing from previous hope grown almost to certainty, the end long-dreaded came at last. On January 28, the very day when the news of the meeting at Metemmeh reached England—the fifty-second anniversary, as it chanced, of Gordon's birth—when friends and kinsfolk and countrymen were rejoicing in his approaching deliverance, the British relieving party arrived at Khartoum, to find it had been forty-eight hours in the possession of the enemy.

From the fire of ten thousand hostile rifles converging on them from either bank, from the sight of banners borne high in triumph by wild warriors surging through the streets, they learned the fatal truth. But most of all was it brought home to them by the bereaved and mournful aspect of the Palace, bare of flag or ensign, defaced with marks of ruthless violence, and mutely unresponsive to the fact of their approach.

Not even in death were they to look upon the face of him they hoped to save—not even on his unconscious clay might a comrade's hand be laid in reverent pity at the end. By the treachery of one he trusted, in the streets which had so often rung with acclamations for his bounty, on the threshold of the dwelling where he had spent so much of his life's energy in the service of the people who slew him, Gordon died in the discharge of his trust. Yet in the manner of his death, as told by those who professed to have witnessed it, there was a certain appropriateness to his strangely dual character and career. For he fell as a soldier leading soldiers on—but to save and succour rather than to slay; with arms in his hands, but no blood on them; in fight, yet unsoiled at the last with the immediate heat and fury of the fray; surrounded by enemies, yet in his heart at peace with all men.

The volley that struck him down gave painless release to his gallant spirit; but how can we trust ourselves to speak of the long agony that went before; how think, without a shudder, of his endurance of what society shrinks from inflicting on its worst criminals—the long anticipation of an inevitable death? Never did poet or dramatist conceive a situation more pathetically

forlorn than his during that last month of life spent in writing his simple letters of "good-bye" to the distant friends he loved.

But, in apportioning the guilt for his fate, it should be remembered that the nation was in this the accomplice of the Government. The majority of twenty-eight by which the House of Commons, in May, 1884, refused to censure his abandonment voted his death-warrant, leaving his life to be deliberately gambled away as the stake of political faction. Nor is there one of his countrymen to whom the following words of his despatch of September 9 do not seem addressed in personal reproach:—

How many times have we written asking for reinforcements, calling your serious attention to the Soudan? No answer at all has come to us as to what has been decided in the matter, and the hearts of men have become weary of this delay. While you are eating, drinking, and resting on good beds, we and those with us, both soldiers and servants, are watching by night and day endeavouring to quell the movement of this false Mahdi.

For eleven months Gordon had stood between England and the Mahdi—his fall brought them face to face. For while his fame had bridged the desert, and linked unknown Africa to Europe, his death but forged the chain more securely, and rivetted it with the adamantine inviolability of the tomb. His mission, from every point of view a practical failure, secured the moral triumph of his ends. His gallant defence, indeed, but increased at the time the sum of suffering he had hoped to avert, and was a cause of universal and widespread disaster. Yet this apparent failure was working to wider and larger achievement than he could have dreamed of, towards consummating all the purposes of his life. By his months of hopeless struggle, by his lonely and forsaken death, he accomplished a work invisible to himself—he consecrated Khartoum to civilization. No monument will, perhaps, ever mark the spot where he rests, but the city he died for will be sacred to his memory for ever. The cynosure of the world's gaze, irradiated by his last exploits, that remote spot, lost in the immensity of the desert, has been ransomed from barbarism and oblivion. A place of penitential pilgrimage for Englishmen to all time, they will carry thither an inheritance of remorse for that story of gallantry and desertion which is at once the glory and the shame of their race. Already the poignant sense of national humiliation has urged on an enterprise of expiation, and from reluctant lips the fiat has gone forth that Khartoum must be re-taken though its girdling sands be soaked in blood. Thus the dead Gordon leads his countrymen to the undertaking to which the living Gordon

strove to nerve them in vain, and England, no longer counting the cost, follows his radiant shade to the fulfilment of the task his life left uncompleted.

The strength of the revulsion of feeling caused by the catastrophe was evidenced by the reckless haste with which the same Government which had waded through seas of blood to the accomplishment of its purpose of abandoning the Soudan now pledged itself to its recovery and subjugation; while history seemed turned to a burlesque by the spectacle of a Minister sending three military expeditions within twelve months against a people described by him as "rightly struggling to be free."

But there are supreme moments of destiny when human volition seems temporarily overruled or suspended, and men become the blind and unwilling instruments of fate. So, under the influence of an overwhelming paroxysm of national excitement, the timorous counsellors of withdrawal became the mouthpieces of a sudden policy of daring, and the members of an Administration of expedients, swept along helpless as straws in a whirlpool, found themselves irrevocably drawn into the tremendous vortex of future complications created by the declared resolution to recapture Khartoum. From their point of view, there was nothing to justify such a decision. The possession of the great Nile stronghold, despite the prestige it confers on the Mahdi's cause, at least throws on him the onus of further initiative. If he remain stationary, the break-up of his power is but a question of time, while, if he advance, it will be to shatter himself against the English garrisons in Egypt. The strength of his position is in the desert in its front, and to attack him on the farther side of that barrier, now that all is lost beyond it, is to throw the game into his hands. The garrisons and population have already endured the worst, and the moral shock of the present disaster will have been discounted long ere it can be retrieved.

But there are higher interests involved than those of mere temporary expediency—interests to which England in former days was not indifferent. To her, who once seemed to have inherited the part played by Rome in ancient civilization of heralding the Gospel among the heathen, a great opportunity is now offered of once more carrying the torch in front of the nations to twelve benighted millions of the human race. To her, who was once the recognized champion of humanity in her generous crusade against the slave trade, has come the call to strike at the very roots of its accursed vitality, and deliver mankind from its anathema for ever. But should she falter or decline the task, she will give her enemies too much reason for what they begin to say of her, that her days of greatness are

numbered, and that a decrepit Government is but the fitting representative of a decrepit nation.

For it is but a coward's plea that power can be divorced from responsibility, or peace preserved by the tame policy of universal surrender. And England, should she barter her Imperial inheritance of greatness for the Radical mess of pottage, will soon cease to exist not only as a Power, but as a people. It is only at the sword's point that nations hold their right to existence, while the ultimate appeal in matters of public right is to arms.

War is a terrible scourge, one of the three mightiest weapons in the armoury of Divine wrath, but there are worse things than even war. Worse is the creeping palsy that chills the vital springs of a nation's heart; worse the vile spirit of commercial greed that saps its sense of honour. Nay, there is in our midst an enemy whose inglorious carnage slays its thousands as surely as the sword. Drunkenness makes more victims in a year than a week of battle, amid a moral extinction worse than a thousand deaths.

But if England shrink from the mission thrust upon her by the strange destiny linking her national honour with the fate of Khartoum, she should at least not bar the path to others willing to undertake it. The colonizing fever broken out simultaneously all over the Continent makes African soil at this moment a coveted prize to national competition, and many claimants might be found for the derelict Equatorial empire of Egypt. Austria, the generous patron of the Mission of Central Africa, would perhaps be willing to venture something for its restoration, while Italy is already on the spot with the best part of a *corps d'armée* on the Red Sea littoral. Tried by the test of the Suez Canal works and the Napoleonic campaign in Russia, the Italians have proved their superiority in withstanding extremes of climate, and are in this respect adapted for an occupation of the Soudan. But no hope can be placed in a government which has done all in its power to destroy in its very centre the civilizing and missionary influence of the Church. The Sacred Congregation of Propaganda has already taken advantage of the military expedition, sending two native priests to the Red Sea coast as pioneers; and three Franciscans of the Ara Cœli, one a native of Khartoum, the others Abyssinians, have accompanied the troops first despatched, while the members of the same Order established in Abyssinia and the Eastern Soudan have been instructed to co-operate in every way with the military commanders. The Cruciferi, or Fathers of St. Camillus, have offered their services as chaplains and hospital-assistants, and the General of the Order has presented the Minister of War with a valuable map of Abyssinia and the littoral, on which roads, distances,

wells, and all natural features are indicated for the use of the Order, which has many affiliated members in those regions.\* Thus every advantage will be taken of coming military operations to push the interests of religion in the Soudan.

But while we need not doubt the eventual success of undertakings brought about by so strange a conjuncture of circumstances, we cannot blind ourselves to the difficulties that beset them in the immediate future. The advance of civilization against this vast stronghold of barbarism, moated by the desert, must necessarily be slow, for physical geography here absolutely governs the political and military situation. An unwieldy empire, with frontiers some 1,400 miles apart each way, and an area which, if the rough estimate of 2,500,000 square miles be correct, would exceed by a fourth that of European Russia, the Soudan is isolated from the rest of the world by the almost impassable zone of thirst girdling it to the north.

The desert, however, has its degrees of habitability, and is divided into two categories—el djebel or el berriyah (the mountain or wilderness), a parched and sterile, but not absolutely lifeless region, and el atmour, the ideal desert of the imagination, where nothing grows or lives, and whose arid monotony of stony plain is varied only by tracts of loose sand, mountainous ridges, and rocky defiles. To the first class belongs the seaward half of the Suakin Desert, which afterwards merges into the second, represented by the Nubian or Korosko waste. General Colston, who spent two years in exploratory travels through the Soudan, describes the atmour in an article in the *Century* magazine for March, 1885.

Within the limits of Egypt and the Soudan, these desolate atmours extend over three-quarters of a million of square miles, never trodden by the foot of man. Only a few caravan trails cross them in their narrowest parts, with scanty wells at long intervals, and the necessities of trade can alone account for their being penetrated at all. They are like oceans, where caravans pass each other in haste like ships at sea. The marches are perfectly terrible, and yet it is worse to halt during the day than to keep in motion, for the heat makes sleep or rest impossible even under canvas. With the burning sand under your feet, and the vertical sun over your head, you are as between the lids of an oven. In summer the thermometer rises to 150 and 160 degrees. The air that blows feels as if it had just passed through a furnace or a brick-kiln. Over the plains it quivers visibly in the sun, as if rising from a red-hot stove, while the mirage mocks your senses with the most life-like appearance of lakes, ponds, and rippling waters. No more laughter or merriment along the column now. Soldiers and

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\* *Times*, March 3, 1885.

camp-followers protect themselves as best they can with turbans and blankets, bringing over all the hoods of their cloth *capotes*, leaving only a narrow opening just enough to see; whilst, strange to say, the Bedouins stride along on foot, *bareheaded* and almost naked, without appearing to suffer any discomfort. Were not the nights comparatively cool (80° in summer), neither men nor animals could endure the terrible ordeal.

Life in the habitable desert, or steppe, is more tolerable, and in the cool season even enjoyable. The landscape has indeed the character of a rocky wilderness, but occasional showers in the rainy season convert the wadies, or valleys, into the beds of brief, though furious, torrents, and the subterranean moisture permanently retained by them nourishes a characteristic vegetation, coarse herbage, and trees or shrubs of the acacia and mimosa tribe. The mountains stand out in harsh nudity, rendered in many places more forbidding by the funereal blackness of the porphyritic rocks composing them. In the Arabian chain, however, parallel to the Red Sea, their absence of charm to the eye is compensated by the gratification of another sense, as their desolation is fragrant with perfume, breathed on the desert air by acres of heliotrope and other aromatic plants.

These habitable wastes, extending over a surface of 5,000 or 6,000 square miles, are the home of the Bedouins, who shift their camps with the change of seasons, within limits strictly defined for each tribe. Their subjection to Cairo is more nominal than real, the patriarchal sway of their hereditary Sheikhs being the only authority they recognize. These latter are responsible for the annual tribute of their people and for the safety of the routes of travel and traffic through their dominions, but their relation to Egypt is rather that of vassals than of subjects. Hussein Pasha Khalifa, the late Governor of Berber, was the most powerful of these desert princes. Ruling as absolute sovereign over 70,000 subjects of the Ababdeh tribe, rich in flocks and herds, in lands and jewels, his noble presence and dignified courtesy of demeanour corresponded to his position, rendering him the ideal patriarch of Scripture. It is said that after the fall of Berber this magnate of the Soudan had to present himself to Mohammed Ahmed, the carpenter's son, of Dongola, with dust on his head, and in the garments of a humble suppliant.

The interposition of this belt of perennial drought between Equatorial and Upper Egypt is what renders the question of communications a vital one for the future of the Soudan. The Nile valley, it is true, carries up an oasis ribbon of fertility through the heart of the Nubian sands, but the river is barred to navigation by the rocky rapids impeding its flow, while its shores

are rendered unavailable as a highway of land travel by the devious nature of its course. Describing here a vast double curve shaped like the letter S, it embraces a desert in either loop, imposing on travellers who wish to strike across the chord of the arc, the passage of the Nubian Atmour from Korosko to Abu Hamed, or of the Bayuda Steppe from Debbah to Khartoum.

Hence the most hopeful feature of the present emergency as regards the future of the country is the imminent construction of a railway under the urgent stress of military necessity. The bridging of the desert by steam-transit will work a more permanent revolution than any conquest by force of arms, and yet is a work of such difficulty as could be only undertaken under the most stringent pressure of circumstances. Hence the conclusion of a contract for the Suakin-Berber Railway, long ago declared by Gordon to be a *sine quâ non* for the welfare of the Soudan, may be regarded as the first-fruits of the extraordinary change in its destiny wrought by the fall of Khartoum. Meantime, the requirements of the force at Korti have prescribed the completion of communication along the Nile valley by sections of railway flanking the cataracts and rapids, in continuation of the line already existing for fifty miles south of Wady Halfa.

The execution of these works followed as an absolute necessity on the declared intention of retaking Khartoum, since, without them, that stronghold is, to a force strong enough in numbers and armament to attempt its reduction, practically inaccessible. Thus, the immediate military emergency, forcing on an undertaking too vast for private enterprise, will have hastened probably by half a century the advent of civilization in the Soudan. The natural difficulties to be overcome in the construction of the Suakin-Berber line are great, and include the provision, by pipes, of an artificial water-supply along the entire way, the ascent of many steep gradients, the highest attaining an altitude of 2,870 feet above the sea, and the passage of a rocky country intersected by deep gullies. Experts are of opinion that the line cannot be completed for more than two years, while military critics declare that a force of 30,000 men will be required to guard it from hostile attacks. But the outlay of time and labour on the enterprise will be amply compensated from every point of view by the resulting advantages, since the annihilation of the desert as an obstacle to traffic will revolutionize the entire political and military situation. Gordon declared in 1882 that no real progress could be made in the Soudan until the arid belt of 280 miles of sand separating it from the rest of the world was spanned by railway communication; and went on to say:—

Had this route been opened when I was in the Soudan, it would have been infinitely more simple to have governed those countries. The hidden misery of peoples in the dark places of the Soudan exists because no light is thrown on those lands, and it is certain, when it is known that the railway is completed, an entire change will take place in the whole of this country.

But it is not merely as a work of beneficence, making known the "hidden misery" that preyed on Gordon like a nightmare, that the desert railway will repay its cost, since, regarded from a purely practical point of view as a commercial speculation, it is likely to prove highly profitable. All that has been said as to the worthlessness of the Soudan as a possession refers to its present isolated condition, and the modern magic of the steam-engine, bringing the Nile within twenty-four hours of the Red Sea, will work an instantaneous transformation. Beyond the desert lies a great Equatorial region, called by Dr. Schweinfurth "the India of Africa," where population and natural wealth increase with remoteness from civilization. The Soudan may be roughly divided into three zones—the true desert, or atmour, extending from the northern Tropic to Khartoum; the steppe region, characterized by scrubby jungle, and sandy plains fertilized by annual rainfall, between 15° and 11° N. lat.; and the forest belt, beginning in Southern Darfur and Kordofan, and attaining the full exuberance of tropical vegetation in the outlying provinces of the Bahr el Gazal and Khatt el Istwa, or Equator. As these remote regions are connected with Khartoum by uninterrupted waterways, which a civilized Government would keep clear of the occasional overgrowth of weed, they would find their natural outlet by the Red Sea, and their crude riches, hitherto, as it were, dammed up by difficulty of transit, would be bartered at Suakin for the European goods always in demand among African races.

Even in their existing isolation, the European Governors of these provinces, Emin and Lupton Beys, were doing much to develop their resources previous to the outbreak of the insurrection, and both not only paid their expenses, but were able to hand over surplus revenue to the Treasury. Tree butter (valuable for the manufacture of soap), tamarinds, ivory, and gutta-percha are found there in inexhaustible quantities; and the value of the produce sent by Emin Bey as the tribute of the Equatorial Province, amounting in 1880 to £9,000, had risen in the following year to £13,000 sterling.

Lupton Bey, Governor of the Bahr el Gazal, in the last letter received from him, written November, 1883, states that he had then collected 2,500 cwt. of ivory and 300 cwt. of india-rubber, amounting in value to £100,000, and was only waiting

for a steamer to forward them to the Government, which would have had a clear profit of £60,000 on a year's administration of the province.

The financial indebtedness of the Soudan is entirely due to the rapacity of its officials, and with honest Governors it would easily pay its expenses, but with the present system of farming out the revenue to the highest bidder, who, in his turn, sub-lets the privilege to others, only a small proportion of the taxes eventually reaches the Government. Gordon, whose financial reform, though the least heroic, was perhaps the most wonderful part of his administration, not only made the Soudan pay its way, but executed considerable public works; built the causeway at Suakin, and two hospitals at Fashoda and Khartoum, created the dockyard at the latter place, and organized the postal and telegraph services. This, too, though he had to suppress two formidable insurrections and other lesser local risings. There is little doubt that, under permanent European control, the Soudan Budget would show a surplus instead of a deficit.

The *Pall Mall Gazette* of March 14 contains an interesting report of a conversation, on "The Commercial Value of the Soudan," with Mr. A. B. Wylde, the original promoter of the Suakin-Berber Railway, and for many years traffic agent at the Red Sea ports of Suakin and Jeddah. The cost of camel transport to Berber amounted, he says, to £10 a ton, an almost prohibitory tariff, the carrying trade being in the hands of the Hadendowa Arabs, the fierce warriors of Osman Digna. This tribe would naturally be permanently opposed to the construction of a railway, on the ground of its interference with their vested interests. Mr. Wylde, who is very sanguine as to the future in store for British trade in Central Africa and the Nile valley when the new line is constructed, spoke as follows on its prospects:—

Suakin, if the railway is made, is destined to rival Alexandria yet. It will be the great commercial *entrepôt* of North Africa. Even as it is, when all merchandise dribbles on camel-back across the desert, it has grown in importance, until now it is one of the first trading stations on the East African coast. One great disadvantage, however, that it labours under is that, in common with the rest of the littoral of the Red Sea, it has to import nearly all its grain from the Persian Gulf or from India. If, however, the railway is made, it is needless to say that not only Suakin, but all the Red Sea coasts, would derive their grain supply from the valley of the Nile, and the transport of this grain would form no small item of revenue to the railway. As much as 18,000 tons of grain is imported into Suakin every year. The only district in the neighbourhood that will grow grain is the small patch of land near Tokar. Osman Digna was one of my cus-

tomers, and, like other chiefs, was in the habit of buying wholesale in order to retail grain to his subjects. How he has managed to get along this last year I do not know. His men must often have been on short commons, although they have very extensive herds upon which they can live. Their bread supplies, however, would run short. From Suakin a steamer runs every week to Suez, carrying about three or four hundred tons of goods, while the monthly steamer carries about the same weight from Suakin to London and other ports. This trade is capable of large development, and those who saw the quantities of Manchester piece goods which were cleared out when the road had been blocked for three months, and it was expected that the Arabs would rush the town, were surprised at the stock which was required to carry on trade with the interior. Business at present is confined to goods that will bear the cost of transit across the desert, but when the railway is completed there will be an enormous impetus given to trade of every kind, and we may safely calculate on a minimum yearly carriage of 150,000 tons. The great difficulty of the natives round the coast is want of water. Wherever there is water they can grow anything they like. At Tokar, before the rebellion, cotton plantations flourished, the one difficulty being an occasional lack of rain. If by chance a rain-cloud passes over the desert it becomes as green as a meadow for a few days, and then all is burned up again. On the Nile the natives cannot sell the produce of their land, so they grow no more than they absolutely need. Give them an opening for their grain, and they will very soon cut out all foreign producers who at present supply the Suakin market. Nor is there any reason why Suakin should not become a great grain-exporting port, and that the English market may be supplied by farmers around Khartoum.

Thus even on purely utilitarian grounds the permanent abandonment of the Soudan would be a suicidal policy. England, searching the universe for fresh markets for her surplus manufactures, has here thrust on her by fate an empire on the Upper Niles the wants of whose population would alone suffice to keep her silent looms permanently in motion. Will she allow it to slip through her fingers, deluded by the shallow sophistries of phrasemongers?

It is perhaps hopeless in the present state of public feeling to appeal to higher motives, but it would be nevertheless a failure in duty to pass them over in silence. The authority just quoted concludes as follows:—

Another aspect of the question which should not be overlooked is the effect which the development of commerce has on the slave trade. At present Osman Digna and his people, who are inveterate slave traders, find that human merchandise, which can not only transport itself across the desert, but carry the goods and chattels of its owners, is almost the only trade that can pay. Give them another outlet for their energies, help them to make money otherwise than by dealing in

black ivory, and we shall see the slave trade extirpated where it has hitherto defied all attempts at its repression.

If this prediction should be fulfilled, humanity will not think the result too dearly bought even at the cost of the calamities we are now witnessing. It would seem, indeed, as if the vials of avenging wrath were at last about to be poured forth over a people whose atrocities have so long cried to Heaven in vain, and as if the slave trade, that epitome of all crime, must now be swept by fire and sword from the regions it has for centuries made a fiends' paradise. For here all alike are guilty—governors and governed, Arabs and Egyptians. The Bedouin tribes pay their tribute by the produce of their slave-raids, the Pashas levy toll on the miserable gangs smuggled through their towns. The organization of iniquity is intertwined with every fibre of the social fabric, and all ties are cemented and founded on the prescriptive right of man to prey upon man. Nothing short of universal disruption can overthrow this universal conspiracy of crime, and only the dread discipline of war can eradicate horrors to which those of war itself are but as a child's pastime.

One opportunity for the milder cure of self-reformation was offered to the people of the Soudan, and a voice was heard in their midst warning them of the judgments in store for them. Gordon came for the first time amongst them as the messenger of mercy—though the forerunner of wrath. Through all his vast provinces, from north to south and from east to west, he flashed at meteor-speed, the visible type of a higher morality. Swift camels dropped dead beneath him as he sped through the deserts, urged on by the passion of pity within him, his presence a protest, his whole life and being a perpetual witness of warning and condemnation.

Riding with Yussuf Bey, a noted slave-dealer, he pointed to one of the many skulls that lined the slavers' track, telling him that the inmate of that piteous relic of mortality had told the God they all believed in of the wrong done to him and his, and that the curse of Heaven would be on the land until this traffic should cease. In Darfur he washed his hands in the desert sand, in presence of the people, to express his abhorrence of their acts, and disclaim all responsibility for them. Yet even under the stringency of his repression the slave trade never wholly ceased, and on his departure its worst horrors were renewed. Thus his mission failed, and he himself declared in sadness it would have been better he had never been sent.

He came for the second time as the harbinger of woes foretold by him in vain to an incorrigible people, his death the immediate cause of their full accomplishment. The sword must

in the first instance answer to the challenge of the sword, but a nobler vengeance is ultimately due to the soldier who fought only in the cause of humanity.

It is a mockery to talk of a memorial to Gordon while the champion of Mohammedanism and slavery hurls defiance to civilization across his grave. The hero's fame may be trusted to the world and posterity, but from his own country it is expiation, not celebration, that is owed to his memory. When England shall have fulfilled the duty imposed on her by so strange a fatality—when something shall have been done to alleviate the miseries of that people burning pity for whom was the passion of his later life—to lighten those sufferings whose burden, as he said, was laid on him for so many years—when Khartoum, the slave-dealers' metropolis of infamy, shall have been dedicated as his monument to be the Christian and Christianizing capital of the Soudan—when the long-bleeding wound in the heart of Africa shall be stanchd at last, then, and not till then, England, sheathing the sword, may, if she will, devise some other record of her worthy pride in the memory of her dead hero.

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#### ART. VIII.—THE BRAIN AND THE MIND.

**C**ELLS in the centre, and fibres running to and fro, constitute the spinal cord with its nerves; and we can understand tolerably well how these simple elements may suffice for the ends which the spinal cord and its nerves fulfil. But what have cells and fibres to do with thought, with love, with moral choice, with will? Yet beyond them there is nothing visible in the brain. Such identity of structure, such difference of use! It is very perplexing. Nor can we take refuge in the idea suggested by some, that, since the brain is used for feeling and for thinking, therefore the spinal cord, which is just like it, only arranged inside out, must be so too; and that, in fact, our backs contrive and will, though we know nothing of it.

Cells and fibres! Surely no one would have believed how much could be done with them. The simplest means of effecting the offices needed from the little nervous system of the lowest creatures, they are still used when are super-added to these the lofty functions of human life. For it is part of Nature's grand economy ever to employ existing resources, to construct the higher from the lower, and on the pattern which that lower affords. The advance of the nervous organization, therefore,

being upwards from the merely unconscious system, which is termed "reflex," the super-added parts are based on the same model; and the reflected actions of the spinal cord become the key to the structure and functions of the brain.

It is certain that we have not been able to find the mind in the brain, but it is hardly too much to say that we can find the brain in the mind—that is, in our mode of feeling and thinking, of consciously acting, suffering, and enjoying, we may find reflected the constitution of the brain and the relations of its parts. Thus, it is by outward impressions that our mental activity is called forth—we think and will when we have perceived and felt. And when perception and feeling have moved us to reflection and excited us to act, we carry out our determinations by a simple effort, unconscious of the varied machinery we have to put in motion to perform even the smallest act. Clearly there is a "reflex function" here; a stimulus transmitted, a reception at a centre or station—the central station of all—and a transmission again of a stimulus to the active organs, or muscles. Consciousness is in the centre, and reflects, but Will takes the place of mere physical impulse; yet the plan and arrangement of the spinal cord are followed. Now, for this mode of operation, what order of parts should there be? We can pretty well tell it beforehand. There is wanted first a centre (consisting of cells, of course) in which impressions from all the nerves should be received and grouped ready for transmission to the "reflecting" organ; then there must be a centre—another mass of cells—for the purpose of receiving and subjecting to the process of reflection, in its double sense, these impressions; and finally another centre to receive the single impulse of the will, and transmit it with order and precision to the muscles suited to carry out its commands. And all these parts must be fully united by conducting lines of fibres with each other and with the spinal cord.

Such is the structure of the brain, speaking generally, and disregarding subordinate parts. The higher portion of the brain is termed the hemispheres, from its shape, and is the special organ of the mind. It consists of cells on the surface and fibres within, being opposite in this to the spinal cord, in which the fibres are outside. The little brain is situated behind the brain proper, and is covered by it. The office of this "cerebellum," or little brain, is a somewhat doubtful point as yet, but the results of experiments indicate that it serves the purpose of associating the various muscles, and enabling the animal to execute complicated movements which involve their united action. In the case of a pigeon, for example, from which the hemispheres of the true brain have been removed, the bird is deprived of anything like

power of thought; it stands plunged in a state of profound stupor, and is almost entirely inattentive to surrounding objects. Occasionally it opens its eyes with a vacant stare, stretches its neck, perhaps shakes its bill once or twice, or smoothes down the feathers upon its shoulders, and then relapses into its former apathy. At the same time it seems to perceive impressions on its senses or skin, and responds to them by slight movements. It may even follow a light with its eyes. On the other hand, the bird from which the "little brain" has been removed is in a constant state of agitation, is easily terrified, and endeavours frequently, and with violent struggles, to escape the notice of those who are watching it; but its movements are sprawling and unnatural, and are evidently no longer under control. It is incapable of assuming or retaining any natural position, but its legs and wings are almost constantly agitated with irregular and ineffectual struggles. The little brain, therefore, seems to act somewhat as the regulating wheel in an engine in respect to the larger brain behind which it lies concealed. But it has, doubtless, also other functions, one of which is very likely that of maintaining the nervous activity while the brain proper is asleep. The cells on its surface are arranged in layers closely packed, in appearance somewhat like a tree. Hence it was called the "*Arbor Vitæ*," or Tree of Life, in the early days of anatomy—a name that recalls the vague sense of wonder with which these structures must have impressed their first discoverers.

The effect of removing the hemispheres of the brain as described above proves them to be the organs of thought; but similar evidence is furnished by other facts. Intelligence is exhibited in the animal world in close correspondence with the degree of development of these organs. According as the animal rises in the scale do the upper parts of the brain make their appearance. In fishes they are exceedingly small. The brain-case of the shark will scarcely admit the finger. As we advance among the quadrupeds they become larger, and their surface is gathered up into convolutions so as to afford room for a greater extent of gray matter. In man the hemispheres of the brain constitute nine-tenths of its entire mass; and the convolutions attain a size vastly larger than in any other creature. Taking in both the great and the little brain, they have been calculated to afford a surface in a full-sized adult of 670 square inches. The convolutions follow a definite order in their development, are always alike in animals of the same class, and correspond strictly on the two sides of the head.

The brain may be regarded as an expansion and unfolding of the spinal cord, which, running up into the head, spreads out into bands of radiating fibres on each side, in a form roughly suggest-

ive of the root and first pair of leaves put forth by a growing seed. The fibres on each side curve round in a beautifully spiral manner externally, so as to return upon themselves, and they are thus hidden from view by the gray matter which covers their surface. The spaces in the brain, being divided by bands of fibres here and there, have received the fanciful name of the "ventricles," or little stomachs. They answer the purpose of permitting the free passage of blood to and from the interior of the brain, and are filled with the same fluid that bathes its exterior. For the whole of the central nervous system, brain and spinal cord alike, reposes on a water bed; it is surrounded by a membrane folded on itself (like a double night-cap when placed on the head), and filled with a thin layer of fluid closely resembling water. This fluid separates the brain from its bony case, guards it from shocks, and gives it, both externally and in the ventricles within, the most delicate and exact support in all its motions. Beneath this double membrane a fine tissue, carrying a close mesh of blood-vessels, immediately overlies the surface of the brain, and, dipping down between the convolutions, bathes them with a copious supply of blood, and around the whole there is wrapped a tough membrane which lines the bones, separates the various portions of the brain by strong partitions, sends off sheaths around the nerves, and furnishes channels for the returning blood.

The brain, then, is a double organ, consisting of two distinct halves precisely corresponding to each other. In fact, though they are contained within one cavity, we have as truly two brains as we have two eyes or two hands. Seen from above, these two brains are found separated by a deep interval in which we can lay the hand. They are united, however, in man and the higher animals, by large and numerous bands of fibres passing from one to the other.

This doubleness of the brain has given rise to some curious speculations. Dr. Wigan fancies that the mind also is double, a suggestion which of course we cannot accept. But we certainly seem to find in our experience many traces of the influence of our double brain. How often, for example, are we not conscious of carrying on a train of thought, and at the same time calmly criticizing ourselves in doing it? In day-dreaming, do we not think in two ways at once—indulging unbounded fancies on the one hand (or brain), and holding on to the cold reality by the other? If the latter also were to slip its grasp, how far should we be from temporary madness? In disease these characteristics of thought become still more marked; delirium often begins with the feeling of being two persons, or in two conditions, at once; or illusions are at the same time felt as reali-

ties and yet known to be false. May not these conditions be referable to loss of harmony between the brains? And, again, those strange experiences called "double consciousness," in which a person passes alternately from one condition of thought, apprehension, memory, into another entirely different, forgetting wholly in the one state what has happened in the other—do we not naturally ascribe them to an alternate activity and torpor of the two "organs of the mind"? We may not be quite right in so doing, but we can hardly resist entertaining them. Even in healthful, vigorous thought, may not the action of both brains be traced? May not *attention* be the bringing both of them to bear on one subject, as *looking* is directing both eyes to a common point? When intent upon a thought, do we not almost feel as if we grasped it with one part of our mind and worked upon it with another, holding it steady, as it were, while we bring our force to bear upon it?

However this may be, the double brain serves the purpose of providing a surplussage of power beyond that which is habitually in demand. We possess a "reserve" of nervous faculty not drawn upon in ordinary life, so that great losses may be sustained by the brain without giving rise to any apparent symptoms. Large portions of one hemisphere have been destroyed by disease or injury, and yet the mental powers have seemed entirely unimpaired; just as a person may be almost blind on one side for a long while without discovering his loss. Of this the most striking instance on record is, perhaps, the following, which, incredible as it may seem, is reported on good authority. A pointed iron bar, three and a half feet long and one inch and a quarter in diameter, was driven by the premature blasting of rock completely through the side of the head of a man who was present. It entered below the temple, and made its exit at the top of the forehead, just about the middle line. The man was stunned, and lay in a delirious, semi-stupefied state for about three weeks. At the end of sixteen months, however, he was in perfect health, with the wounds healed and with the mental and bodily functions unimpaired, except that the sight was lost in the eye of the injured side. Those curious cases, too, in which one side of the body suffers some peculiar affection exactly limited to the middle line are attributable to a diverse action of the two hemispheres of the brain. Some persons perspire only on one side, and they are apt to be thrown into this partial perspiration by any nervous agitation. Sir Henry Holland mentions the case of a horse which had this peculiarity, and became giddy when heated. Many affections of the skin, also, which are greatly under the influence of the nervous system are precisely limited in the same way.

The brain, however, consists of two brains united into one only because the body also is, in strictness, two bodies united into one. Each half of the body is presided over by its own half of the brain, but not by that which is nearest to it. The fibres, in descending from the brain to the limbs, cross each other, and go to the opposite side. The execution of Solomon's judgment was physically, as well as morally, impossible. To divide is virtually to decapitate the living frame. Each mangled portion would contain not its own brain, but that of its fellow. Hence it is that, when paralysis ensues from disease in one hemisphere of the brain, the opposite side of the body is deprived of its powers. This, however, does not hold of the face; from the same cause the face may be rendered motionless on one side and the limbs on the other.

The brain, however, can present us with still more startling phenomena. Who, for instance, would have supposed that the seat of sensibility would itself be entirely insensitive? Yet this is the case. While all parts of the spinal cord and all the nerves are sensitive to any irritant, to a touch, a prick, or an electric shock, any one of these exciting intense pain or producing convulsive movements, the chief part of the brain is insensible to them all. It may be cut, contused, burnt, electrified, with no result save loss of its powers following destruction of its substance. And this character of indifference to direct stimulation seems to extend (according to the careful experiment of Flourens) just to those parts of the brain which subserve in mental processes. Where consciousness is connected with the function, there sensibility to physical stimulus is lost. There is thus a sort of oppositeness between those portions of the nervous system which conduct impressions to the central organ, and those whose office it is to present these impressions to the mind. Each is susceptible of its appropriate stimulus, and of that alone. The brain responds directly to the mental forces of thought and will, but to physical stimuli only when conveyed to it through the appointed nervous channel. The spinal cord and nerves are directly amenable to physical stimuli, but obey the mental power only when conveyed to them through the brain. Each portion is thus the converse of the other. If we imagine the nervous system spread out before us, it would be sensitive to irritation in all parts except its centre, while in that centre alone would be found the power of awakening consciousness. There the brain sits a monarch, inaccessible except through his ministers. Perhaps there is something similar to this in our mental constitution. We know well how little we can do by direct effort in the way of remembrance or of thinking. Thought, as well as sensation, has its appointed channels, and cannot be

commanded. We cannot compel an idea to arise; we can only facilitate its up-springing by opening our minds to that class of subjects which shall most readily suggest it to us. The mind has its own system of nerves, to the impulses of which alone it will respond; these ramify over the entire body, and find their expression in the laws of the "association of ideas."

But one of the most curious points connected with the action of the brain is the part it seems to play in what may be termed "unconscious thinking." Sir William Hamilton has pointed out that our perceptions are often made up of a number of impressions, each of which is itself unperceived. When the roaring of the sea is heard at a distance, the total sound is an aggregate of a multitude of smaller sounds, those of the separate waves, themselves too weak to reach the ear. In a somewhat similar way, intellectual results are arrived at by a course of thoughts (if we must call them so) each step in which seems too slight or too evanescent to be itself perceived. Dr. Laycock has especially pursued this subject, and has shown how constant and how important a part of our experience it is which assumes this form. Every one knows how often a new light arises on matters which have perplexed us, without any effort or even consciousness of our own about them, as if our ideas re-arranged themselves while we slept or attended to other things; and even highest flights of genius, the inspiration alike of the poet and the man of science, are forms of thought which seem most emphatically to be characterized by this spontaneousness. Of these achievements, often, nothing can be said, even by their authors, but that "they come to them." *Poeta non fit.* Now, in such cases, there seems good reason to believe that physiological laws express themselves. Changes proceeding in the brain, in harmony with Nature, afford results which partake of Nature's perfection; the more perfect because free from the bias or constraint imposed by deliberate effort. The fantastic dreams which ensue from the perverted action of the brain under stimulant or narcotic poisoning present a parallel but contrasted case. Sometimes in disease very singular results are manifested from this cause.

In some of the odd freaks, again, known as absence of mind, we see another illustration of unconscious action in the brain. There are two kinds of such absence: sometimes an intense activity of certain powers throws the other faculties into undue abeyance. Sir Isaac Newton forgot to eat; and Socrates is said to have stood motionless for a whole day and night. But sometimes the activity of these other faculties is in excess, and the absorbed attention seems to give an unrestrained liberty to processes which should be held in check. Thus it can certainly happen that an absent man may, quite unknowingly, and un-

fortunately, take up money not his own, if it lies before him, and transfer it to his own pocket, the stimulus of sight and habit not being balanced by the reflecting powers. Of like kind, too, are the instances in which dying men have enacted over again the parts they had been accustomed to play in life—the merchant counting up his books, the judge charging the jury.

But, in truth, the more closely we scrutinize our mental powers, and note the laws they follow, the more we are struck with the narrow limits within which our own action is restricted. To a large extent we are passive, and rather suffer our thoughts than think them. We may even more strictly be said to suffer than to do a large proportion of our own actions. Much of our life passes before us like a panorama, in which we are rather the most interested of spectators than the actors. And we find too, that to a great extent an effort is required, and exerted, to control actions that would otherwise take place; to command quiescence rather than movement. The body is quick to respond to innumerable stimuli, operating upon it at all times and in every variety of mode; its pent-up force is ever ready to break forth, and does break forth, save as a regulating power is exerted upon it either by the will or the operation of the superior parts of the nervous system. We may take winking as an illustration. What an effort it demands to prevent our eyes from closing when an object threatens to come into contact with them. It seems, indeed, impossible to avoid the action beyond a certain nearness of approach, even when there is perfect confidence that no contact will ensue, and there is, therefore, no struggle of the will. Instances of this kind will illustrate the nature of the brain, and the part it plays in our experience. We may call the brain an instrument, but we must remember that it is itself active. Indeed, for this very reason it is a suitable instrument. Itself a part of Nature, with Nature's laws expressing themselves within it in constantly recurring activities, it lays for our consciousness exactly the basis that we need. We are thus brought, by its means, into relation with the material world in its highest and intensest form, and read off, as it were, in the form of thoughts, the culminating processes of life—itsself the crown and flower of all the physical developments of force. The brain presents Nature to our conscious part, and presents it worthily.

Again, the brain, united by means of the nerves with every portion of our bodily frames, and thus transmitting to every portion in its turn the stimulus which results from the actions that take place within it, renders the whole body the representative and exponent of the soul. Expressed to consciousness, on the one hand, in the form of emotion or of thought, these same actions in the brain, upon the other, penetrate, and mould by a

subtle alchemy, the most interior recesses of the body, and their effects proclaim themselves on lip or cheek, in eye or hand. Thus the subordination of the body to the mind is effected perfectly, and without care on our part; as, indeed, no care of ours could ever avail to maintain it through all the innumerable variations of the mental states.

And here the significance of the various "centres" or groups of cells which enter into the formation of the brain becomes apparent. Besides the actions which take place unconsciously within us, even those of which we are distinctly conscious are of different kinds. Some are immediately dependent upon sensations. The act of sneezing, for example, is one which no effort of the will can exactly reproduce; it follows directly upon a peculiar feeling, and demands for its production that the feeling should be of a certain intensity. Tears and laughter, when caused by physical sensations—by tickling or by pain—come under the same category. There is thus a whole class of actions that are dependent on sensation, and they have their own centre in the brain. At least, there is sufficient evidence to make it exceedingly probable that one of the swellings which are formed upon the fibres coming up from the spinal cord, and expanding outwards to the hemispheres, is this centre. Impressions on the nerves may reach this spot, and be at once reflected—that is, may excite a change in the cells collected there, and put into activity the nerves proceeding to certain groups of muscles, or to certain glands. When this is the case, we have an action dependent on, or at least connected with, sensation, and not involving any of the higher faculties, as thought or will.

In the tendency of the brain to give rise to actions of this class lies a chief source of the power of habit, and the fatal bondage under which the victim of habitual vice is laid, and so often piteously struggles. The chain between sensation and its consequent acts grows stronger with practice, and acquires ever new directions. It is thus that dipsomania grows on its victim, the taste, or even the mere sight, of drink becoming all-powerful, and bringing on the accustomed act while the will is almost asleep. And very far short of this utter wreck and ruin of the man, the predominance of the inferior portion of the brain may still be felt in various ways in the undue influence of sense. There is ever a tendency in us to suffer the immediate link of sensuous feeling with thought or action to anticipate or set aside the verdict of the nobler powers; and this tendency is no less visible in the intellectual than in the moral life of man, and vitiates belief no less than deeds. The demand upon our manhood ever is to counteract this facile connection between sensa-

tion and its natural consequents. The struggle which constitutes our life is thus forewritten on our brains.

The last and highest "centre" in the brain is the gray matter spread upon its surface, and embracing in its many folds the substance of the hemispheres. Here we approach the very throne of thought, but we recognize essentially the same relations that we have met with before. The final secret of will, however, is not to be read even here.

The modes of action of the nervous system may be classed under three heads—viz., the intellectual brain, the sensational brain and probable seat of instinct, and the spinal cord, or "automatic" brain. In endeavouring to trace the mutual influence of the brain and the other organs of the body, our great guide is found in the principle of the constancy of force. If we remember that an action once commenced, in the material world, does not cease, but goes on indefinitely producing equivalent effects, and that this law holds good as much in the living body as in the rest of Nature, the foundation of the mutual interaction, difficult though it may be to trace in all its details, becomes perfectly simple. The nervous system, indeed, may be regarded as a structure adapted for turning this law of Nature to account, and for employing on useful purposes the indestructible force that is ever circulating through the body. The nerves afford to it channels of least resistance, and conduct it where it will produce results that are needful for the animal, or at least—where no derangement is present—harmless. Thus the muscles carry off, and return into the world without, the force arising from the brain-changes which our conscious life involves. They are at once instruments of motion and safety-valves, sometimes one of these offices predominating, sometimes the other. Laughing is an evident instance of the latter use; walking may be either. Conversely, the nervous system takes up, and is thrown into action by, the force resulting from the innumerable changes which take place in the other organs.

If the influence which the brain thus exerts be prevented from travelling in one direction, it takes another. But it never fails. Thus it is that controlled emotion, or passion which finds no outward vent, is so powerful, and often so disastrous in its effects upon the health. The will has a certain power to direct the action through one or another set of nerves, but some equivalent action it cannot avert. Manifest or hidden, every mental state will have its full proportionate effect. The power of the brain over the vital condition of the body is exerted through a particular set of nerves, which have been called the "sympathetic system." These are somewhat smaller and simpler than the nerves of sensation and of motion, with which, however, they are intimately con-

nected. They are distributed to the organs on which life depends (the lungs, heart, stomach, &c.), and to the blood-vessels all over the body. Blushing is effected through their agency, and through them, too, the pallor which accompanies fear or anger. And in these instances we have revealed to us the main secret of the control exerted by the brain over all the vital processes. The condition of the blood-vessels everywhere, and especially in the most vital organs, is regulated from moment to moment by its changing moods. Even the vessels from which it draws its own supply are subject to the same influence, and it immediately controls the nutrition, not only of its servitors, but of its own substance.

Thus the condition of the brain is necessarily the key to that of the whole body; both directly by its power over the heart and the breathing, and still more profoundly by its indirect control over the supply of blood, its influence is universally paramount. There is no mystery in the effects produced on health by excess of mental labour, or by long-continued care, nor in the bodily torpor which attends a merely inactive mind. "Nervousness" naturally results from an over-taxed brain; it is an expression of its deranged circulation and imperfect nutrition. The wonder surely is, not that it occurs so often, but that, amid the rude shocks to which our life is subject, it is not more frequently experienced. The self-regulating power which preserves the balance true amid such a variety of circumstance might well excite our surprise. It is like that adapting power, possessed in its greatest degree by man alone of all the higher animals, by which all climates can be borne and all diets assimilated. And, if we could see aright, doubtless we should find that man exceeds other creatures as much in his power to bear safely mental changes as those of external circumstance. We might thus explain the frequent instances narrated of the death of animals separated from their fellows or their masters; their lower nature may be more difficult to rouse, but their brain succumbs more readily.

The intimate relations which must exist between the brain and the health of the whole body appear still more manifest if we take into account the relative amount of the activity that is concentrated within this single organ. In no other is the poise of the forces apparently so delicate or so easily disturbed, and in none, accordingly, is there anything like the same amount of change. Of the beautiful contrivances by which the supply of blood is regulated, and a channel furnished to guard against disturbing circumstances, we have not had time to speak; but the mere quantity of blood sent to the brain is highly significant. It has been variously estimated at from a fourth to a fifth of the

whole blood in the body; and the same tale of immense activity is told, not only by the phosphorus which exists in large measure in the nervous substance, and especially in the cells, but by the vast amount of waste of which evidence is given after mental labour. According to the best comparisons that have been made, the total bodily waste from this cause exceeds in amount that which attends an equal period of hard muscular exertion. From this it is easy to understand the ill effects of too protracted or exhausting mental toil.

But another lesson is equally taught by the same facts—a lesson of an opposite kind, indeed, yet resting on the same physiological basis, and warranted by an experience not less conclusive. If exhaustive labour of the brain overstrains the vessels, and consumes the vital energy at a greater rate than it can be replaced, the absence of its due use is no less certainly hurtful on the other side. The energies of every vital function receive a considerable and essential portion of their stimulus from the activity the brain is adapted to carry on. The torpid, unhealthy frame and languid circulation of the idiot are but an exaggerated instance of the unnatural torpor to which he condemns himself who wastes his life in indolence or consumes it in dissipation. If we would have our bodies healthy, our brains must be used, and used in orderly and vigorous ways, that the life-giving streams of force may flow from them into the expectant organs, which can minister but as they are ministered unto.

We admire the vigorous animal life of the Greeks, and with justice we recognize, and partly seek to imitate, the various gymnastic and other means which they employed to secure it. But we should make a fatal error if we omitted from our calculation the hearty and generous earnestness with which the highest subjects of art, speculation, and politics were pursued by them. Surely in their case it was a beautiful and energetic mental life which found expression in an athletic and graceful frame. And is it a mere extravagance to ask whether some part of the lassitude and weariness of life of which we hear so much in our day be not due to lack of mental occupation on worthy subjects, exciting and repaying a generous enthusiasm, as well as to an over-exercise on lower ones—whether an engrossment on matters which have not substance enough to justify or satisfy the mental grasp be not at the root of some part of the maladies which affect our mental convalescence? Any one who tries it soon finds out how wearying, how disproportionately exhausting, is an overdose of “light literature” compared with an equal amount of time spent on real work. Of this we may be sure, that the due exercise of brain—of thought—is one of the essential elements of human life.

ANDREW T. SIBBALD.

## ART. IX.—DEMOCRACY—WHITHER?

**T**HERE is a tide in the affairs of men, which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune: our Democracy is fast approaching its flood-tide—will it lead on to fortune? Let this be my text. “Democracy?” cry the half-wakened Tories, “pooh! nonsense! No such thing. The Radicals use the term to frighten us;” and then, startled awhile by indistinct dreams of mob rule, Communal outbreaks, and red caps of Liberty, they slumber again with the gentle murmur of “British Constitution” on their lips. Are we a Democracy in good sooth or not? The most advanced Tories shun the pregnant term. It would seem in Tory mouths to have a disloyal smack, a Republican flavour, a suggestion of “Down with Crown and Peers and Constitution.” The Liberal of to-day—ex-Radical of yesterday—to say nothing of the rampant Radical or thinly veiled Republican, gloats upon the word Democracy, and hugs it as a badge of victory. He never tires of thrusting the hated phrase in his opponent’s faces; he flaunts it before them in season and out of season. Is there not much of British cant in all this? Your Briton and the fabled ostrich have much in common. Does he not, too, love to hide his head in the sand? Seventeen years have rolled by since the cunning Hebrew Minister stole the Liberal thunder while the Whigs dozed. *Sic vos non nobis vellera fertis oves*. Now it is the Tories that resolutely shut their eyes to facts. Long they fought against the inevitable. In vain they threw sops to the Liberal wolves that howled in their track. Reform Bills, so cunningly wrought that their Jew parent himself could not tell them from his own children; yet so flimsy that the first hungry Liberal snap let out the sawdust, and showed the dolls they were. And, after all, nothing would appease the many-headed but the whole truth and nothing but the truth. That truth was the British Democracy—yet more unpalatable to those who prepared the feast than to the greedy recipients. The British stomach for reform was sated, yet the shaft its own plume had fledged rankled in the Tory breast. Still it was feathered on one side only. A loophole was discovered for evasion. They cried, “It is only a make-believe, a toy for these doting Radicals. The county householders will never get the vote, the urban household suffrage will certainly disagree with John Bull, and all will be well again. In any case a Democracy is not complete.” Poor ostriches! In truth the British Cerberus grew drowsy after his meal. The political doctors gathered around him. The Conservatives shook their heads sadly: “Too much Reform!” The Radicals whispered, at first gently, then hoarsely: “He is getting hungry, he wants

more." Beware, ye timid ostriches, lest ye stand in his way; not even your long legs shall save you.

The rest is as dreary as a twice-told tale. To recapitulate:—Up to 1832 the so-called representative system had become farcical. Boroughs returned the candidate whose influence or bribes obtained the suffrages of a handful of electors—consisting generally of the mayor and council or a few freeholders—and counties were usually at the mercy of the local magnate. The smaller towns were generally pocket boroughs at the disposal of a great landowner, who either put in his own nominees or sold them to the highest bidder, while nearly all the large towns, newly grown into importance, returned no members at all. The representative system could scarcely by the most reckless exaggeration be termed popular; and this, too, in a country where Britons prided themselves above all on their civil equality and popular rights. The electoral system was more properly aristocratic, and the Government practically oligarchic. Power was in the hands of a privileged few. 1867 brought the next reform, and a one-sided Democracy began. That is to say, before 1832, the power resided chiefly in the hands of the aristocracy; up to 1867 with the middle classes, the shopkeepers, and farmers; and thereafter the balance of power remained to the people, the wage-earning artisans of the towns. January, 1885, completed the scheme of Electoral Reform, and January, 1886, ushers into the world the most democratic Democracy that has ever been seen, wherein the power resides with the landless, wage-earning, working-men, who have nothing to gain by stability and order, everything to hope for from anarchy and revolution.

War has no terrors for this new-born Democracy. Conscription they laugh to scorn. Unlike French or German proletaires, foreign interference and foreign complications do not harm them. They make the laws, or at all events choose the men that make them—why should they consent to forced levies on their own numbers while they can lavish the nation's gold to purchase hirelings. Their nominees in Parliament are pledged to flourish the "Rights of Man" in the face of John Bull if he grows fractious; and if he should feel his pockets anxiously they will talk to him of Socialism and International Brotherhood. Should he prate of national defence they terrify him by threats of military domination. The working classes have the power, and thanks to Messrs. Charlatan & Co., of Birmingham, and a Press too often corrupt, ignorant, or mercenary, they mean to exert it. John Bull grumbles at his growing Budget, and his army and navy, all too small for his growing needs. Too late! Too late! Had the aristocracy, when they were strong, imitated France and organized a national militia, England would not now be reduced to these straits. Again, the middle classes, when their turn came to rule, were

asked to organize a national army. But they had waxed fat and lazy, and were lulled to sleep easily in the long halcyon period by the syren voices of Peace Associations, &c., who told them the Golden Age had come again. Like well-to-do Armenian traders among the Kurds, they held out their gold to the spoiler, saying, "We will pay, but we cannot fight." It was then that Napoleon III. described us as a nation of shopkeepers. What next?

Can any sane person believe that an era of peace has set in at last, or that England, the successful wholesale trader and shipper of the world, is not as much, nay more, the object of international spite and envy than she ever was in the world's history? Her empire widens and lengthens apace. Her sons, filled with the spirit of the Norse Vikings, tread every shore and rifle resolutely the world's treasures. Her teeming populations stream over the entire globe. Wherever their footsteps fall colonies spring up, industries flourish, and England's responsibilities daily and hourly increase unbidden. Her empire spreads unsought, she can no more set a limit to its growth than bid the rising tide be still. Yet what do we see? An army so small and ill-equipped that the slightest strain breaks it down. An army whose resources are exhausted by a colonial outbreak or a tribal insurrection. Expensive beyond comparison, yet minute beyond all proportions. There can be no doubt that her army debars England from exerting any sensible weight in European councils or enforcing her national will. Nevertheless no hope of improvement can be looked for. The national expenditure is already colossal; and the new Democracy, reckless through ignorance, or ignorant through recklessness, resolutely oppose any increase for national defences. Still less can they be expected to consent to a truly national and patriotic army of citizens, by which alone an efficient force, proportioned to our Imperial needs, without undue expenditure, can be provided. They are ready enough to vote away public money for thinly veiled class purposes; but to compel the freeborn Briton to join the ranks of a national army in defence of hearth and home would be a monstrous anomaly, a reversal of our glorious history and a presage of national decay. To force the freeborn Briton to swallow the Government brand of Education wholesale—nay, to impose on the unwilling Briton the form, shape, and quality of the education to which he must submit and contribute pecuniarily under dire penalties, seems a trifling stretch of paternal authority on the part of the State. The Radicals go farther and call it an imperative duty. Impelled, as they would say, by the force of Liberal opinion and desire for justice, but really by the proletariat who clamour for class legislation, by which the taxpayers shall be forced to provide a free education for them, they openly proclaim their intention to compel the taxpayers to provide a complete and absolutely unpaid education for the people.

Strangely enough the American Democracy, proceeding upon the same lines of opinion, and adopting the same views as our Radicals nominally profess, arrive at an opposite conclusion. The United States of America certainly provides a free education in many States, but that only of the most elementary description, and to such as are unable to pay school fees. They consider very properly, firstly, that compulsory education or any restriction placed upon the quality or stamp of national education would be a monstrous infringement of the liberty of the individual, and little short of State tyranny ; secondly, that to deprive forcibly a parent of filial support by compelling children to attend school whether required at home or not would be a breach of family ties, an infringement of parental rights, and involve State meddling in its most arbitrary and pernicious form ; and thirdly, that to devote a share of the manhood of the country to the purposes of national defence is the plainest duty of society, and the most obvious obligation of a free people towards a freely elected and representative government.

Ours is a landless Democracy. Those of Switzerland, France, America, Belgium, are based on a property-owning electorate, from which they derive their stability and security. Slavery was the ground-plan of the popular political systems in the old world ; in the modern they have been exclusively landed. The majority of the electors of Belgium, of Germany, Switzerland, France, Austria, Russia, Sweden, and America are either peasant proprietors, or citizens owning houses, or possessing movable property which revolution or anarchy would jeopardize and which they consequently fear to lose. Coupled with the lodger and service franchise, ours is a residential electorate ; that is, not one which possesses land or valuable chattels, but simply one which is lodged in some sort ; or, in a word, it is the wide stratum which overlies—to use a geologic term—that homeless and struggling poverty which forms the border-land between hand-to-mouth unskilled labour and acknowledged pauperism, insensibly blending off into the criminal classes. These three lower strata constitute elements of danger to all civilized communities. They are the ranks from which, under pressure of national distress or commercial depression, the ferocious bands are recruited that man the barricades of Paris, and carry out the desperate insurrections of Spain, Italy, and Austria. Statistics plainly show that the greater number of the 5,000,000 which will constitute the electorate of January, 1886, will be composed of such as depend in great measure on good trade for regular work. Having the wolf always at the door, they will naturally grasp at every shadow, and snap eagerly at every bait held out by reckless demagogues. Every political quackery, every exploded economic fiction, is swallowed wholesale. No flattery is too transparent, no trick too stale. As in the old

assemblies of Athens, the loud-voiced Cleons, the wily self-seeking politicians, who gain popular confidence by adulation and reckless falsehood, will they not again hold sway? Is not such a Democracy "the hour" of the demagogues? They will ride on the people's backs to power: and stir up the covetous passions that serve to swell their sails. They will tell them of the good old simple plan "that they should hold who've got the power, and they should get who can,"—for their modes and arts are various, but are always set to the same old tune. They ingratiate themselves by lies and flattery; they tell them of their power and bid them use it. They say, "Make me strong and I will right you, I will redress all your wrongs;" and when they are lifted into the high places and are seated firmly in power, they kick down the ladder by which they mounted.

Such at least are the lessons from history: what are the indications that history is not repeating itself? What efficient counterpoise can be devised or hoped for? Is the education of our governing majority one which would inspire confidence or appear to offer an effective barrier to so great a danger? The most sanguine politician can scarcely venture to answer this question in the affirmative. It used to be said that much reliance could be placed on the Conservative spirit that animated our masses—on the sound sense of the national mind. In this connection there are signs of the times that cannot be overlooked. Men seem to forget that the balance of power has shifted, slowly but surely, lower and lower down. When an educated majority governed, Spirit and Mind prevailed. Since 1867 the National Stomach seems to have ruled absolute.

But lately a British Minister—to our national shame be it said—has dared to openly urge the working classes, our future rulers, to exert their tyranny to the bitter end over their quondam political masters. And almost untaxed as they now are, he bade them thrust more burdens yet on those whom they may now depose and defy, who, he told them, had hitherto crushed and robbed them of their heritage of power. "Turn and rend them,"—he virtually cried,—"every dog has his day." He plainly told them, as the Socialists and Nihilists do now in Russia, France, and Germany, and as Jack Straw did of old, that inequality is caused by the tyranny of the rich, who govern for their own selfish ends; and he bade them tell the wealthy classes by whom they have been disinherited that they must pay high for their immunity. In substance this means, "You may rob the rich if you choose and step into their shoes—at all events, the least you should do is to levy black-mail upon them by forcing them to pay dearly for their security from your attacks." Is this an appeal to sense or appetite, to brain or stomach? To those who have read the varied appeals made during the last few

months to our new political masters, this question may be put with some force. The Radicals ignore all else but stomach in the coming Democracy—are they right? There's the rub. John Bull used not to be a pugnacious animal. Unlike the Gallic Cock, he chewed the cud of self-complacent isolation, and, save for honour at stake or for direct commercial gain, he seldom drew the sword with national applause. State cabals, diplomatic intrigues, forced his hand from time to time; but national enthusiasm was rarely awakened for any but a war with our traditional enemy, France. The Jingo spirit, which must surely be a motion of the appetite rather than the brain, is a purely modern manifestation. The Quixotic anxiety to support the Sick Man against the overweening Russian, to fix a quarrel upon the Emir of Afghanistan, has no parallel except in the wars with France. We rush wildly into an Egyptian campaign with something very like enthusiasm, in the worst of all possible causes, as if we craved to show France how to fight her battles, and bettered her example without profiting by her Tunisian experience.

Whence can the new Democracy gather knowledge? Not from a corrupt Press, whose writers, oftenest as ignorant as themselves, except for a smattering of political slang or party "cant," and a certain easy fluency begotten of constant practice, seek only to tickle the ears of the groundlings by a parrot-like iteration of whatever shreds of political gossip seem most acceptable to their readers, served up with varied flavourings, and a sauce of home-made pseudo-philosophy. Not from the paid party organs, whose opinions and whose advocacy of the political wares they sell command as much weight as the grocer's advertisements, or the poetic encomiums of the patent medicine vendor. Not, again, certainly from the cheap trash which invades so largely our bookstalls, and which, so far as quality and purpose can vouch for results, must deprave the national morals to low standards and aspirations. But some will object: "Would you put down the free Press which we have always held to be the most precious bulwark of our liberties?" Certainly not. Nor is any sweeping and indiscriminate censure here intended of either politicians or pressmen of any party or section of opinion. The English Press as a whole, and more especially as including its past history, has not abused the liberty which makes its power so serious a responsibility. Nevertheless, the blessings of a free Press are, to use newspaper slang, admittedly far from unalloyed. A sense of responsibility must sometimes be absent from its utterances if its honesty be unquestionable. Besides, when has not the true teacher, the wise leader of the fickle and impetuous crowd, needed to be a hero, prepared to find angry response to unpalatable wisdom, and to suffer for his honesty? Hence the Press of a young Democracy is always venal if not bad. It can only

reflect the pains and pleasures, the throes and passions, of the public by whom it subsists. Demand and supply principally govern its produce just as in any other market. The increase of illiterate electors burning for political ideas stimulates a crop of newspaper garbage suited to rank tastes and mean aspirations. Why should money be lost over an educated staff or popularity be risked by honesty for the political delectation of artisans, who can be reached by the vulgarest arts, and decoyed by the simplest lies. The coarser the net, the heavier the haul. Assurance, flippancy, and flattery are the chief ingredients. A lively imagination and an elastic conscience do the rest.

In the new republics of America, North and South, no pretence of public opinion is made. Newspapers solely represent and are the mere paid agents of political parties chiefly devoted to purely personal spite and rancorous invective, without any affectation of abstract research whatsoever. The British penny-a-liner is far more insidious and dangerous to the national conscience, since he almost invariably affects an external decorum, a high standard of morality, and makes earnest profession of sincere truth-seeking, from behind which he can shoot his venal shafts with all the confidence of an impartial friend. Since 1867 our new-fledged Democracy has been persistently pelted with literary garbage presumably suited to its capacity. Every year brings forth new crops, each ranker and fouler than the last. Personalities are now as rife as in the United States, and all classes alike revel in the social offal dished up and flavoured to their respective tastes. All that is high and good and respectable is criticized, carped at, and caricatured. All that should be secret and private is dragged into the open light of day to sate the prurient and ever-increasing public appetite. Interviewing affords a new pretext for imparting Transatlantic vulgarity into British journalism, and creates an inane inquisitiveness which must react injuriously on the national mind and morals. Scarce had the new electors attained their franchise, than the journalistic spiders had already set their myriad webs and prepared their ingenious toils to decoy them into their several party meshes. The political associations are straining every nerve to allure and entice them. Like cunning chapmen, they find out the peculiar wants and fancies of the agricultural labourer, and tempt him with their political wares. Would he like land, they will provide him. Does he desire wealth, it shall be his forthwith. Does the thralldom of squire or parson press heavy on him, rents and tithes shall be abolished. Many writers have frequently adverted to the need of our new political masters being educated, so as, on the one hand, to enable them to resist the seductions of the partisan writer and demagogue, and, on the other, to prevent their being intoxicated with their new-found power and so misuse it. The Optimists cry: "See, they scarce

feel their power; so far from misusing their power they do not know they have it. So far from being misled by the cheap wisdom of the penny papers, and entangled by the wily demagogues, they keep strangely aloof and go their ways as of yore."

The national mind is slow to move. The Briton is calm and deliberate. Unlike the lively Gaul, he grasps new ideas with difficulty and distrusts innovation. What of the national stomach? Heaven send the Radicals guess not aright when they pretend to appeal to the national mind while they studiously pamper the national appetite. The seat of power has fallen lower. An ominous sound surely! The solution of the enigma seems to be that the grave fears entertained with regard to the uneducated condition of our political masters in 1867 were groundless, for the simple reason that the average new-made elector was wholly unable (1) to grasp his new situation; (2) to inform himself of his political potentialities; (3) to be misled or demoralized by the snares of scheming associations, pamphleteers, and party scribblers, for the simple reason that the majority were neither able to read nor comprehend them. *Salus populi summa ignorantia*, to paraphrase the axiom of old Rome. They plodded on as before, neither coveting power nor desirous to misuse it. They had long learnt to trust their natural leaders and intellectual superiors, and neither cared nor wished to unlearn their lesson. The arts of the mob-orator fell flat on their ears; for he promised too much. Lacking the imagination of the Celt, or the enthusiasm of the Gaul, they marked him not. Thanks to the very danger so much dreaded and deplored, the British Democrat went through the fire unscathed, and our Constitution still stands unshaken by near twenty years of Democracy.

Unshaken! Stormed by Radical chimeras, pelted by reckless pamphleteers, assaulted of old by Royal Prerogative, later overborne by Parliamentary Privilege, the British Constitution would seem, like the fabled hero of classic story, to gather new force by every crushing fall. Elastic and expansive, now dwindling under pressure, now looming large and heavy with its fair burden of popular liberties, like a giant tree with roots deep-seated in the soil of British independence, her vitality is ever green, her tenacity seems to defy disruption. Who can foretell her future? If we listen to the Radicals her noblest branches must be ruthlessly lopped; her fruit is small and puny as the acorn; she must be grafted with Continental or Transatlantic Democracy that she may bear fruits as rank and luxurious as they. Let them beware lest the experience of Isaac Newton should befall us, and we find ourselves crushed by the heavy fruits we have so painfully acquired.

The neo-Liberals of to-day have made the abolition of the

Peers a foremost plank in their platform. It is a matter of doubt whether a majority of Liberals favour the design. Partaking rather of the nature of a threat than a national political measure, it would at first sight appear to be a mere passing thunder-cloud, such as gather from time to time from popular passions and the friction of party strife, and are as quickly dissipated when better counsel and calmer moods prevail. The vague chronic distrust or dissatisfaction that points to a lurking feeling in the British mind that the Upper House falls somewhat short of ideal perfection, at stated periods waxes acute. Popular feeling runs high against the opposing barrier to the popular will. The Commons are brought into violent collision with the Peers; and the cry is impatiently raised by the thoughtless and unreflecting, "Away with the House of Lords!" So cried the Athenians against the Boule; and later against the Areopagus. So raged the Roman plebs against the Senate; so Cromwell in 1649; so the French National Assembly in 1789. In 1832 to swamp the House of Lords had become the popular cry when the Peers refused twice to pass a Reform loudly and justly demanded by the Commons and people of England. Again in 1884, Mr. Gladstone wrought up to fever-heat the popular indignation that Lord Salisbury's organized resistance to the Agricultural Franchise Bill had needlessly evoked. In 1832 the tardy capitulation of the Peers was succeeded by a period of complete amnesty—the storm had burst over their heads and the sky once more grew clear. The subsequent history of the Peers for fifty years attests their unimpaired influence. The nation had taken them once more to her confiding bosom. How fares it with them now? The cry has but an instant subsided, the waves are freshly quelled. Still the feeling prevails in Liberal circles, and has been formally relegated to the sphere of political resolve. Amend them or end them, which is it to be? That is the question.

Abolition of the Peers is no longer the war-cry of political ignorance and recklessness, which, like the shriek of the sea-bird, is heard high above the wail of the rising tempest; it is the deliberately expressed avowal of cultivated if advanced opinion, to which men of the highest culture like Mr. Morley and others of similar degree have committed themselves. Hence its peculiar significance. It can hardly be supposed that such men as these can be deaf to the teachings of history, that they are not thoroughly aware of the hazardous nature of the experiment they advocate. They must full well know that scarcely any example can be found in the world's history of aught but failure where a Second Chamber has been dispensed with. Certainly no successful instance can be cited where a single democratic assembly has governed an ancient monarchy with effect. How then can reason, experience, or tradition sanction its adoption in

a country where of all others safeguards and checks are most required ; where the Crown, reduced to a shadow, has preserved the bare symbol of executive power ; and where over-population and an ancient class hierarchy of unbroken descent has developed a complexity of relations which the slightest breath of revolution would plunge into the deepest misery or wildest anarchy, together with a system of credit on which our commercial stability depends, so easily disturbed ; so airy a fabric that no gossamer web can more easily be swept away ?

There are two schools of opinion among those who would end, not amend, the House of Lords. Broadly stated, one party base their grounds for abolition on its intrinsic weakness and futility, arguing with some force that the Peers have invariably submitted in the end to the decrees of the Commons and the expression of the national will, and that, therefore, they may as well be dispensed with altogether. Others rage against them because they thwart the national will by refusing to ratify the measures that have passed through the Lower House—a singular instance of how history is made to serve a double purpose, and, Janus-like, presents a varied face to each beholder. The view most consonant with truth and historical evidence seems to consist in a fusion of all these opinions.

Clearly, the Peers generally gave in at last, after holding out as long as they dared, in the early days of reform ; for the plain reason that they were fighting for their own most cherished and valued privileges—pocket boroughs, electoral control, &c. &c.—while of late, despoiled of their illicit benefits, they have generally fought upon the impartial ground of national advantage, from the standpoint of lofty superiority, which a sense of complete independence can alone confer. Granted, therefore, that reason, experience, and tradition all point to the absolute necessity—a necessity more imperious still in view of our ancient and complex civilization—of providing a strong and effective barrier to the violence of a popular and thoroughly Democratic assembly, elected by a landless and possibly turbulent majority of electors, impatient for innovation and chafing against constitutional restraints, is it not obviously urgent to strengthen this barrier in the highest degree that may appear compatible with the balance of constitutional power ? We are suddenly increasing the pressure to an enormous and almost unascertainable extent ;—will the constitutional Machinery bear the unused strain ? Must not new checks, new governors, new escape-pipes be devised ? Should not every joint, every bolt and rivet be carefully watched, that the bearings may not be unduly heated by the abnormal friction ? What would be said of the engineer who would argue as so many Liberals have virtually done in this connection—who would contend that the ship's boiler, with

defective plates, must be sent to sea with a strong head of steam; or the machinist who would refuse to admit the necessity of new adjustments and balances, when an unusual strain is brought suddenly to bear upon an antiquated piece of machinery? Would he not rather strengthen the weak points of the disabled gearing, and scrupulously rivet or renew the plates of the boiler afresh? One step further. How, if the machinist were to aver that the gearing was so rotten from age that it had better be dispensed with altogether; or that the boiler plates were so thin and worn that the safety-valve might just as well be done away with, as all precautions to prevent explosion under pressure would certainly be fruitless? Would not public opinion relegate such a man to a lunatic asylum? This would seem to be no highly coloured or distorted illustration of the case in point.

The State machine requires new strength to resist the unknown forces of the new Democracy. Where will the greatest strain probably be felt? Not, indeed, with the Commons, teeming with the fresh vigour of their new-found and all but irresistible forces, nor yet with the Crown, pruned of its ancient prerogatives, no longer capable of exciting popular jealousy or ill-will, subsisting on national tolerance and conservative feeling, but, above all, strongly enthroned in the national heart. The Lords alone enjoy an anomalous position. Uncertain of the entire confidence of the people, they fear to exercise freely and boldly rights which are secured to them by the strongest constitutional sanction. They tremble to place themselves in antagonism to the popular House, and yet, by the very nature of their semi-judicial position, are frequently forced into direct opposition to the national will. Hemmed in at such times by the revilings of a hireling Press on one hand, the threats and denunciations of virulent and unscrupulous demagogues on the other, they see before them no alternative but retreat, or the ignominious Caudine passage of fresh peerage creations, while un pitying Tribunes dangle over their heads the Damoclean sword of abolition.

Let us turn to America, the great and successful Republic that overshadows the ancient monarchies of Europe, with its vast resources, its immeasurable future, its illimitable expansive forces. She has placed her Constitution, property, personal liberty and State rights under guarantees that defy all subversion. Only a revolution could affect the basis of security upon which they rest. The complicated checks provided against a possible popular wave dashing against the groundwork of their Constitution effectually prevent any sudden or ill-timed change. The model Republic has found it needful to rest its popular institutions on a base so solid and impregnable that only a revolutionary rising could sweep

them away. Remove the House of Lords from our legislative Trinity, and our Parliament might easily rival in turbulence and recklessness the French Convention of bloodstained memory. With a violent Radical at the head of an inflamed and class-hating majority, it is conceivable that a dozen organic measures might sap the foundations of our popular liberties, and destroy every vestige of our ancient constitution.

The inevitable conclusion to which thoughtful and prudent minds must be carried, points to the necessity of strengthening, not weakening, the House of Lords. The Lords should so completely possess the confidence and esteem of the people, that, as in ancient Rome, they be enabled to carry out the dictates of reason and conscience, regardless of party strife or party emoluments. Raised high above the atmosphere of faction, strong in the absolute security of their position, the British Senate should point out the national path, like a giant lighthouse reared on a sea-girt rock, spurning the tempest's roar and the beating surf. Such a Senate once guided the destinies of the Roman Empire, and far into the decay of her Imperial fortunes steered the bark of State through the fierce Democracy that thirsted for anarchy and irresponsible power. Can Mr. Gladstone's agrarian laws in Ireland be compared with the laws of C. Licinius, or the later agitation of the Gracchi? Yet the Roman Senate for years stemmed the tide of popular passion, and refused to sanction a Bill far less subversive or confiscatory than the Irish Land Bill. The Roman Senate included every man of high character who ever held high office in the State; wielding, therefore, a double power; embodying all tried administrative capacity as well as the entire force of hereditary influence.

Each American Senator represents in his own person a sovereign State, as powerful and populous as a German State of the old Imperial Diet. The British Peer is at a fatal disadvantage when the rights of property are attacked; for he represents, in the popular eye, not an assemblage of property owners, but the actual ownership of large property. Dragged under the strong light of public opinion into forcible contrast with the "Great Disinherited," who constitute the overwhelming majority of the nation, he is placed in the invidious position of one who fights for selfish class interests in opposition to the general welfare. The result is obviously disastrous. The hands of the Peers are tied, their voice hushed, precisely where their influence is most needed. A landless Democracy who learn to command a majority in the popular assembly will soon be tempted to try, by fair means or foul, to regain the land which the Radicals plainly tell them is their Lost Inheritance. The Peers scarce dared to raise their voices when the Irish Bill forced the cloven foot of State Socialism into their innermost sanctuary.

Will they dare to speak when the rude Democracy, flogged by Radical squalls rage and roar around them? Who shall venture to answer in the affirmative with the chronicles of the past before his eyes?

The Lords must be strengthened, but how? They need concentration. No strong Senate has been large; no large Senate has been strong. We have elements that other countries have destroyed and now lament in vain. The Republics of the New World despair of inventing a substitute for our aristocracy—respected, yet beloved, powerful, yet Democratic—out of which to build up a similar edifice to the House of Lords. We have the best materials the world affords. The old constitutional fortress is crumbling with age. Let us rebuild it, and make it a truly national stronghold, like the Roman Senate, that shall stand forth a tower of strength, a beacon to the nations from out the Democratic flood. Other nations keenly regret their inability to form a strong and solid Senate, and seek in vain for a nucleus of ready-made hereditary prestige and influence, such as we have ready to hand. Yet, many of us would cast away what has been the gradual work of ages, and nothing of art or legislation can possibly renew. *Quos Deus vult perdere prius dementat.* Heaven grant no such mad counsels prevail!

Reform need not come from without. The Peers can be trusted to strengthen in reforming, or reform in strengthening, themselves. Practically, the real work of the Upper House is done by a mere fraction of the entire body. If fifty Peers, conspicuous among their numbers for integrity, prudence, judicial skill and administrative capacity—in a word, who possess the confidence of the nation, were eliminated by the votes of their Peers; or, if fifty out of the 520 were to hold the proxies of ten or twelve supporters who were willing to constitute that nominee to be their mouthpiece in the National Council; if a certain proportion of Life Peers or Senators were added from what had proved to be most worthy and able in the country's service; and, if to these were added distinguished members of all the representative or self-governing Colonies, who should be considered fit to represent their fellow-colonists in the Imperial Senate, an era of new life and strength to the State might be inaugurated, new vitality would be infused into a decaying institution, without any revolutionary interruption or violent change which could materially shake the stability of the Constitution.

CHARLES WELD BLUNDELL.

## Science Notices.

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**The Prime Meridian.**—It is satisfactory to note in these days of political toil and trouble that science has inflicted a severe blow upon international jealousies at the Conference of Rome. Delegates from all civilized countries met in the Eternal City to endeavour to come to an agreement with each other upon the great question of a prime or single meridian for the whole world. The French representatives, loath as ever to bow to English supremacy, pleaded hard for a neutral line that should pass through the Azores or Behring's Straits. The Canadians proposed the ante-meridian of Greenwich. It was hardly required to be pointed out by Sir William Thompson, backed by the German delegates, that the Greenwich meridian is, for all practical purposes, the prime meridian of the world. The shipping of England, with its 40,000 vessels, amounting to no less than 9,000,000 tons burden, its 370,000 sailors, surpasses in importance that of all the other nations together. Its charts are in use in every country of the world, except in France, its ships throng every port, 90 per cent. of the carrying trade of the world is in its hands. With these facts before them, the Conference could not fail to come to the decision that the meridian of Greenwich should henceforth be the prime meridian from which all longitudes be reckoned. The resolution was carried by twenty-two votes to one (St. Domingo). The French delegates abstained from voting. Our old friend the *Nautical Almanack* will not require any change, and will be invested with an international character. The French publication, *La Connaissance des Temps*, will require serious modifications.

**The Universal Day.**—As a natural consequence of the single meridian, the question of the universal day was brought up. The Congress of Washington has decided that the mean solar time at Greenwich be adopted as the standard of time. It seems a pity that the old method of reckoning has been departed from. One o'clock in future is to be understood as the hour after midnight, and our afternoons will be distinguished by the awkward figures of 13, 14, 15, &c., o'clock. Had these troublesome numbers been relegated to the night hours, society would have been more ready to welcome the change. There can be little doubt that the universal day will prove of great benefit to railway employes and men of business. In America the Greenwich time has already been adopted to the great satisfaction of the people. The confusion of the old system, especially in the railway traffic, can be readily imagined. In the early part of the year 1883 there were fifty-three standards of time in use on the railroads and by the people of the United States and Canada. In numerous instances the strain upon the officials must have been excessive, even upon that overworked body of men, there being no less than three hundred points where rail-

roads, using different standards of time, crossed each other and exchanged traffic. The warmest advocates of the reform in standard time were inclined to look upon the question as well-nigh hopeless, and yet on November 18, 1883, the American people showed their large-mindedness and business-like ways by adopting standard time upon all the railways of the States. On that day the clocks of about twenty thousand railway stations and the watches of three hundred thousand railway officials were reset. So perfect were the preparations that not a single accident at any point is recorded as having been effected by the change. Such an example of mutual action and the sinking of local jealousies is as admirable as it is rare in the history of the nineteenth century.

**The Mosaic Cosmogony.**—M. Faye, the President of the *Bureau des Longitudes*, and one of the most distinguished astronomers of the age, has lately been reviewing Laplace's Nebular Hypothesis. Laplace was unfortunate in his theory; it was propounded before our two outermost planets were discovered. Science in his day knew of only one revolution of the planets—that is, from West to East; from Mercury to Saturn all the planets revolve round their sun from West to East; each moon revolved round his primary from West to East; each planet revolved on his axis from West to East. It was then in Laplace's day a very natural inference to draw that all planets *must* revolve from West to East; Laplace even went so far as to lay it down that the probabilities were a million to one that if any fresh planets were discovered in our system, they would be also found to revolve from West to East. The *one*, however, turned up, in point of fact. Uranus was sighted, and soon found to revolve on its axis from East to West. Neptune was added to the system, and it too revolved on its axis from East to West. The whole groundwork of the brilliant Nebular Hypothesis thus crumbled away.

We are not at present concerned with M. Faye's nebular theory, nor have we space at command to explain the highly ingenious manner in which the French astronomer explains the whole difficulty. But, incidentally, in the course of his explanations, the author has occasion to refer to the Mosaic Cosmogony. The creation of the sun and moon on the fourth day, in the account of the first chapter of Genesis, has given rise to many flippant and shallow remarks from our infidel writers. They ask how is it possible for the light to have appeared on the first day, when there was neither sun nor moon to impart it? Christian apologists have taken up the matter and suggested that the creation of the sun on the fourth day refers only to the appearance of the sun. They are ready to grant that light is inseparable from the sun, but contend that the sun might have been created on the first day, that its face was hidden from the earth until the fourth day, owing to the mists and exhalations that must have arisen in dense clouds from the cooling earth. If M. Faye's hypothesis be true, there is no need to resort to so awkward a defence. He brings evidence to show that the sun must be the youngest, the

last in point of creation of its own system—as far as Saturn inclusively—Uranus and Neptune were fashioned after the sun, but the earth is more ancient than the globe that gives us light and heat. The creation then of the sun on the fourth day, far from proving an awkward problem of exegesis, becomes another instance of science offering its homage to religion. Nor is there any difficulty in showing how light could burst upon the earth before our luminary existed. Every one is perfectly aware, when two bodies meet with sudden shock, the *vis viva* is changed into another form of energy—fire and heat. The meteorites that dash through our atmosphere create trains of flame and fire. Even compressed air will light touchwood. It is easy then to conceive that when the chaotic mass of the first day of creation was put into movement, shocks, collisions and friction must at once have been set up, and give rise to heat that would increase with the frequency and intensity of such forces. The temperature thus raised would radiate a feeble light, which the condensing masses would reflect from one another. “And there was light,” diffused, glimmering and nascent, penetrating the whole of stellar space.

**The Satellite of Venus.**—Seven times since the discovery of the telescope has a little companion to Venus been sighted, on most occasions imitating the phase of its primary. But these appearances have been so transitory—one hour is stated to have been the longest in duration—that astronomers are not at all agreed that we have discovered one of our neighbour’s moons. It has been suggested that the body in question may be one of the host of asteroids that circulate between Jupiter and Mars. M. Houzeau has started an ingenious theory that the satellite may have emancipated itself from the attraction of Venus, and fallen into the clutches of the sun, and revolves now in an orbit as dignified as its planet. He proposes to name the mysterious body *Neith*, after the goddess at Sais, “whose veil no mortal hath removed.” He calculates that Venus and Neith come into conjunction once in every 2·96 years. A much more satisfactory solution of the problem has been offered by Fr. Thirion, S.J., in the *Revue des Questions scientifiques*, who classes the phenomenon under the same head as the “Mock Suns.” It is not a common thing to witness these “parhelias” as they are termed, but they are perfectly well known to astronomers and meteorologists. In the same way as the rainbow is formed by the refraction of the solar rays through minute drops of water, so these mock suns are formed by the reflection of the same rays from the minute prisms of ice, which we know are frequently present in the upper regions of the air. These effects, which can be produced by the light of the moon equally well, may fairly be conceded to the very brilliant rays that have made our morning and evening star so interesting and striking a neighbour. If Father Thirion can only satisfy the mathematicians that the thing is possible, science will be much indebted to him for his simple and brilliant hypothesis.

**The Miocene Man.**—It is well known that the Abbé Bourgeois

of Thenay discovered some flints in a Miocene deposit, which he believed bore the marks of human workmanship. Whilst scientists are not all agreed as to the existence of man in Pleistocene times, it was somewhat startling to hear the untold ages of the Miocene times attributed to us. The good Abbé's theory met with a very cold reception, and it was felt that something much more substantial in the way of proof must be brought forward before so bold a theory could be entertained. Last year the French Anthropological Congress assembled at Blois, and naturally Abbé Bourgeois' Miocene flints received prominent attention. One of the pretty parts of the theory was that this Miocene man lived on the shores of a lake. He had not yet discovered how to give a blow to his flints, but he could make a fire, heat the flints and break them into flakes by plunging them into the lake. But it was of course important to establish whether the formation in which the flints were found was, in point of fact, a shore at all. The result of the discussion left the matter very doubtful: the stratification is that of a marsh or lake, and Miocene man must have been put to unpleasant shifts in order to light his fire under such conditions. As to the flints themselves we see in them no indication of human handicraft. The flakes have not the "bulb of percussion" that is almost invariably present in the manufactured flint. No chipped flint could be found at the time of the meeting, and those discovered by the Abbé himself present marks so slight that it requires a very robust faith to detect the work of man therein. In spite, however, of the weakness and insufficiency of the data, M. Chantre, the President of the Conference, did not shrink from affirming his belief in Miocene man, while forced to admit that the proofs were not satisfactory.

M. Arcelin, the distinguished Belgian anthropologist, has reviewed the whole discussion, and has some very telling criticisms to offer. He is well acquainted with an argillaceous silex, that of Mâcon, of the same age and composition as that of Thenay. He has collected on every level of the formation split flints, some of which bear the bulb of percussion and even the chipping, which would be certainly attributed to man had they been discovered in quaternary formations. These flints, similar to those of Thenay, are found by thousands in the argillaceous deposit. These are facts worth considering, and M. Arcelin does not hesitate to affirm that the splitting and chipping of flints are the regular accompaniments of the changes produced in Miocene times.

**An Electric Tramcar.**—Again we have to report a successful attempt to apply the secondary batteries to the propulsion of tramcars. The Electric Power Storage Company is the enterprising firm that seems to have successfully solved the problem so often attempted of late years. The experiment has been carried out at Millwall, under the superintendence of Mr. Reckenzaun. Under the seat of an ordinary tramcar are laid a series of rollers, and on these run trays carrying a number of secondary batteries. But there is no need to dwell upon the description of the apparatus. There is at present but

one method of electric movement, and that is by switching the current from the batteries on to the motor. The thing is simple and feasible, the whole difficulty turns upon the action of the batteries. A steady, even flow of the current on the part of these batteries is all that is wanted to make the thing a decided success. On the experimental line in Millwall the car took a difficult gradient of 1 in 40 with ease; it only remains to be seen how it will behave on the public roads. The batteries will last for two hours without recharging, and the manager boasts that he can get on to the axle 33 per cent. of the engine power employed to charge the cells. The new system has the approval of the Board of Trade, but the local authorities are much more difficult to deal with, and some time, it is to be feared, will elapse before these new cars can be thrown open to the public.

**Meteorology—The Weather Forecasts.**—Great dissatisfaction is expressed in many quarters at the very meagre results achieved by the Meteorological Office. The daily weather forecasts, published in all the papers, represent a very large expenditure of money and labour, but it is generally felt that very little value can be attached to such warnings, and the benefit to the shipping world from the publication of the forecasts has been very slight. It would be well, however, to obtain some more reliable data than mere guesses and general impressions, and the "Office" naturally feels rather aggrieved at the vagueness of the charges directed against it.

Mr. John Staniforth, in *Knowledge* of Jan. 16, 1885, has been at the trouble to collect and test every prediction for the last two years, and his calculations are of decided interest:—

*The Wind.—Its Direction.*—In 1883, 300 predictions as to the direction of the wind was by the Office, and of these 66 per cent. were quite correct, 24 per cent. were doubtful, and 10 per cent. were wrong. In 1884 there were 301 predictions; of these 72 per cent. were correct, 18 per cent. were doubtful, and 10 per cent. were wrong. In this respect then the Office may claim a decided success.

*The Force of the Wind.*—291 times the force of the wind was predicted in 1884; 52 per cent. were correct, 31 per cent. doubtful, and 17 per cent. incorrect. The figures for 1883 were respectively 60 per cent., 25 per cent., and 15 per cent. The Department is evidently rather weak in the matter of the wind force.

*The State of the Weather.*—In 1884 there were made 312 predictions of the state of the weather, "rainy," "changeable," "unsettled," "fine," &c. Of these, 54 per cent. were correct, 26 doubtful, and 18 per cent. quite wrong. For 1883 the figures were precisely the same.

With such definite figures before us—and the two years are very similar in their results—we may conclude that the forecasts of the direction of the wind may be fairly trusted; of its force we must still remain doubtful; while, as regards the state of the weather, the chances are even that the warning will turn out correct.

## Notes of Travel and Exploration.

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**Masai Land and the "Mount Olympus of Ethiopia."**\*—Mr. Thomson's explorations, conducted on behalf of the Royal Geographical Society, led him through a region hitherto little traversed by travellers and traders. Its inhabitants, the Masai warriors, are the terror and scourge of Eastern Africa, which is desolated by their forays from the water-shed of the Victoria Nyanza to the coast. Mr. Thomson, in attempting to penetrate their country with an insufficient force, had to beat a hasty retreat, and only saved himself and party from an impending massacre by decamping secretly during the night. He was finally enabled to enter the country by joining a caravan of traders from the coast, too strong in numbers and armament to be lightly attacked. The Masai tribes appear to resemble the Zulus in their manners and characteristics, whether ethnologically related to them or not. They are divided into El-Morua, or married men, and El-Moran, or warriors, who live herded together in separate kraals, where they are kept in constant military training by fighting with their neighbours and among themselves. On their return from a successful cattle raid, the booty, instead of being divided among the party, becomes the prey of the strongest, each warrior seizing what he pleases and keeping it, on condition of being able to hold his own in single combat for three days against all comers. In these sanguinary encounters more blood is shed than in predatory attacks on the common enemy. The Masai, physically a splendid race, tall and of symmetrical proportions, are little better than human wild beasts without even a rudiment of moral sentiment.

Their country, should it ever be opened for transit, seems to offer the most promising route to the Great Lakes, as it is reached through a dry hilly region extending almost to the coast, instead of the zone of pestilential swamp elsewhere cutting off the interior. Scarcity of water is the difficulty the traveller has here to contend with, as even in the rainy season the supply is but scant. The rainfall in the Masai country itself is very small, and in its lower and more southern districts so insufficient that these tracts may be characterized as desert, although the soil if duly watered would be rich and productive. The upper plateau region, varying in altitude from 5,000 to 9,000 feet is, on the contrary, very fertile, and its general aspect is described by Mr. Thomson as follows :—

On the eastern half of this divided plateau rises, as we have seen, the snow-clad peak of Kenia, and the picturesque range of the Aberdare

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\* "Through Masai Land." By Joseph Thomson, F.R.G.S. London : Sampson Low & Co. 1885.

mountains, which runs almost parallel with the central line of depression. A more charming region is probably not to be found in all Africa, probably not even in Abyssinia. Though lying at a general elevation of 6,000 feet, it is not mountainous, but extends out in billowy, swelling reaches, and is characterized by everything that makes a pleasing landscape. Here are dense patches of flowering shrubs; there noble forests. Now you traverse a park-like country, enlivened by groups of game; anon, great herds of cattle, or flocks of sheep and goats, are seen wandering knee-deep in the splendid pasture. There is little in the aspect of the country to suggest the popular idea of the tropics. The eye rests upon coniferous trees, forming pine-like woods, and you can gather sprigs of heath, sweet-scented clover, anemone, and other familiar forms. In vain you look for the graceful palm—ever present in the mental pictures of the untravelled traveller. The country is a very network of babbling brooks and streams, those of Lykipia forming the mysterious Guaso Nyiro; those of Kikuyu the Tana, which flows to the Indian Ocean through the Galla country; while farther south in Kapte the streams converge to form the Athi River, which flows through U-Kambani to the Sabaki river.

This entire region bears traces of recent volcanic activity, and at its extremities, about two hundred miles apart, are set, like mighty gateposts, Mounts Kenia and Kilim-ndjaro, the great twin snow peaks of Equatorial Africa. Both rise to a height of 18,000 or 19,000 feet, and both are volcanic cones, terminating in unmistakable crater summits. The constant cloud-cap of invisibility which shrouds them accounts for the conflicting evidence of travellers as to their existence, though the latter was long ago described by Portuguese geographers as the Ethiopian Mount Olympus. Mr. Thomson thus describes his first glimpse of Mount Kenia:—

Rushing to the top of the ridge, I was suddenly arrested by an object which fairly took my breath away. Before me, in the foreground, lay a splendid interchange of grove and glade, of forest and plain stretching in billowy reaches to the marshy expanse of Kope Kope. Beyond rose abruptly and very precipitously the black uninhabited mountains of the Aberdare range. These features, however, were not what had fascinated me. It was something more distant. Through a rugged and picturesque depression in the range rose a gleaming snow-white peak with sparkling facets, which scintillated with the superb beauty of a colossal diamond. It was, in fact, the very image of a great crystal or sugar loaf. At the base of this beautiful peak were two small excrescences like supporters to a monument. From these at a very slight angle, shaded away a long glittering white line, seen above the dark mass of the Aberdare range like the silver lining of a dark storm-cloud. This peak and silvery line formed the central culminating point of Mount Kenia.

Minor volcanic features, such as crater lakes, lava-escarpments, and solfataras, were also met with; but the most singular of these plutonic phenomena was a mountain whose apparent summit, on being ascended, proved to be but the knife-edge rim of a pit with perfectly perpendicular walls, some 1,500 or 2,000 feet high, enclosing an acacia-grown plain about three miles in circumference. The seeming mountain is thus but a hollow shell, as its Masai name of Dango Lougoust, meaning "mountain of the big pit," clearly conveys.

Another singular district visited by Mr. Thomson was one in which the natives live in caves or excavations in the mountain side, villages being built in these chambers, which are over twelve feet in height, and have branches extending far into the mountain. They are evidently artificial, and Mr. Thomson conjectures them to have been created by the mining operations of some ancient civilized race. The present inhabitants are incapable of executing such works, and have no tradition as to their origin. "Our fathers lived here, and *their* fathers did the same," was the invariable answer to all questions on the subject.

Another traveller, Mr. H. H. Johnston (previously known by his book on the Congo), has made an interesting sojourn of many months on the African Mount Olympus itself, where, at a height of 11,000 feet, he found a delightful summer residence and centre of excursions to still higher altitudes. At 16,200 feet he was still more than 2,000 feet below the summit, which, from the impossibility of inducing the natives to accompany him, he never succeeded in reaching. Birds he found very rare above 10,000 feet, while lizards and chameleons existed up to the snow-line. Hyraxes, the coney of Scripture, abounded between 8,000 and 13,000 feet, while the range of the elephant and buffalo was as high as 14,000 feet. Terrific thunderstorms are described as raging round the upper slopes of the mountain, and the wind as being at times so violent that it is impossible to stand before it.

**The Slave Coast and Dahomey.\***—The Abbé Bouche, after many years of missionary work on the West Coast of Africa, gives in the volume before us an interesting study of the countries that border the Bight of Benin. The most valuable chapters are those which treat of the character and manners of the natives, of whose mental and moral capabilities the author speaks much more favourably than more superficial writers. Students of folk-lore will find some curious analogies with familiar fairy tales in many of the negro fables, called *alôs*, quoted here. The *open sesame* of the "Arabian Nights" has a counterpart in the story of the tortoise who learns from the lizard the secret of a hoard of yams hidden in a rock, but, forgetting the pass-word which bids the stone open for its exit, is found and killed by the owner of the store. There is a suggestion of the Pot of Basil in the tale of two brothers, the elder of whom kills the younger through envy, representing him to have been lost on a journey. A mushroom springs up from his mouldering remains, and when his mother tries to gather it utters plaints in a human voice and narrates the crime. The father comes, and then the king, with the same result, whereupon, the elder brother being killed, the younger is restored to life. Equally interesting are some of the negro adages, from their resemblance in form and spirit to popular proverbs in civilized countries. "The sword does not spare the head

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\* "La Côte des Esclaves et le Dahomey." Par l'Abbé Pierre Bouche. Paris: E. Plon; Nourrit et Cie. 1885.

of him who has forged it ; " " The guilty is uneasy ; " " At the sight of a sparrow-hawk do not expose your chickens on a rock ; " " One does not kill the game by looking at it ; " " One does not go amongst palm oil in a white garment ; " are sayings that have all the pithy sententiousness of proverbs nearer home, while the French "*Aide toi et le ciel t'aidera*" is almost literally translated in " Heaven helps him who labours." The Abbé Bouche adduces these proofs of mental acumen, and even of a certain power of philosophical abstraction, on the part of the negro as an argument of some capability in him—a power of rising above his present degraded condition. Meantime we learn from *Les Missions Catholiques* that the horrible customs of Dahomey have been celebrated this year with even more than usual atrocity. The writer says that during the three months spent by him at Abome, scarcely a day passed without his seeing six newly-severed heads at the king's door, in addition to bodies nailed to the trees, and other victims dying by lingering and horrible deaths.

**Beluchistan and the Valley of the Helmund.**—The Afghan Boundary Commission, if it have achieved no political result, has at least added something to geographical knowledge, and Major Halditch, R.E., has communicated some interesting notes of its progress to the Royal Geographical Society. The part of Beluchistan traversed is an arid and almost desert country, and the road passes through a series of small valleys, bounded by bare sandstone ridges, while the vegetation of the dusty plain consists of such stunted shrubs as wormwood and camel-thorn. Water, though scarcely ever found superficially between Quetta and the Helmund, is almost everywhere present close to the surface, where it is reached by wells. Hence the Karez system of irrigation, by shafts at intervals connected by subterranean channels, prevails almost universally. The hard and dry superficial crust, known in India as kunkar, everywhere covers the country to the depth of a few inches, beneath which moist sand or water is reached. Intense heat by day in contrast with bitter cold by night made the climate a very trying one, and clouds of fine white dust added to the discomforts of the march.

Almost the only habitations visible are ziarats, or shrines of local saints, thus described by the writer :—

Both ziarats and huts possess all the grotesque features common to Biluch constructions all through the country. They may be described as rough, inverted birds' nests of sticks, the upper ends of which are adorned with quaint devices worked roughly on cloth, or, more commonly, with mere pieces of coloured rag, and the horns of animals (often of remarkable size and rarity) are constantly brought as ornaments to a shrine, and, like the coloured rags, applied to the purposes of outward ornamentation.

One more imposing shrine has small bells attached to the gay streamers and pendants fluttering round it, and their musical tinkling under the desert breeze is heard far across the waste. Votive offerings of various kinds fill the interior of these ziarats,

and the supposed possession of the evil eye by the resident fakir serves to stimulate the generosity of the faithful, since the traveller's camels, or other beasts of burden, are apt to die of some mysterious malady if he neglect his duty to the shrine.

**Formosa.**—The "Proceedings" of the Royal Geographical Society for January, 1885, contain an interesting account, by Mr. Beazeley, of a journey through Southern Formosa in 1875, the selection of a site for a lighthouse, since erected, on the South Cape having been the object of the expedition. Though visible from the mainland, from which it is separated in some places by only sixty or seventy miles of water-channel, the island seems to have been little known to the Chinese until comparatively recent times, and they waived their claim on it in favour of the Dutch in 1624, in exchange for the group of rocky islets known as the Pescadores. The Dutch were expelled, after thirty-eight years' occupation, by the great pirate-chief, Chin-Chin-Kung, called by Europeans Coxinga, who was in his turn driven out by the Chinese in 1683. Formosa, with a length of 245 miles, and a breadth of seventy-six, is traversed longitudinally by a lofty mountain-range rising to a height of 12,850 feet. Its crest presents a singularly unbroken outline, owing to its comparatively uniform elevation, and is apparently wooded to the summit. Shrouded in mists during the day, it is only at sunrise and sunset that it emerges to view, affording a majestic background for the coast scenery.

Formosa is undergoing a comparatively rapid process of upheaval, and its harbours are shoaling fast. During the Dutch occupation the capital, Taiwanfu, was a seaport, separated from Fort Zealandia, then an island, by an extensive harbour. The space between them is now a level plain many miles in extent, and Anping, near the ruins of the old fort, is the landing-place for goods and passengers. The transit of the latter through a heavy surf is effected with much discomfort, as they are seated in tubs floated on bamboo rafts called catamarans. Takow harbour has long been shoaling, and is now nearly useless as a port, while the whole coast line has extended considerably to the westward since the original Admiralty survey was made.

The western side of the island, consisting of comparatively level lowlands, has been occupied and, to a certain extent, colonized by the Chinese, while the eastern or mountainous portion is inhabited by the savage natives with whom they are at feud. There is, however, a third race on friendly terms with both, who are called Peppshuans, or foreigners of the plain. Among these people have been seen manuscripts, which are much treasured by them though no longer intelligible to them. They are believed to be formal documents like leases or contracts, and if, as is thought, they date from a period subsequent to the Dutch occupation, they prove the survival among the inhabitants of a tradition of European culture.

The climate of the coast, with a temperature of 95° and a steamy atmosphere, is intolerably oppressive, and its tropical jungle of

mangroves, bamboos, cycads, and pandanus, or screw-pine, is only interrupted here and there by fields of indigo and sugar-cane. Near the seashore are several towns of 6,000 and 7,000 inhabitants, the houses are thatched cottages built of wattle or bamboo, but with stores and shops, and a considerable junk trade. Many of the inland villages are inhabited by Chinese settlers married to native women, who are described as handsome and well-proportioned, with long hair plaited with red cloth wound round their heads coronet fashion.

The imports in foreign vessels in 1883 amounted to £758,000, the exports to £1,178,000, Oolung tea counting for £640,000 of the latter. The export of coal was only 32,000 tons, valued at £17,000, while turmeric and camphor were estimated respectively at £14,000 and £11,000. The coal mines at Kelung are not of any great value, the quality being very inferior. Eighty tons a day were extracted by 300 workmen from level workings, no shafts having been sunk. The seam at its outcrop has a thickness of two and a half feet.

**Recent Explorations in Tibet.**—At a meeting of the Royal Geographical Society on Monday evening, December 8, an interesting paper was read by General Walker, late Surveyor-General of India, on "Four Years' Journeyings through Great Tibet, by one of the Trans-Himalayan Explorers of the Survey of India." The traveller, one of the Asiatics employed by the Indian Survey for the exploration of regions where Europeans cannot penetrate with safety, is described as Pundit A—k, since those who are likely to be employed on similar service must remain anonymous until their work is done. His instructions were to strike across the great plateau of Tibet into Mongolia by any practicable route from north to south, returning by a fresh parallel road. As he was to travel in the guise of a wandering merchant, he was supplied with funds for the purchase of a stock-in-trade at Lhása, while his outfit included a rosary on which to count his paces, and a Buddhist prayer-barrel in which to conceal his field books. Thus equipped, he started from Darjeeling in April, 1878, accompanied by a servant and a companion, crossed the Himalayas by a low pass, and reached the lake called Khambabardji, visible on all maps as a ring of water encircling a large central island. He thence made his way to Lhása, where he was detained a whole year waiting for a caravan to Mongolia, and it was only in September, 1879, that he started with a party of about 100 strong, principally Mongolians, on their way north. The Mongolians were mounted, the Tibetans walked, and all were armed with sword, spear, or matchlock, for defence against robbers. Military order was observed on the march, a precaution which proved by no means superfluous, as they were attacked at one time by a band of 200 freebooters. These they were able eventually to beat off, but not until they had carried off great part of the Pundit's merchandise and all his baggage animals. The high Tibetan plateau, called Ching-Tang, or northern plain, was reached sixty miles from

Lhása by the Lani La pass, 15,750 feet high. In this region, inhabited by a sparse nomad population, are situated the grazing ground of the Government brood mares, 300 in number, from whose fermented milk is prepared the only spirituous beverage permitted to the Dalai Lama. Some 7,000 tents were passed, according to the Pundit's reckoning, in 180 miles, the Ching-Tang for the remaining 240 being entirely uninhabited, while the traffic met in the opposite direction consisted of a single caravan, and one party of five mounted men, believed to be robbers. The highest pass crossed was one of 16,400 feet on the Dongla range, dividing the basin of the upper Yang-tse-Kiang, and of the Mekong flowing through Cambodia. The height of the camping-grounds ranged from 13,500 to 15,000 feet. The descent from the Ching-Tang on its northern declivity brought the travellers to the plains of Chaidam, about 9,000 feet high, a comparatively warm and well-wooded region. On the return journey numbers of Tibetan traders were passed, carrying home from China supplies of the coarse tea used in the country, to the gross amount, according to the Pundit's guess, of about 300,000 lbs. On this route the explorer passed Lithang, one of the highest cities in the world, since it is situated 13,300 feet above the level of the sea. Though at one time within thirty miles of the British frontier, the Pundit had to turn aside and take the circuitous route by Lhása, the intervening tribe being too savage for the passage to be attempted. He reached Darjeeling in November, 1882, having traversed in four and a half years 2,800 miles of country in which no European can venture to set foot. The value of his journey is increased by the attention recently called to Tibet as a possible market for British goods, unless Russia should pre-occupy the field here, as elsewhere, in Central Asia.

**Life in an Oasis.**—Madame Levinck, who, in 1882, made her way to the Oasis of Figuig, gives an interesting account of it in the *Revue de Géographie* for December, 1884. This isolated community is situated in the Sahara between Algiers and Morocco, about 400 kilomètres from Bordy Mecheria, and nearly due east of Mount Atlas. Its group of buildings, minarets, and white crenelated walls emerge from an extensive palm-forest, surrounded by an amphitheatre of hills rising in bare rock-terraces from the plain. The entire space is included within an enceinte seventeen kilomètres in length, enclosing 1,275 hectares, of which some 300 are covered by the houses, interspersed, however, with about 100,000 date-palms, forming a second forest within the walls. The mud-built ramparts rest on a foundation resembling Cyclopean masonry, believed by the writer to be of Roman construction. The gates, which are jealously guarded, are defended by fifty-three towers, twenty-four feet in height. The oasis is peopled by eight groups of inhabitants, having each a separate city, called Ksar (plural, Ksour), a palace or castle. Each Ksar is surrounded by its own rampart, and communicates only with its own palm-gardens, though all are included within the common wall of circumvallation. The palm-forest is not an agree-

able place for an idle stroll, as it is a perfect labyrinth of walls, ditches, and winding paths through a prickly jungle of Barbary figs, aloes, and acacias, forming a system of defence impenetrable to an enemy without artillery.

The treasure so closely guarded is the water of fifteen springs, which nourish the fertility of the oasis. In addition to the date-palm, which, according to the proverb, requires to have "its head in the fire, and its feet in the water," lemons, oranges, pomegranates, figs, apricots, bananas, and vines, flourish here in luxuriance. The springs are surrounded by arcades attached to the principal mosques, and the most copious, the Ain Zaddert, is surmounted by a bastioned tower, occupied always by forty men armed to the teeth. This spring, which probably comes from a great depth, since it pours forth 200 litres a second, at an unvarying temperature of 23° Centigrade, was in 1878 diverted from the possession of its original owners to the neighbouring Ksar, by an ingenious stratagem. A subterranean gallery was excavated under the simple wall and ditch which then guarded it, and, the parapet of the wall being blown up by the explosion of a few jars of powder, the stream poured through the breach into the tunnel, and was thus conducted to the citadel of the enterprising aggressors. The defrauded owners submitted after a brief resistance, and the rival tribe usurped their previous position of pre-eminent influence among their neighbours.

The water-question is naturally the pivot of the political situation, and is regulated by a syndicate elected by the djemâa, or general assembly of the oasis. The water-supply, distributed to each individual in strict proportion to the quantity of land and number of palm-trees owned by him, is gauged by a curious mechanical contrivance. A tin vessel, holding about two litres, with holes of ascertained size pierced in its bottom, is placed on the stream, and the time that elapses before it sinks is the measure of that during which the water is allowed to flow to the different plantations. In other oases, a sand-glass is used for the same purpose, and the size of a man's property is indicated by saying he is the owner of a sand-glass, or a sand-glass and a half, of water.

The oasis is a pious community, to judge by its institutions, and the government of the several Ksour is practically a religious oligarchy, with the chief marabout at its head. One Ksar has as many as three mosques, in addition to zaouya, monasteries, combining schools, convents, and hotels, in which travellers are gratuitously lodged. They are famous as centres of learning, and are visited by students from all North Africa as far as Fez. One is attended by 1,500 students, who pay no fees of any kind. The rich bring an outfit of clothing, and some presents in money or kind, seldom amounting to more than 100 or 200 francs, for a residence of from three to eight years, but the poor students come as pilgrims, dependent wholly on charity for subsistence. These Mohammedan colleges probably reproduce the conditions of life in the mediæval universities more faithfully than any modern institutions. The pro-

fessors are begging monks, whose profession of learning and sanctity is generally a cloak for idleness and self-indulgence. Madame Levinck does not narrate by what means, or in what guise, she contrived to penetrate to this remote settlement, generally inaccessible to Europeans.

**The Religious Question in Japan.**—Under this head *Les Missions Catholiques* of January 9, 1885, has an interesting article describing the revolution gradually being operated in public feeling in Japan through contact with Western ideas. An extreme sensitiveness to the opinion of civilized nations, and desire for equality with them, are gradually undermining the hereditary creeds in the minds of the cultivated classes, and have had a positive result in a decree of August, 1884, granting universal toleration, and practically abolishing the State religion. The latter is Shintoism, or worship of the ancestors of the Mikados, consisting entirely of empty ceremonial; but Buddhism, with its substantial basis of doctrine, is the religion of the vast majority of the people, and the only one that has any living power over their minds. Christianity, meantime, to the great discontent of the Bonzes, or Buddhist priests, has been making steady progress during the last ten or twelve years, and Catholicity counts some 30,000 adherents, while half that figure may be taken to represent the converts of other Christian sects.

Mere indifference on the other hand, or the adoption of some of the fashionable materialistic philosophies of the West, is the more ordinary phase into which the educated Japanese passes as soon as the friction of Western thought has rubbed off all the prejudices of his traditional belief. But the most singular and characteristic feature of the movement is the attitude taken up by a portion of the Japanese press, in urging the adoption of a European form of religion as a badge of progress, and without any belief in its moral efficacy. The extracts from the Japanese papers in this sense, quoted in the article we are summarizing, are exceedingly curious, though too lengthy to be fully reproduced here. One paper which had been strenuously opposed to the introduction of Christianity as a probable source of internal dissension, now advocates its adoption in the following strain :—

If we wish to maintain our relations with the West on the footing of international right, it is of the first necessity for us to purge ourselves of the stigma of anti-Christian, and secure our admission into the great family of civilized peoples by the adoption of the social colouring. From this point of view it seems that we should adopt a religion, which, universally followed in Europe and America, exercises so considerable an influence on the affairs of this world and on social relations; we should thus take our place in Christendom, and share the advantages and disadvantages of the civilized world. In our opinion there is no other mode of arranging the diplomatic aspect of our relations with foreign powers. The adoption of the Christian religion will put the ideas of the Japanese in harmony with those of the peoples of the West. We then earnestly desire, in the interest of our Government to see it take steps towards the introduction of Christianity as the religion of Japan.

It seems evident (things being as they are) that the Christian religion must succeed in Japan, and Buddhism disappear. We do not mean that Japan will from to-day or to-morrow form part of Christendom; but the victory of Christianity is only a question of time: it will infallibly arrive. For in order that a religious propaganda may have a prospect of success in Japan, it must have material resources at its disposal, and be conducted by wise, learned, and virtuous men, invested with an official character.

The article goes on to speak of the ignorance of the Bonzes having lost them their former ascendancy over the people, and contrasts them unfavourably with the ministers of Christianity. Another paper writes of the tendency towards Christianity becoming more marked from day to day, and causing alarm in the Buddhist camp. Thus there seems reason to hope that the prediction of the Pagan writer just quoted may be verified in the triumph of truth over error in the far East.

## Notes on Novels.

\*.\* The notes which are here introduced into the pages of the DUBLIN REVIEW were announced in the Prospectus regarding its future efforts which was placed before the public at the close of last year. In widening the circle of its interests, it was there said, "We shall not hesitate" from time to time to include light literature so far as to make known those "current works of Fiction which may be safely perused by different classes of Catholic readers." It is believed that this undertaking will approve itself to most of our readers as an addition worth the space given to it, especially when the purpose just mentioned is borne in mind. At the same time we wish to prevent one possible misconception. Whilst fully recognizing the important functions which may be discharged by chaste and healthy works of fiction, we wish emphatically to state that our "Notes" are NOT intended to *advocate* novel-reading. Our purpose is NOT an invitation to read any novels. But, it being assumed that many people do read them, and that many novels are unworthy of the time they demand, others unfit for the perusal of youth, and not a few unsuited, perhaps dangerous, to any Catholic reader—we propose to offer a judgment on the quality of certain novels that are in more general demand, raising the note of warning wherever we discover need for doing so. The large quantity of unhealthy fiction is reason pressing enough why criticism from their own standpoint should somewhere be available to Catholics. With this purpose in view it will be a pleasure to speak admiringly of those worthier specimens of English fiction wherein fine artistic excellence is not marred by any low or unworthy moral tone or teaching. We commence with a few novels, chiefly specimen works of authors in wide and increasing demand, intending to add, another time, other names of the same classic sort, together with the better known of the newer aspirants to fame.

1. *The Wreck of the "Grosvenor."* Fifth Edition. 1884. 2. *The Lady Maud.* 3. *A Sea Queen.* By W. CLARK RUSSELL. London: Sampson Low & Co.

**T**HE Wreck of the 'Grosvenor,' though not the first of its author's works—"John Houldsworth, Chief Mate" having preceded it—is the one which made him known to the public as the successor of Marryat and Cooper in delineating the romance of the deep. The successor, but in no sense the imitator, for his work is a fresh coinage of imaginative truth stamped with more genuine inspiration than the somewhat laboured realism of his predecessors. A sailor by profession and by instinctive vocation, he describes the sea in all its phases with a fervour of passion which cannot fail to carry away his readers, while sea-life in all its details grotesque or tragical, is familiar to him with the evident association of long habit. A master of descriptive eloquence, his vivid pictures of the infinite moods of ocean must rouse some visionary presentment of them in the dullest imagination, but to those who have been at sea, who know what it is to sleep to that most effective of all lullabies, the hissing rush of speeding waters past the ear—he seems to summon up, as by an actual illusion of the senses, the scenes he so graphically depicts. In this line of writing there is perhaps nothing finer in the English language than the description, in an early chapter of "*A Sea Queen*," of the ships making the mouth of the Tyne and crossing the bar in an on-shore gale of wind. The author here rises to a level far higher than what it is the fashion to call "word-painting"—often as unmeaning as the random daubing of colours on a palette—since he presents the scene to us in full tragic intensity through the emotions of the spectators, culminating in those of the wife and daughter watching from the cliffs the fate of the little brig steered by their husband and father. The applause of the sailors on shore as she dares the gale by showing an extra fragment of sail to help her through the terrible crisis in store for her—the hoarse cheer with which the multitude on Tynemouth cliffs greet her safety as she is tossed from crest to crest of the whirling seas into the smooth water beyond—are dramatic touches as heart-stirring as any in Macaulay's "*Lays of Rome*."

But Mr. Russell's romances are not mere threads of narrative on which to string his descriptive passages, but thrilling tales of adventure wonderfully varied considering the necessary limitations of his theme. "*The Wreck of the 'Grosvenor'*" is the story of a mutiny, in which, after the murder of the captain and the first mate, the hero, the second mate, is spared by the mutineers to navigate the ship for them, but with the intention of scuttling it when near shore, and leaving him to perish on board. How, with the assistance of one confederate, he eventually frustrates their designs and succeeds in saving not only his own life, but those of his helpless passengers—a young lady and her father, saved by him from a wreck—we will leave our readers, if they do not already know, to find out for themselves.

The "Sea Queen" is a heroine who sails in her husband's ship, and eventually helps by her spirit and courage to replace the loss of the crew and bring the vessel into port; while "The Lady Maud"—the story of the wreck of a schooner yacht on a desert island near the Bahamas—is not behind any of its predecessors in interest. When we add that Mr. Clark Russell has never written a word unsuited to readers of any age, and that his sympathies are all with what is good both in religion and morals, we think we have said enough to recommend him to even a wider public than he already commands.

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1. *The Baby's Grandmother*. A New Edition. 2. *Mr. Smith, a Part of his Life*. By L. B. WALFORD. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons. 1884.

THOSE readers who have not yet made acquaintance with Mrs. Walford's novels have a pleasant treat in store for them in her latest work, "The Baby's Grandmother." To buoyant spirits and a fresh imagination the author unites a piquancy of style which is fairly irresistible. Her characters are life-like yet unbackneyed, she has an artistic grasp of plot, and excels in her conversations, which are thoroughly natural, spontaneous, and flowing. The subject of the story under discussion is an uncommon one, as may be inferred from the title; it has always been the fashion among novelists to claim the reader's sympathy for the young. Mrs. Walford opens her new novel with the announcement that her heroine is—a grandmother! To minds weakened by a long course of fiction this statement will prove something of a shock, and skilful must be the pen which aspires to reconcile the ordinary reader to an impulsive heroine of seven and thirty! Mrs. Walford is more than equal to the difficulty; chapter by chapter, the sweet, the wilful, the charming Lady Matilda, grandmother though she be, grows upon the reader's affections, until at length he is fain to confess himself one of the most devoted admirers in her train. It must be admitted that Lady Matilda finds an excellent foil in her daughter Lotta. If Lotta had been at all such a daughter as one might expect from such a mother, Lady Matilda must have contented herself with at least a divided sovereignty over her little kingdom of Overton, but Lotta, from her cradle upwards, was an unmitigated prig.

At the age of eight she cut and stitched dolls' frocks without assistance. She set herself her own tasks if her governess was unwell or absent, gave directions as to when tucks were to be let down, or breadths let out of her frocks, and refrained on principle from tasting unknown puddings at table.

This dreadful child would also ask for her medicine at the proper hour, and preferred preparing her lessons to playing battledore and shuttlecock. Fortunately for the happiness of Overton, when Miss Lotta is seventeen a suitor appears; and, relieved from the wet

blanket of the young lady's presence, Matilda and her brothers breathe freely again; but the next event is that Lady Matilda becomes a grandmother! How, in spite of this damnatory fact, she wins all hearts, and the heart of one in particular, must be left to the reader to find out; there is no fear that having once begun the book he will wish to get quicker to the kernel than the story allows. An objection might be made to the opportune death of Mary Tufnell as rather a mean way out of a difficulty: opportune deaths are so frequent in fiction, so rare in real life. But it is ungrateful to cavil at trifles in a novel where the essentials are altogether excellent.

If "The Baby's Grandmother" deserves much praise, "Mr. Smith," an earlier work by the same author, and now in its third edition, must obtain still warmer meed. While the book holds the mirror up to nature in most amusing fashion, the author gives us in Mr. Smith the portrait of such a man as true heroes resemble—a modest, upright, noble-hearted gentleman; and the influence for good which he exercised over the character of the heroine should work, too, over the character of young women into whose hands his story may fall.

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1. *Sunrise: a Story of these Times.* Sixth Edition. 2. *The Strange Adventures of a Phaeton.* 3. *The Bells of Shandon.* By WILLIAM BLACK. London: Sampson Low & Co.

THE author of "A Princess of Thule" has won an honourable name long ago among novelists. If he is not as delicately subtle as Jane Austen, or as pathetic in prosaic life as Charlotte Brontë, or as picturesque in romance as Blackmore, his name has been classed with all these before now, not so much for genius—for they differ widely in excellence, and Mr. Black himself is a most unequal writer—but because their best works are up to a standard that deserves to live, and the whole mass of what they have written is broadly classed as "unimpeachable" from a moral point of view. "Sunrise" is a remarkable book—it just stops short, and turns back provokingly, when one has got nearly to the end in the hope that it is an admirable book. The story tells how a frank and honest man, George Brand, the wealthy son of a Northern ironmaster, is led by a generous, enthusiastic friend to come into contact with the members of a secret political society in London. Ferdinand Lind, the conspirator, lives in Curzon Street, very much like his neighbours; and George Brand, athirst to work good to the oppressed, has no idea whatever that, on the night of his initiation at a dinner party, his host, Lind, has just returned from Venice, where, at a meeting of the secret council, he was selected by ballot to carry out a decree of assassination. To get Brand out of his way, Lind contrives that he shall be selected for the red deed in Italy in place of himself. Brand is summoned to Curzon Street, and by dint of plausible argument he is persuaded that what he hitherto called murder may be after

all just punishment inflicted on one for the saving of hundreds from his cruelty.

He [Ferdinand Lind] leant over and pulled towards him a sheet of paper. Then he took a pair of scissors and cut the sheet into four pieces; these he proceeded to fold up until they were about the size of a shilling and identically alike. All the time he was talking. . . . He opened a bottle of red ink that stood by. "The simplest means are sufficient," said he. "This was how we used to settle affairs in '48." He opened one of the pieces of paper and put a cross in red on it, which he dried on the blotting-paper. Then he folded it up again, threw the four pieces into a paste-board box, put down the lid, and shook the box lightly. "Whoever draws the red cross," he said, almost indifferently, "carries out the command of the council. Have you anything to say, gentlemen—to suggest?"

Brand is the third to draw; one of the others has thrown his paper in the fire; the other has flung it on the floor: his bears the red cross! In agony of mind, with nothing to guide him but his human thoughts, he is resolved to obey the council, and then to fling his own life away. For the present he is blinded; in the future he is ruined. He does not know the baseness of Lind, who had foredoomed him by marking all the papers, so that the red cross was inevitable. Brand is saved through the brave earnestness of the Hungarian girl, Natalie, Lind's daughter, to whom he is betrothed. Before the council at Venice she takes courage to speak; and this is the author's meaning compressed from all the story:—

You who are so powerful, you who profess to seek only mercy, and justice, and peace, why should you also follow the old bad cruel ways and stain yourselves with blood? Surely it is not for you, the friends of the poor, the champions of the weak, the teachers of the people, to rely on the weapon of the assassin? . . . For the sake of those who have already joined you—for the sake of the far greater numbers who may yet be your associates—I implore you to abandon these secret and dreadful means.

If the book openly denounced secrecy as well as assassination, we should call it admirable; but all at once it stops short, and misses the mark towards which we had hoped it was aimed.

You remember [says Brand, in the last chapter] the morning we turned out of the little inn on the top of the Niessen to see the sun rise over the Bernese Alps? . . . And we waited and watched, and the light grew stronger, and all sorts of colours began to show along the peaks. That was the sunrise. But down in the valleys everything was misty, and dark, and cold; everything asleep; the people there could see nothing of the new day we were looking at. And so I suppose it is with us now. We are looking ahead. We see, or fancy we see, the light before the others; but sooner or later they will see it also, for the sunrise is bound to come.

This is clearly the drift of the book; and no sane man, emphatically no Catholic, can hail as sunrise the work of the secret associations of Europe. Not the first light on the mountain peaks do they show men, but the first flashes of the storm that the rest of the world may feel full soon, and that the quiet sleepers in the valleys little expect. If "Sunrise" be taken to show how an honest,

earnest man may find too late that secret societies *are* linked with crime unknown to their lower grades, then much may be learned from it; quite otherwise is it if it be taken to point to certain political agitations as "sunrise" work for the world. It contains many living glimpses of Venice, as vivid as the word-painting of England in the "Adventures of a Phaeton;" and has more poetry in its prose pages than are to be found in the "Phaeton" and the "Bells of Shandon" put together; while Natalie Lind is quite worthy to follow "A Princess of Thule."

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1. *Cripps the Carrier*: a Woodland Tale. Fourth Edition. 1883-2. *Lorna Doone*: a Romance of Exmoor. Twenty-second Edition. 1883. 3. *The Remarkable History of Sir Thomas Upmore, Bart., M.P., formerly known as "Tommy Upmore."* 2 vols. Third Edition. 1884. By RICHARD DODDRIDGE BLACKMORE. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington.

INGENUITY in the construction of his plot is not the most marked of Mr. Blackmore's qualities as a novelist; but in "Cripps the Carrier," the story, if not strikingly original, is yet sufficiently exciting to sustain the interest of the reader to the end of the volume. The main thread of the narrative follows the fortunes or misfortunes of Grace Oglander, the daughter of an Oxfordshire Squire. She is borne off from the residence of her aunt by the machinations of a villainous attorney, who entraps her into his power by the usual expedient of a forged letter from her father. The latter, anxiously expecting his daughter's return, receives by the carrier a sack of potatoes, and in it a long coil of bright golden hair, accompanied by the brutal superscription—"All you will ever see of her." Scarcely a doubt remains in his mind as to the fate of poor Grace, and his fears are confirmed by the testimony of Esther Cripps, the carrier's sister, who, in a belated walk, is the witness of a ghastly deed—the burial of the uncoffined body of a young girl in a ravine called the "Gipsy's Grave." Grace herself is in the meantime safely ensconced in the depths of the Oxford forest under the care of Miss Patch, the governess, and makes such good use of her natural gifts that she enthralls the heart of Kit Sharp, the attorney's son. For him, both she and her large fortune were designed by his unscrupulous father; but an unforeseen difficulty is interposed by the traitorous conduct of Kit himself. When he discovers that the girl is not an American, as he was led to suppose, but the daughter of Squire Oglander, he resolves to restore her to her father's roof; and this he succeeds in doing with the timely assistance of "Cripps the Carrier." The most powerful part of the story is that which describes the flight of Grace Oglander and her new protector, the conflict between father and son, and the eventual rescue of the maiden by the carrier. The attorney strikes his son dead, as he thinks, and then appropriately closes his career by blowing his own brains out in the forest.

But it is not in scenes of violence that Mr. Blackmore's real excellence is to be found. The themes on which he delights to dwell, and to which he always imparts some fresh interest, are the quiet ways of Nature—the growth of a plant, the snow upon the bough, the ice slowly forming on a pool. And it is this graceful delineation of Nature which saves “Lorna Doone” from the charge of tediousness. The heroine of the robber stronghold has secured a permanent place in English fiction; but we doubt whether the story would not be still more popular if it had been somewhat abridged.

It is a pity that Mr. Blackmore should have wasted such excellent and witty writing on a plot so essentially ridiculous as that of “Tommy Upmore,” the flying boy. The chief incidents of his career are dependent upon his faculty of “spontaneous levigation;” but, although only six stone six pounds in weight when full grown, it does not appear how or why he did occasionally rise above the heads of the spectators. The author may possibly have intended to suggest an allegory; but, if so, he would have been wise to follow Spenser's example, and sketch in plain prose the particulars of his “dark conceit.”

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*My Trivial Life and Misfortune.* By A PLAIN WOMAN. A Gossip with no Plot in Particular. A New Edition. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons. 1883.

THIS book is undoubtedly one of the most remarkable studies of society that has appeared for years. In its fidelity to human nature and minuteness of observation it recalls the novels of Jane Austen, although in many ways suggesting points of difference rather than points of comparison with the inimitable creator of “Emma.” Miss Austen excelled in a delicate and playful irony; this anonymous author deals in trenchant satire, and a humorlessness which is somewhat bitter. If Miss Austen's works have been justly described as miniature painting, “My Trivial Life” may be compared to photography. It has all the merits of a good photograph, while wanting in some of the qualities which go to the making of a good picture. It is absolutely true to nature, and so is a photograph, but it does not leave a pleasing impression on the mind, and so it is not a work of art. It fails again through the morbid influence it is likely to exert in teaching that life, except for the very few, is not worth living; that for the many the world is monotonous and cruelly unjust. Such lessons are highly objectionable for the young, and unworthy, as art, of any Christian standard of life. And should the author contend that her object is not to teach, but to amuse, then here, too, has she failed, for, although there is much that is amusing in her book, those best able to appreciate it will, we think, be least exhilarated by its perusal. The dreary, deadly-lively existence of Sherbrooke Hall becomes almost as insupportable to the reader as to the heroine; the savage contempt one feels for the fashionable, brainless, utterly inane creatures who frittered life away at Mineham

interferes with the laughter their follies would otherwise excite. For these people in "My Trivial Life" are so vividly set before you that they seem to live and move; you hear them talk; as with men you know intimately, you can tell what they are going to say almost before they open their mouths. You close the book and find it difficult to convince yourself you have not been reading a painful passage in real life rather than a work of imagination. Tradition says that not one of Miss Austen's characters could be traced home to the persons of her acquaintance. Doubtless as much originality may be claimed for the author of "My Trivial Life." The Sherbrookes, the Rigardy-Wrenstones, the Clarke girls, are figments of the brain alone; but, in that case, for wealth of detail, for aptness of illustration, for marvellous perception of character as exemplified in trifles, Jane Austen has at length found a rival. And "A Plain Woman" possesses depths of pathos and passion which Jane Austen never knew.

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*Olivia Raleigh.* By W. W. FOLLETT SYNGE, Author of "Tom Singleton, Dragoon and Dramatist." London: George Routledge & Sons. 1884.

AN interesting and instructive essay might be written on the priests of English fiction. From Richardson's Father Mariscotti, down to Don Ippolito of "A Foregone Conclusion," one meets a remarkable set of men. A study of them would, perhaps, materially help us towards ascertaining how our sober-minded countrymen erected for themselves a "bogey" wherewith to scare themselves and their children for many generations, and how at last the "bogey" is giving place to an image of a priest as he is—at least *human* in both faults and virtues. Amongst this large assemblage of fictional priests there is scarcely one better deserving notice than the Rev. Mr. Santiago Fletcher of "Olivia Raleigh;" indeed, outside Manzoni's celebrated "I promessi Sposi," we do not know where to find a more charming picture of a Catholic priest. Here is Mr. Synge's description of his and, assuredly, his readers' favourite:—

The Father Jem alluded to was a tall, spare ecclesiastic, of a type long since broken up. Educated abroad, in the famous University of Salamanca, he had been chaplain to the Spanish Embassy in Paris at the breaking out of the Revolution. Up to that time he had borne a pure and blameless character; and if there had been no special unction of piety in his manners or conversation, if the priest had been gracefully grafted on the man of the world and society, Father Santiago Fletcher was far from being a mere drawing-room Abbé; still less had he ever brought reproach on his holy calling. But during the Reign of Terror several of his dearest friends and daily associates—great nobles, fine ladies, and brother priests—had been driven into exile and poverty, or had expiated on the scaffold their crimes, their rank, or their virtues. And when the young priest accompanied by choice his relatives the De Ségalas to England, his character had received the indelible expression of seriousness which had hitherto appeared wanting in his somewhat easy character.

As chaplain to the Ambassador of Spain, he could have returned without hindrance to the country of his birth. But he knew that Maurice de Ségalas was timid and selfish, little able to protect wife or child, and much more likely to submit with feminine courage and resignation to the doom of the Committee of Public Safety than to incur risk, hardship, and contumely in forcing his way to his wife's country. Father Fletcher it was, then, who bribed an incorruptible Jacobin to furnish the necessary passports, who hired and steered the boat which conveyed them from St. Malo to Jersey, and who gagged and would have pistolled one of the three boatmen, who, on discovering that the passengers were *aristos*, would have delivered them up to the captain of the Republican *chasse-marée* stationed off the coast. It was he who finally brought them safe to Playford, and arranged with the lawyers and agents in Brittany for the remittal from time to time to the exiles of such modicums of rental as fidelity or the belief in a Royalist reaction induced them to spare to the real owners of the property which they had acquired as patriotic purchasers of the emigrant Viconte's sequestered estates.

There were but few Roman Catholics in the neighbourhood of Playford, but there was a little chapel at the back of Davey's rope-walk which had been built and endowed by the grandfather of the present Duke of Dunborough before he conformed to the Church established by law. A few farmers who had declined to shift their faith with their landlord's, the head clerk in the Playford branch of the Edenshire Bank, some Irish labourers employed on the incipient railway, old Mrs. Coppinger in Lomax's Fields, and the man who kept the Walford turnpike, were almost the only frequenters of the "Mass house," as Silas Fletcher and others of the sterner sort persisted in calling the chapel which was now confided to his cousin's charge. But the silver-tongued Abbé, whom bepatched and bew powdered ladies had listened to with rapture and flattered with insinuating tact, was far happier with his humble flock than he had ever been with his congregation of courtiers and ambassadors. His heart and soul were now in his work, as well as his conscience and his sense of duty. Through much tribulation he had won, if not the Kingdom of Heaven, at least the heavenly-mindedness which fits us for it. . . .

It has been already said that Father Santiago—or Parson Jem, as Philip Fletcher had persisted in translating the more euphonious Spanish synonym—was tall and thin. Yet that is but a poor description. Many men are tall and thin who bear no other resemblance to this clergyman. . . . He had in the highest degree the Spaniard's passion for fine and delicate linen; and perhaps Mrs. Bradshaw, the washerwoman, and Miss Suttaby, the clear-starcher, were the only persons in Playford who had heard a peevish word from the courteous Popish clergyman. But if his cambric shirts were not whiter than fuller could whiten them, and if his unstiffened lace ruffles and cravat did not fall in faultless folds, Father Fletcher had been heard to mutter "*Caramba*," a word at once sonorous and unintelligible, which sounded terribly like an anathema of his persecuting Church. But the awful imprecation had been followed by so sweet a smile, not of forgiveness, but of apology for his own hastiness, that years had now passed without Miss Suttaby or Mrs. Bradshaw giving him fresh occasion for sin. His hair had been of a bright, almost too bright, chestnut. It was now nearly white; but, as hair of that complexion seldom blanches completely in a healthy man of sixty-two, it was more than shrewdly suspected that one more taint of worldliness, besides the love of delicate linen, still clung to the zealous clergyman, and that his snowy locks would hardly have been quite so snowy but for

the occasional sprinkling of Maréchale powder. A Spanish sun had not embrowned the clear broad forehead which these hoary locks surmounted. His complexion was very fair—so fair that his face, with its almost regular features, would have been open to a charge of effeminacy but for the unquenched but subdued fire in his brown eyes, and for the square and almost severe chin, which Phil Fletcher said would have made a field-marshal of its owner if he had been sent to a military school instead of to a clerical seminary. The expression of his face was dignified and benevolent—so benevolent that not my Uncle Toby himself could more gravitate to him, by a mysterious attraction, the poor, the unhappy, or the penitent; so noble in its dignity that the most daring reprobate or the most brainless buffoon would scarcely have ventured on a ribald word, or an unbecoming jest, if Father Santiago were within hearing. (P. 80).

And Mr. Synge is a Protestant! How Father Jem bears himself towards the various persons whom he comes across in the tale we will leave the reader to see for himself. It is a tale told with the conscientious care of a literary artist, not a slovenly sentence from beginning to end, and the elevated tone, the lovable and life-like characters of the book, warrant its careful workmanship. Father Jem, Aunt Pen, Uncle Silas, Sam Piper, Olivia Raleigh, and Geoffrey Walsham are additions to our imaginary friends whose acquaintance it is a distinct joy and gain to make. We said imaginary friends. But surely Mr. Synge must have known them in the flesh. Here and there are quiet touches of pathos, kindly humour, and poetry of sentiment that remind us of Thackeray. If we mistake not, Mr. Synge was one of Thackeray's intimate friends. Passages abound in "Olivia Raleigh" and "Tom Singleton" which his dead friend and great master might have been proud to write. The edition we have quoted from is the new one, with its attractive frontispiece and large print, brought out by Messrs. Routledge as one of their "Railway Library."

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1. *Art McMorrough O'Cavanagh, Prince of Leinster.* By M. L. BYRNE. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1885.
  2. *The Brides of Kensington.* By Miss BRIDGES, Author of "Sir Thomas Maxwell and his Ward." 3. *Snowflakes, and other Tales.* By M. SINCLAIR ALLISON. London: R. Washbourne. 1885.

"THE Pale and the Septs," "Leixlip Castle," "Ill-won Peerages; or, Four Epochs of Ireland's History," are works already written by Miss M. L. Byrne; and now comes "Art McMorrough O'Cavanagh: an Historical Romance of the Fourteenth Century." This is evidence of hard work upon Irish history, and the only question is whether popular bright essays would not have been more useful to tell Ireland's tale than a series of thick volumes of somewhat tough reading. The same pen could have made descriptive studies attractive, as we see from the description of the ruined

Bhailemor restored. If Ireland had a Sir Walter Scott, it would be a happy day for her, and for English readers too; but there was only one Walter Scott, after all, and modern historical fiction like the broad colouring of Mr. Hepworth Dixon, might sometimes better be called fictitious history. "Whilom" and "peradventure," "Ho, Sir Nicolas!" and "Sayest thou so?" are not the most lively reading for a modern tongue; nor are these things the fourteenth century—not even if all the men say "Beshrew" this and that, and if the astonished man exclaims, "Beshrew my stars." There is nothing more difficult than a true archaic style; these old expressions are apt to mingle with the most glaringly new words. We would also note that the mispronunciation of nineteenth-century words did not sound ludicrous five centuries ago. "Plase" was perhaps correct for "please" then; Spenser shows us that "say" was certainly correct for "sea." Other words have suffered a reverse process; we all say "break" like "brake," and Herrick, in Elizabeth's days, rhymed "wear" with "ear." We wish this energetic and laborious writer had given us simple pictures of her country in the old times instead of 711 pages in this dreadful style.

"The Brides of Kensington" is the story of a "faire ladye of high degree" (titles abound in Miss Bridges' stories), who hears a sermon by Mgr. Mermillod at Geneva, becomes a convert, suffers persecution, and is eventually married to Lord Fitzalan "at the High Altar of the Pro-Cathedral, Kensington, by his Eminence the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster." They could all have got on quite as well without the mention of either of these prelates; and another faire ladye of high degree would have got on much better without finding it a relief to think in slang, "He is so sharp, he would twig my object;" neither ought a gentleman to say "Rather!" when he means "Decidedly." These blemishes are more noticeable in a circle where one finds cheeks as pale as marble and hair once black as the raven's wing. However, as stories go, "The Brides of Kensington" will pass muster among small books of fiction. It is up to the average of minor stories; but we wish that average could be higher.

"Snowflakes, and other Tales," are very graceful stories told for little children, in pure English, and full of imagination about simple things. We wish some Catholic writer for children could write up to the level of Hans Andersen, and such classic stories as his immortal simple tales. We have no one that fills his place with us; Miss Mulholland has perhaps a touch of the magic, but her audience are older. M. Sinclair Allison has gone forward a few steps at the beginning of the path—very far off, but on the right road; is it worth while for this new writer to study Hans Andersen closely, and detect his secrets, and try again?

## Notices of Catholic Continental Periodicals.

### GERMAN PERIODICALS.

By Dr. BELLESHEIM, of Cologne.

#### 1. *Katholik*.

**Von Hartmann on the Origin of Religion.**—Dr. Gutberlet, the author of one of our best text-books of Catholic philosophy, contributes to the December issue a lengthened study of Eduard von Hartmann's theories on the development of religion. Von Hartmann is widely and unfavourably known by his "*Philosophie des Unbewussten*." In his latest book on "*The Religious Conscience of Mankind*," he sets himself to trace the history of religion, the origin of which, according to him, is to be found in irrational animals. They are endowed with religion, and it is from their feelings and sentiments that the religion of mankind has been gradually developed. Of course, the highest pitch of religion is Hartmann's own philosophical system, which denies the existence of God, and places the happiness of mankind in a return to "*Nirvana*." This latest book teems with blasphemies against the Christian religion, the high standard of whose morals seems only to provoke his fury.

**The Salmanticenses.**—We next notice two solid and valuable articles on the Vatican manuscripts of the Salamanca theologians of the sixteenth century, which will be also found serviceable towards the history of scholastic theology since the Council of Trent. These articles describe the course of studies followed by Domingo de Soto in the University of Paris, where at that time the systems of realism and nominalism were in the balance, and his theological reputation as professor at Salamanca, where, by his marvellous accomplishments, he won for himself the *Cátedra de Visperas*. Our author quotes largely from the unpublished Vatican "*Diarium S. Concilii Tridentini per me Angelum Massarellum ipsius concilii Secretarium*." He also describes Soto's activity in the deliberations of the fathers of the Council. At Trent he had several times interviews with Cardinal Pole. And during the month of September, 1547, his advice was much sought by the Legates whilst the decree on Justification was being planned. The Ottoboniana in the Vatican is in possession of not a few treatises by Soto. These are here accurately described. They certainly ought to be published without delay. The second article deals with the great Dominican, Melchior Cano, the celebrated author of the "*Loci Theologici*," and Archbishop Bartholomew Carranza. Caballero has written the "*Vida del Illmo, Melchor Cano*" (Madrid, 1871), but was not able to use the Vatican manuscripts, which contain Cano's commentaries on

St. Thomas's Summa and other valuable writings. We trust these articles will be continued, as they are of incalculable value towards the history of the great theological movement begun at Trent.

The Rev. Dr. Bautz comments on two explanations of the Apocalypse recently brought out in Germany, and inveighs against any interpretation which might tend to support anything like a millennium. To the same number I contributed an article on the third plenary Council of Baltimore.

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## 2. *Historisch-politische Blätter.*

**The Origin of the Diaconate.**—The January number contains a review of Dr. Seidl's work on "The Order of Deacon," which well deserves perusal. It is a common opinion, which some Catholics also hold, that the "septem" of Acts vi. were not at all deacons, but priests, the Order of Deacon being still included in the priesthood, and only later on dissociated from it. Dr. Seidl, by powerful arguments, proves this opinion to be untenable.

**Frederick William IV.**—The same number dwells at some length on the recent work of Baron von Reumont, the celebrated Catholic historian of the city of Rome, "Aus König Friedrich Wilhelm's IV. gesunden und Kranken Tagen." On account of his talents as an historian, no less than for his position in the department of Foreign Affairs, and as Prussian Minister to the Holy See and the Court of Florence, Baron von Reumont was held in the highest esteem by the King. And in this volume he has raised an imperishable monument to the noble monarch whose too short reign will ever be blessed by Prussian Catholics. From it we gather much trustworthy information on Berlin society, life at Court, the king's disposition to promote art and science, his sense of piety, and his justice towards his Catholic subjects. The high esteem in which Pius IX. was constantly held by this King shows well enough that, under the reign of this monarch, deeply impressed as he was by the Christian religion, anything like a "Kulturkampf" would have been quite impossible. In his official career, Baron von Reumont had frequent intercourse with Baron von Bunsen, and he gives a graphic description of Bunsen's unfortunate proceedings, both as a diplomatist in Rome and as a theological writer. From Baron von Reumont's book we also learn that it was in the carriage of Baron von Arnim, the Prussian Ambassador to the Holy See, that Father Theiner conveyed out of the Vatican archives the acts of the Council of Trent, which, without the permission of Pius IX., he afterwards brought out at Agram.

**The Franciscans in Bolivia.**—A work, recently published by the Franciscans at Quaracchi, near Florence, deserves special mention. It is entitled "El Colegio Franciscano de Tarija y sus Misiones. Noticias históricas recogidas por dos misioneros del

mismo colegio." Quaracchi. 1884. Tarija, in Bolivia, one of the largest Franciscan convents in South America, was one of the most influential in the conversion of the infidels of that country. A Spanish manuscript, dating from the beginning of this century, is used in giving us a vivid and attractive picture of the unwearied zeal of the Franciscan monks in propagating Christianity. Next to religion this work is a valuable contribution to ethnology; for the friars, to whom we owe the MS., were keen observers of the customs, religious habits, and still more the languages of those rude peoples.

O. Klopp's *Fall of the House of Stuart*.—The critical article on vol. xi. of Onno Klopp's work, "*Der Fall des Hauses Stuart und die Succession des Hauses Hannover in Gross Britannien*," should have special interest for English historians. The author is here occupied with only two years, 1704 and 1705; but his treatment is as full and accurate as one would anticipate from such a veteran in the art of writing history. His leading object here is to explode the opinion of those who would make of Louis XIV. a great hero, asserting the rights of the Catholic Church and of religious liberty. On the contrary, according to Klopp, it was just the French King who, but for the immense exertions of William III., the English nation and their faithful ally, the German Emperor, would have enslaved any sort of liberty throughout Europe. The important question as to who devised the campaign to the Danube in 1704 is answered by Dr. Klopp quite differently from English authors. It did not originate with General Marlborough, but with Count Wratislaw, Imperial Ambassador to the Court of St. James. A large number of unpublished documents in the Imperial Archives at Vienna irrefragably establish the fact that only after repeated conferences with the Imperial diplomatist was Marlborough initiated into this far-reaching device, adopting it thereupon.

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### 3. *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie (Innsbruck).*

**Saints of High Degree.**—In the January number Father Knobler contributes a complete account of the saints who belonged to princely families in the course of the Middle Ages. In those rude times, when whole countries rang with baronial feuds, the appreciation and sense of sanctity was as keen in the people as at any other period of Christian history. And we meet with a vast number of saints of both sexes in those very ranks of society which are most exposed to the perils and temptations of the world. Catholic England is nobly represented in this album of mediæval saints.

**A Pre-Molinist Molina.**—F. Pesch brings forward a Molina before Molina. Didacus Deza, of the Dominican Order, professor of theology in the *Cathedra Primaria* of Salamanca, and afterwards Archbishop of Seville, died in 1523 as Archbishop of Toledo. During his residence in Seville he brought out his "*Novarum defensionum*

doctrinae angelici doctoris. . . . quaestiones profundissimae." The extracts which F. Pesch adduces from this work doubtless establish the fact that in explaining St. Thomas, Daza is in perfect harmony with Molina, whilst at the same time he reproves the system of "praedeterminatio physica."

F. Heller treats on the Nestorian monument in Singan Fu, whilst F. Straub contributes a series of very thoughtful and appropriate remarks on the manner in which the great scholastics handled their teaching concerning angels. Modern spiritism seems to call for an exhaustive treatment of this chapter of dogmatic theology. F. Grisar has a learned critique on Presutti's "Regesti di Onorio III." (Rome, 1884). This first volume falls short of what one would expect from a scholar working in the neighbourhood of the Vatican.

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#### 4. *Stimmen aus Maria Laach.*

**Queen Mary's Marriage to Bothwell.**—After an article by Father Lehmkuhl on "Interest and Usury," and another by Father Hagen on the desirability of adopting the Universal Meridian, we come to an interesting and instructive survey of recent German literature concerning Mary Queen of Scots. Here Father Dreves is not in agreement with the Hon. Colin Lindsay's pamphlet on that unfortunate Queen. As to myself I adopt Lindsay's opinion as to the invalidity of Bothwell's marriage with Jane Gordon, though not at all for the reasons which he adduces. The fact of the marriage being contracted before a Protestant parson is no proof against its validity, since the decree of Trent on clandestinity has not to this day been promulgated in Scotland. Hence that part of the instrument of dispensation which allows that the nuptials "*et in facie ecclesiae solemnizare possint*" cannot be interpreted as involving a condition *sine quâ non*. Such interpretation would be destitute of foundation, since the phrase shows a mere permission, and ought to be explained according to the practice generally adopted by the Roman congregations. But the Legate's dispensation, and, therefore, also the marriage of Bothwell and Gordon, is to be held null and void on the score of the impediment of mixed religion which was not dispensed by Archbishop Hamilton. Bothwell avowedly and decidedly was a strong Protestant, hence there were *two impediments* to be removed, and (what is deserving of close attention) that in the same document. Since the Legate omitted to act up to this rule, the document of dispensation appears to be null. But *why* this was done, whether voluntarily or from mere mistake, is a question not easily decided. It is equally impossible to suspect the Legate either of insincerity or of ignorance of canon law, and of facts generally known throughout Scotland. For he ever showed himself to be a staunch defender of the Church and canonical law. Taking, as I feel

obliged to do, this view of the prelate, I agree with the Hon. Colin Lindsay in considering the document still existing in Dunrobin Castle to be a forgery.

**Monumenta Pædagogica.**—We have, last of all, to bring before the reader's notice a grand enterprise now being started at Berlin. The "*Monumenta Germaniæ Pædagogica*" are to be gathered into one vast collection, and to Father Pachtler has fallen the task of collecting all documents relating to the course of studies in the old Jesuit colleges. Hence he appeals to any scholars who may be possessed of such books as the "*Ratio Studiorum*," or "*Dramata in scholis S.J. per Germaniam exhibita*" to lend them for a time for use in the work he has undertaken.

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### ITALIAN PERIODICALS.

*La Civiltà Cattolica.* 17 Gennain, 1885.

**Biblical and Assyrian Chronology.**—There has been a succession of interesting articles in the *Civiltà Cattolica* from time to time with reference to the lately deciphered Assyrian and Babylonian annals, especially as compared with the Old Testament narrative. The number mentioned above deals with the apparent difficulty of reconciling certain Biblical chronological statements with the cuneiform inscriptions on some of these historic stones. The writer cannot for a moment coincide with those who, in order to escape from these and similar dilemmas, would assert that Scripture is divinely inspired only where its object is to instruct us in religious truth, and that in other matters the writers were left entirely to themselves, liable to fall into such errors on questions of fact as the ignorance of their times or the deficiency of accurate information might entail; for instance, questions of chronology or such as have a scientific bearing. This he cannot admit, but conceives that a distinction must be drawn. Scripture, as it issued from the pen of inspiration, is one thing, and Scripture, as it exists in its modern text, another. In the first case it is repugnant to us to believe that the Holy Spirit would have permitted errors of fact to be intermingled with revealed truth; but in the second we have the authority of the Fathers, and of most of the interpreters of Scripture, for readily granting that in things of slight moment, touching neither dogma, nor morality, nor the substance of the history, some errors, particularly as regards chronology, may have crept in through the inadvertence of copyists, for it would be unreasonable to exact that God by a perpetual miracle—and nothing short of a miraculous aid could have secured entire exemption from such slight inaccuracies—should have afforded the same assistance to all the transcribers of Biblical codices in the minutest matters as He did to the sacred writers themselves. He quotes, in support of this view, St. Jerome and St. Augustine among the Fathers, as

well as Bellarmine and other eminent theologians and commentators on Scripture down to the present day.

No one, therefore, can be judged temerarious should he suppose that some such errors exist in the Vulgate, especially in the matter of chronology, where a mistake in the numerals might so easily happen. We have but to consider the very considerable discrepancy on this point between the Hebrew version, from which the Vulgate is taken, and the Septuagint, which is also of high authority. The Church, moreover, has never defined anything with regard to the chronology of the Vulgate; it is unwise, therefore, to say the least, to make exaggerated claims for the minutest accuracy on such points in the received version of Scripture which the Church herself has never made. With regard to the discrepancy between the Biblical chronology relating to the reigns of the kings of Israel and Judah and existing Assyrian monuments, it is found principally during the period included between the eleventh and sixth centuries before Christ, and this discrepancy is the sole immediate object with which the writer is occupied. Many of these discrepancies, however, seem to admit of reasonable explanation, and he quotes from learned Scripture commentators, such as Cornelius à Lapide, Melchior Cano, and others, instances which show that there is no need to have recourse to the supposition of error in copyists. We refer our readers to the pages of the review for particulars. A second article appeared in the number for February 21. The writer considers that the principles which he lays down will greatly facilitate a concordance between the Biblical and Assyrian records, but, as he has simply cleared the way for their application, and has promised a third article in which results will be stated, we postpone further notice.

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21 Febbraio.

**A Glance at Spiritism.**—Four of the Austrian Archdukes believe that they have unmasked Spiritism, and one of them, the Archduke John, has published an amusing account of the clever trick by which he and his brothers detected a celebrated medium of the name of Bastian in the act of counterfeiting a phantom while he was supposed to be reclining in a state of magnetic sleep in an adjoining apartment concealed by a curtain. The exposure was complete; a *procès verbal* was drawn up and signed by all present. So far so good, and no objection can be taken to the first fifty-six pages of the little volume in which the Austrian prince has described the transaction, but when he proceeds to draw unauthorized conclusions from it, the *Civiltà Cattolica* has something, and indeed a good deal, to say on the subject. It is one thing to hold that there are jugglers and impostors amongst professing mediums—some of whom, we may observe by the way, have proved themselves to be very inferior in skill to several performers in that line who lay no

claim to the aid of preternatural influences—and quite another to make the sweeping assertion that therefore all so-called spiritists are mere conjurors, and all the manifestations of spiritism a fraud and a hoax. Such a conclusion is in no wise warranted by the premisses, and, when the mass of incontrovertible evidence on which the reality of such manifestations, taken collectively, rests is considered, it must be pronounced to be utterly unreasonable and opposed to common-sense. Yet many Catholics are well content to acquiesce in this superficial view, the mischievous consequences of which deserve to be clearly pointed out, for, if modern Spiritism be mere jugglery, then not a few will be encouraged to indulge their curiosity freely on the subject, believing that in so doing they incur no peril and violate no duty.

We should advise any one who doubts the reality of modern magic and the existence of magicians in this nineteenth century to peruse this article. Admitting, as the writer does, that there have been impostors among the professing mediums, a thing *à priori* highly probable and, indeed, sure to occur, can the fact be taken to explain away the enormous mass of phenomena, plainly contrary to all the laws of Nature, which are manifesting themselves continually in all parts of the world, phenomena of which any one who witnesses them, whether ignorant or learned, is equally competent to form a rational judgment? To deny the value of such judgment would be to condemn ourselves to a perpetual scepticism as to all that falls under the cognizance of the senses. Moreover, the reviewer shows that this would also be to reject the testimony of all past ages, since in all times we hear of similar facts under divers designations: answers of oracles, Pythonesses, Sybils, divination, necromancy, magic, which are but various names for one and the same thing, that which we now call Spiritism. To deny this would be ridiculous; and the Archduke is too well read in history to attempt do so, but then he would class all under the same head, and refer all to clever trickery, like that of the medium whom he is so delighted to have unmasked. But not only do all ages combine in the same testimony, travellers and missionaries give similar witness with regard to the barbarous and savage races of the earth in these days, amongst whom sorcery and other demoniacal practices are universal. Those who, like our missionaries—men, too, of culture in philosophy and often in natural science—have had close opportunity of observing these practices, laugh at the notion of accounting for the phenomena by mere sleight of hand and jugglery, and affirm the patent intervention of preternatural causes.

After making, then, the largest allowance for imposture amongst mediums and their representatives in heathen lands, known as dervishes, fakirs, bonzes, diviners, sorcerers, medicine-men, and after admitting that a certain number of mesmeric phenomena can and have been imitated, still when we consider the vast accumulation of manifestations witnessed by persons belonging to every class (scientific and medical included) in all parts of the world, and com-

pletely baffling all natural interpretation, to suppose that all these witnesses have been the dupes of mere charlatanism is not simply improbable in the highest degree, but even impossible and absurd.

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3 Gennaio and 7 Febbraio.

**Present State of Linguistic Studies.**—Along with a sprinkling of articles upon topics of political and social character, treated in their connection with religious interests, the *Civiltà Cattolica* has usually in hand, besides a story with a like bearing, one or more subjects which appear at intervals in a consecutive series. One of these, "The Present State of Linguistic Studies," has been in progress for a considerable time. Two articles have appeared this year. The first is mainly concerned with Sayce's arguments against linguistic evolution. He holds that it is against the psychological nature of man to pass from one language to another intrinsically different, as the evolutionist theorists maintain to have been the case; man, they say, having progressed from the monosyllabic to the agglutinative form, and thence to the flexive, the most perfect. No proof whatsoever can be alleged as to this transformation—nay, all existing proof looks in a contrary direction. There is every appearance, for instance, that the Aryan languages were flexive from the remotest antiquity, and agglutinative languages, such as the Finnish, appear to have continued the same in character as they were in early ages. He regards it as an error to suppose all men are cast in a like mould; he holds, on the contrary, that different races have had different tendencies and capacities. The evolutionist would have it that, as civilization progressed, mankind made a perpetual progress towards the flexive form of language. This is, he contends, contrary to facts. Chinese civilization is the oldest now existing in the world. Its origin is lost in mythical antiquity. Yet the Chinese tongue has not advanced one step from the isolated or monosyllabic form, the meaning of sentences being determined by the position and tone, not by any adjunct or modification of the separate words.

Articles of this nature do not lend themselves to compendious and brief analysis. Readers who are interested in such subjects we refer to their able treatment in this review. The second article, which appeared on February 7, treats mainly of roots, where one is met at the very threshold by the difficulty of defining what a root really is. If the non-scientific reader believes he had some vague conception of its nature, he will be shaken, we think, in his conviction after perusing a few pages of this learned article. Yet it seems imperative to define a term clearly before you can build up an argument upon it. Glottologists—the somewhat uneuphonistic appellation by which linguistic scientists appear to be now generally known—differ on this as on most other kindred topics. It is a veritable confusion of Babel which they exhibit.

17 *Gennaio*.

**Natural Sciences.**—The Abbé Caudéran, professor at the Seminary of Montlieu, bids fair to equal his celebrated colleague and predecessor, the Abbé Richard, in his wonderful power of discovering subterranean waters. The latter is reported to have discovered no less than 11,000 hidden sources, and his mantle seems to have fallen on his successor, who, however, being attached by his office to the seminary, has not the same opportunities for acquiring a world-wide reputation. Nevertheless, his discoveries in France, and also in Italy, have been already sufficiently numerous and striking to attract attention. One might believe him to be possessed of a divining-rod, such extraordinary power has he manifested of pointing out the existence of concealed springs of water. Of course he proceeds upon a certain combination of indications; but to judge of these, as he does, must require a gift of discernment and comparison which no mere scientific study could impart in such perfection. His method of proceeding is to ascend to some high ground, whence he surveys the surrounding neighbourhood, and can almost always point out accurately the spots where are actual springs, known to the country people. At the same time he indicates points where he believes that water is likely to be found. When sometimes apparently at fault in the former case, he will be afterwards found to be really in the right, the fountain having been diverted either naturally or artificially from its true source. Referring to the places where he considers springs will be found, he indicates the precise spot where the excavations are to be made, stating the depth at which the water will be reached and its probable abundance. The reviewer gives a few striking instances of his success, and mentions, in particular, the benefit which two large towns, Bordeaux and Saintes, will have derived from him in the shape of increased water supply.

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#### FRENCH PERIODICALS.

*Revue des Questions Historiques.* Paris. Janvier, 1885.

**Origin and New Testament Textual Criticism.**—The leading article in this number is a long one from the Abbé Martin, headed "*Origène et la Critique textuelle du Nouveau Testament*," in which he further unfolds his convictions as to the value of certain codices of the New Testament (known as N, A, B, C, D, &c.) of which he had already spoken in the July number. Of his article of July we gave a brief account in October last, and will here only add that the Abbé's then promised volume on the subject has reached us at the last moment, but shall receive due attention from us next quarter.

Other articles of this number worth mentioning, but which we may only mention, are "*Le Gouvernement représentatif en France*"

au XIV. Siècle," by M. Noël Valois; "La Seconde Guerre Civile. La Paix de Lonjumeau," by the Comte H. de la Ferrière; "Un Arbitrage Pontifical au XVI. Siècle; Mission diplomatique de Possevino à Moscou," by Père Pierling, S.J.; and also a short paper, "Le Cardinal Fisher," in which M. Albert du Boys, already known by his work on Catherine of Arragon, gives the French reader a pleasant sketch of Fisher's devoted life and saintly death, using in his sketch such new details as recent State-paper publications have added to previous knowledge.

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*La Controverse.* Lyon et Paris. 15 Janvier, 15 Février, 1885.

**Was Philip the Arabian the First Christian Emperor?**—In an article in the January number of this magazine, which is the second part of a study on "Les Chrétiens après Septime-Sévère," M. Paul Allard accepts as conclusive the testimony in favour of Philip having been a Christian. Probably, too, he was a Christian by birth, Christianity having reached in company with civilization the mountains of the Lejja in the Trachonitis, where he was born. M. Allard sees no reason to doubt the incident told by Eusebius ("Hist. Eccl." vi. 34), of his wishing, as a Christian, to assist at prayers in the Church on Easter Eve, and having been forbidden by the then bishop to enter until he had confessed and done penance. This took place at Antioch in 244; Eusebius, St. John Chrysostom, and the Chronicon Alexandriæ each telling the event apparently from different sources, St. Chrysostom giving the Bishop's name, St. Babylas, and the Chronicon adding that the Empress Otacilia Severa was with her husband and had to share in his exclusion and penance. M. Allard discusses also the nature and extent of Philip's share in the Secular Games, urged by so many as a proof that the Emperor was not a Christian; and he points to the omission of the gladiatorial combats on that occasion as conclusive rather the other way. The article, it need not be said, is full of erudition; it is also pleasant reading.

**Protestant "Religious" in the United States.**—In this opening article of the February number the word "religious" is used in our Catholic acceptance, as signifying members of a Religious Order; and the writer, M. H. Gabriels, takes occasion from the "solemn profession" of a young Anglican, the son of an Episcopalian bishop in New York, in December last, to give us some very interesting statistics of the "Episcopalian" religious Orders of men and women now flourishing in the United States. Many of the sisterhoods appear to have originated in our own country—as the filiations from Clewer, East Grinstead, &c.; but some are native to the soil though planned on similar lines, whilst one of the total of sixteen different Orders enumerated here is peculiar to the States,— "The Sisters of St. Mary and All Saints," Baltimore, receive, we read, only members of the African race (negroes). Congregations of men, the writer observes, are fewer and less popular. One of the two

"Orders" mentioned in this article is that of the Holy Cross, an American imitation of the Anglican body of the same name, which numbers two "Fathers," one of whom has now startled, not so much Catholic onlookers, so long accustomed to these studious imitations of the more-than-ever despised and reviled Roman Church, as Protestants themselves. For the Rev. J. Huntington (whose name is of course misspelled in a French magazine) has actually taken the three vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience. "Do you renounce solemnly and for ever all you possess, and all you might acquire in the future, even personal use of a small thing, in conformity with the vow of poverty?" said Bishop Potter to the son of Bishop Huntington. And the novice replied (solemnly and for ever, we feel little doubt), "I do renounce them"—we quote the French account—and so on with the remaining vows. The French writer concludes with some kindly words of sympathy with these enthusiastic but surely strange "Protestants," whose hunger for better things leads them to this imitation of our peculiar institutions. We agree with him; but when he reads, as we do in the *Tablet* of March 7, that Bishop Lee, the president, having administered a brotherly but strong protest against the vows as being Romanism yet too strong, Bishop Potter has replied in self-defence that the vows which he administered on this famous occasion "were explicitly acknowledged to be revocable, either at my own discretion or at the request of him who took them"—he will probably feel with us some wonder that earnest and single-minded men and women can any longer go on with this Romanizing farce, when their own leaders thus play fast and loose with categorical and solemn words uttered by them as in the presence of God, making vows towards keeping which His grace is solemnly asked! Fancy marriage vows, of which the young bride may say, quoting Bishop Potter, "They are revocable, either at my own discretion or at the request of him who [also] made them!"

Among other articles worth mentioning in *La Controverse* are two on the Copts by Père Autefage, S.J., in the January and February numbers, which go over much the same ground as our recent article. In the January number Père Brucker, S.J., finishes his study on "L'Etendue de l'Inspiration des Livres Saints," in which he contends against any theory of limited inspiration as against the mind of the Church, the sentiment of the Fathers (even of Origen), and as not needed by the requirements of scientific controversy. It is a thoughtful article, and students will be glad to know of it. In the February number we have the first portions of two very different studies, both of which in their way promise to be interesting: one by Professor A. Dupont, of Louvain, on "Les Peines Eternelles de l'Enfer," and the other by M. Léon de Monnier, on the "Fondation de l'Ordre des Mineurs."

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*Revue Générale.* Bruxelles. Février, 1885.

**The Crisis in Belgium.**—Three articles of this month's *Revue Générale* being concerned with the Belgium of the passing moment alike borrow a somewhat sad and desponding tone from the present political outlook. They none of them go over the same line as our article on Belgium this quarter, and shall therefore be briefly mentioned. M. L. Le Maire writes "*De la Mission sociale de l'Armée*," an article which has an interesting sketch and comparison of the French and German armies. The great social action of an army is to give *security*—one of the first needs of a society. To fulfil worthily this social mission it should be patriotic. The Belgian army is of the people, among whom the feeling of veneration for the throne is being threatened by revolutionary sentiment. One need of the Belgian army dwelt on, is that the better classes should give their sons to be among its officers: at present the young men hold aloof from it "in an idleness which is ruining them;" the *bourgeoise* supplies all the officers. The clergy and many Belgian families are prejudiced against the army, and regard it as a school of libertinism. This, replies the writer, is a souvenir of the wars of the Republic and the Empire, and of the licence which then held sway in camps. Those times, he assures us, are past; "the career of arms offers now in truth no more danger, under this head, than any other career whatever." The other articles are: "*La Représentation des Minorités en Belgique*," by M. Raymond de Kerchove, which is a plea for proportional representation, and "*La Belgique devant l'Europe*," by M. Joseph Hecq. Belgium must not forget that Europe is now merely a collection of stronger States swallowing up weaker ones. Bismark once said to the Emperor Napoleon, pointing to Belgium, "*écrasez ce nid de démagogues*." The nest of demagogues, adds the writer, "has not disappeared." He exhorts Belgium to become a nation, and to remember Poland, "*mémorable exemple d'un peuple qui se suicide*," the Poles themselves *beginning* by civil discord that ruin which others completed for them.

**The Bollandists and their Libraries.**—This is the most interesting literary article in the same number of the *Revue Générale*. It gives a sketch of the vicissitudes and labours of the famous company from its origin to the present date, in which most readers, we fancy, will find something new worth knowing. There is a good sketch of Rosweyde, who really began the work, which by a freak of fortune is not known by his name. Among the vast literary undertakings of other European nations—England's "*Records*," Germany's "*Monumenta*" of Pertz, Italy's Muratori, and the rest—Belgium's is the one that is more than merely national in its interest; it has the glory of belonging to the history of the whole world. The "*Musée Bollandien*," where these Belgian Jesuits work, is a colossal accumulation of manuscripts, books, and documents of every sort. Three immense halls, with intervening galleries, scarcely contain the forty-five thousand volumes—which

are, besides, not the sort of books to be found in every library. But neither is this fine collection so rare or precious as that which the older Bollandists had gathered from every nation of Europe, and which was finally scattered before the baneful Revolution, having been previously, in part at least, moved to the abbey of Tongerlo, after the suppression of the Society in 1773, and the closing of the "Musée" at Antwerp, or rather its conversion into a military school. The books went to the hammer, Tongerlo buying a large portion of them. A commission had decided in 1773 that the "Acta Sanctorum" "did not appear to be fitted to spread intellectual light and knowledge;" in 1780 Joseph II., on an unworthy report of an ecclesiastical commission, finally suppressed the Bollandists and their labours. Napoleon as early as 1801 sought to re-establish them; in 1810, when he renewed the attempt, it was reported to him that two indispensable factors in a resumption of the "Acta" were not to be had—the hagiographers and their documents. In 1837, the Jesuits, yielding to many entreaties, recommenced the work, the Belgian Government granting six thousand francs annually. They were to publish a volume every four years, but so gigantic was the task of renewing labour in their thorough fashion that the first volume of the New Bollandists did not appear till 1845. This volume was the seventh for the month of October, and the fifty-fourth volume of the whole work. The eighth for October appeared in 1853, the ninth in 1858, the tenth in 1861 and the eleventh in 1867. In this year, by the persistent efforts of M. Hymans, member for Brussels, the annual grant of six thousand francs was withdrawn; for sixteen years the work stood still, nearly all the labourers dying in succession. The present Bollandists include: Pères Guillaume Van Hoof, Joseph de Backer and Charles de Smedt, the latter being the "Ancient." The directive labours of the "Ancient" are described in this interesting article. It is worth reading throughout, as narrating in readable form the most splendid and certain literary monument which Europe has produced—a truly gigantic undertaking, "which will take altogether not less than four centuries to properly complete"—and which could only have been carried out by the devotion and self-sacrifice of a Religious Order.

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## Notices of Books.

*The Life and Martyrdom of Saint Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury.* Second and enlarged Edition. By JOHN MORRIS, of the Society of Jesus. London: Burns & Oates. 1885.

A NEW edition of Father Morris's admirable Life of St. Thomas of Canterbury was much required. The reasons for it cannot be better stated than in his own words. The first was published in

1859, and for twenty years it has been out of print. During that interval there has appeared in great abundance fresh matter for a Life of the great English Martyr. Six volumes of the Rolls Series, entitled "Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury," Canon Robertson's valuable edition of Dr. Giles's "Letters," and Mr. Magnusson's "Thomas Saga Erkibyskups," with its excellent Preface, are among the principal publications which Father Morris has now had to work upon. The result is a volume half as large again as the original work, written up to the latest and best sources of information.

The life of St. Thomas seems, at first sight, to be almost wholly the history of the struggle between the Crown and the Church. But now that we are coming to learn with greater and greater minuteness the details of his life both before and after his consecration, we are realizing more and more the individuality of the man and his heroic stature both in the natural order and in the supernatural. A proof of this is seen in the fact that no less than two dramatic works of first-class pretensions have taken St. Thomas as their hero within the past ten years. Lord Tennyson's is a poor and Protestant picture of the great Archbishop. He is only a politician with a dash of Evangelicalism. But Mr. Aubrey de Vere has given us the man and the saint. We have his great aspirations, his honesty, his quickness of temper, his repentance, his love of the poor, his zeal, and his English heart.

My mother England,

Be not thou wroth against thine exiled son,  
 Against his will exultant; God who proves us  
 Wills us not less our triumph's little hour.  
 That time, that time shall come, my mother England,  
 When, with a mightier joy, thy son, returned,  
 Shall hail thy hoary cliffs, the invader's dread;  
 Thy fields and farms and forests, convent-crowned;  
 Thy minsters gathering, as the parent bird  
 Gathers her young, the growing cities round them;—  
 Thine honest, valiant, and industrious race,  
 So Christian-like in manners and in mind,  
 So grave in deeds, and yet so merryhearted,  
 And in their plainness kind,—once more shall greet them,  
 With mightier joy, though hastening to his death,  
 Than now he greets his freedom.\*

Father Morris's pages are a commentary on these words. Modern writers, such as Dean Stanley and Mr. Freeman, are lamentably inadequate to writing the life of a saint. With them there is no allowance made for the work done by grace—the change made in the natural character by the operation of the Holy Spirit. If St. Thomas was worldly, profuse and somewhat unscrupulous in dealing with the spirituality during his Chancellorship, his subsequent opposition to the King is set down as mere natural impatience or vanity. But a Catholic writer holds the key of a life like this. St. Thomas was good, if not

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\* "Thomas à Becket," p. 81.

holy, even in his courtly and political life; but when the mitre was placed on his head, he was a "converted" man. The aged Henry of Winchester said to him in Canterbury Cathedral, the moment after he had laid his hands upon his head, "Dearest brother, I give you now the choice of two things; beyond a doubt you must lose the favour of the earthly or of the heavenly King." Raising his hands and eyes to heaven, as he knelt before his consecrator, St. Thomas said, so earnestly that both he and the Bishop of Winchester wept, "By God's help and strength, I now make my choice, and never for the love and favour of an earthly king will I forego the grace of the Kingdom of heaven." He made his choice; and the rest of his life was the working out of a soul's perfection and of a saint's heroism. The progress of the Martyr's career is traced by Father Morris, as our readers well know, with an insight and a devotion which are to mere history and word-painting what fire and warmth are to substance and colour. At the same time, Father Morris has exhausted, in his work, all the materials which can be found. It was, we believe, when he was Canon of Northampton that he wrote and published the first edition of the *Life*; and there are one or two pages about Northampton, in its connection with certain glorious passages of the Saint's history, which show that he felt he was writing the *Life* of his own patron Saint.

The following day, Tuesday, the 13th of October, was one of great moment in the life of St. Thomas, in the history of the Church in England, and, it might be added, of the town in which these great events happened; for it is owing to the heroism of St. Thomas on that day shown at Northampton that the diocese of which that old town is now the See has been placed under his patronage. The town yet bears traces of its ancient devotion to St. Thomas in its hospital and its well, which bear his name; and the very castle in its ruins is revered by a Catholic, not for its older glories and royal pageantry, but because it was hallowed by the trial of St. Thomas. The blessed Saint cannot but look down with favour on the scene of the struggle, which he called, after St. Paul and the early martyrs, "fighting with beasts;" especially since it has been placed under his protection by the Rome that he loved, by the Holy Apostolic See whose champion he there was. (P. 165.)

Some of our readers may recollect how Bishop Milner, when the first edition of Lingard's "*History*" appeared, took indignant exception to his treatment of the history of St. Thomas of Canterbury. The eminent Catholic historian had said that (at Pontigny) "his opinions became tinged with enthusiasm, he identified his cause with that of God and the Church; concession appeared to him like apostasy." Speaking of the publication of the letters of excommunication against the Archbishop of York and others, Lingard says that, having at first intended to suppress them, he made them public in "a moment of irritation"—a "precipitate and unfortunate measure." And again, in summing up St. Thomas's career, he says that he died "a martyr to what he deemed to be his duty—the preservation of the immunities of the Church." Father Morris has not thought proper to take notice of these expressions and views. We think that in one instance at least—the publication of the letters of excommunication—there is

abundant evidence that Lingard misread the facts; and we could have wished that Father Morris had referred to the matter. But it is true that to notice all the perverted "views" of the career and conduct of St. Thomas of Canterbury would have been an endless task.

This new edition is furnished with two ground-plans of Canterbury Cathedral, and is illustrated by numerous notes. A very interesting account of the biographers of St. Thomas introduces the volume.

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*Characteristics, Political, Philosophical, and Religious, from the Writings of Henry Edward, Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster.*

Arranged by WILLIAM SAMUEL LILLY. London: Burns & Oates.

MR. LILLY has in this volume done for the writings of our Cardinal Archbishop the same popularizing office which he did in his now well-known volume for those of Cardinal Newman. It is almost superfluous to add that the selection *is*, thanks to Mr. Lilly's good judgment, characteristic. Readers with little leisure, and others with less means, may here find in one volume well-chosen pieces, of generally a couple of pages in length, on exactly those topics on which they are most likely to have a desire to hear what his Eminence has said. Under the heading "Political," they will find treated the relations of Church and State, the Kulturkampf, the Temporal Power, the Rights of Women, Disestablishment, and many others; under "Philosophical," the relations of Religion and Science, the Nature of Philosophy, the Philosophy of Religion; and lastly, under "Religious," the not least interesting extracts dealing with the controversial questions of the day, the Misconceptions of Catholicity, the Nature of the Church, &c. &c. We are sure that the extracts will lead many to read further in the works from which the more striking of them have been taken.

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*La Messe. Études archéologiques sur ses Monuments.* Par Ch. ROHAULT DE FLEURY. Continué par son fils. Vol. III. Paris: Morel. 1883.

THE third volume of this handsome work does not in any way fall below the high standard attained by its predecessors. With the same profusion of finely executed plates and the same apparatus of carefully collated authorities, the author proceeds to trace the history of the ambo, or raised tribune, from which in early times the gospel was read, of the chancel or partition separating the sanctuary from the rest of the church, the iconostasis, the rood-screen, the sacristy, the piscina, the choir, and, finally, the church as a whole, including in the treatment of this last-named subject a useful conspectus of the ground plans of the various forms of early Christian churches of both the chief rites down to the ninth century.

M. Rohault de Fleury seems to favour more than do many modern writers the recognition of a Jewish origin for divers of the objects connected with the celebration of the divine liturgy. Thus he con-

siders, with Millin, that the use of pulpits in Christian churches is derived from the raised bench in the Synagogue whereon the Rabbis are seated before a desk. In the temples of classic antiquity there was no use for such a structure. St. Basil, St. Augustin, and other early writers allude to the ambo, and very ancient delineations of it are found, perhaps most frequently in representations of the benediction of the Paschal Candle, a very early institution. In many cases, indeed, a richly sculptured candlestick is a fixture structurally connected with the ambo. Accounts of early rituals, indeed, mention the extinction of the candles at the conclusion of the gospel. Examples of the fixed candlestick are furnished by the churches of St. Lawrence and St. Clement in Rome. The refinements of art and costliness of material were lavished on the tribune whence God's Word was delivered to the people. The golden ambo, well known to tourists as one of the lions of Aix-la-Chapelle, still bears witness to the pious munificence of the Emperor Henry II., whilst the beautiful design and elaborate sculpture of pulpits such as those to be seen at Pisa, Pistoja, Siena, and other Italian cities, and many of which are delicately reproduced in M. de Fleury's plates, equally attest the efforts of art to evince the worth and dignity of the later pulpit. In earlier times the preacher's attitude was sessile and the faithful were exhorted from the pastor's chair, which is so characteristic a monument of the primitive church.\*

M. de Fleury adopts, in the absence of any adequate term, the word *iconostasis* for the partition—in early times an open one—which separated the bema, or part set apart for the clergy from the body of the Church. The most ancient monument of this structure he finds in a fragment of marble discovered in the Catacombs and preserved in the Museum of the Lateran. It is merely an architrave supported by two columns, the central interval being wholly open to admit of passage, while the two lateral intercolumniations are closed by a low trellis, "cancelli," and curtains dependent from the beam are looped aside. Vestiges of a somewhat similar arrangement are found in the chapel of St. Sixtus, Cemetery of Calixtus, and in the ancient Basilicas of St. Reparatus at Orléansville and the early rock-hewn Basilica of St. Januarius in the catacombs of Naples, figured in plate ccxxxix. (unfortunately misprinted ccxxix.). All these monuments are probably anterior to the fifth century.

With the expansion of the Church and her public recognition in the fourth and succeeding centuries, the partition or septum, subsequently *iconostasis*, attained a magnificent development, finely exemplified, among other instances, by that which existed in the Basilica of St. Peter and, as described in the "*Liber Pontificalis*," constituted a sort of portico before the altar. The columns which composed it are still preserved. According to a remarkable tradition, they originally belonged to the Temple of Jerusalem, and were brought to Rome by Constantine, though Panvinio believes them to have come from Greece. They are spiral and covered with elaborate carving of birds and vines

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\* See our observations on vol. ii. in the number of this Review for last October.

in very low relief, and certainly date back to classic antiquity. They served as Rafael's model for the columns of the Temple in his well-known design of the Apostles Paul and James healing the lame man (Acts iii.). No vestiges of the entablature which surmounted them are extant, and our author considers there may have been none until, early in the sixth century, Hormisdas "fecit . . . apud Beatum Petrum trabem, quam ex argento cooperiuit, pens. lib. MCCCXL."

The employment of detached columns, topped by statues, is, of course, quite in harmony with later Roman architectural usage, and colonnades of such isolated pillars may, as M. de Fleury's researches tend to show, have at one time been constructed in churches. Of one fact at least there is abundant evidence—viz., that the erections here classified under "iconostases," whether with or without an architrave, were anciently surmounted by statues, thus suggesting, as the original meaning of the term *εἰκονοστάσις*, a columnar support for sculptured images, rather than the idea now chiefly associated with it—viz., a partition or screen whereon paintings are placed, derived indeed from the earlier structure, but indebted for its characteristic development to the influence of the reaction from iconoclasm. The iconostasis was also used as a support for lights—lamps and candelabra were both planted upon it or suspended from it.

Availing himself of monuments of all kinds, written documents, miniatures and remains, in the investigation of which he has spared no pains, and drawing largely upon his own architectural and archaeological knowledge and instinct, the author has supplied restorations of the iconostases of St. John the Evangelist's at Ravenna, the Duomo of Torcello, St. Sophia at Constantinople, and other churches. Exercises of this kind can at best but result in conjecture, more or less felicitous. But while the several reconstructions here given please by their balance and harmony, and, it may be added, by the simplicity of their general effect, we are bound to admit that the author proceeds in a careful and painstaking spirit in the examination of the data from which he deduces his designs. The restoration offered of the iconostasis of St. Sophia at Constantinople is particularly elegant. It largely follows the description contained in Paul the Silentiary's account of that celebrated edifice, a composition, however, which, from its poetical form, is naturally open to great latitude of interpretation. For instance, the number of columns composing the iconostasis is given in the words *ἑξάκι δόλους*, which expression M. de Fleury, following Du Cange and other authorities, considers not merely to mean a dozen, but to imply also a geminate arrangement of the columns, which he accordingly distributes in couples disposed in a single line before the bema, and surmounted by an architrave—a feature which, according to Constantine Porphyrogenitus, existed in the tenth century. At an earlier date the columns may have been, as some of them now remain, unconnected by any architrave; and M. de Fleury refers to the Silentiary's poem as supporting such a view. Yet it seems to us difficult to explain the lines:—

Ἔστι καὶ ἀργυρέαις ἐπὶ κίονιν ὑψόθι κόρης  
Στενὴ πυρσοφοροῖσιν ἐπίδρομος οἶμος δίταις,  
Πλησιφαῖς φαιδροῖσιν ἀποστίλβονσα κορύμβοις,

except as alluding to some such feature. A gangway involves an architrave of some sort, and as even the narrowest passage would require a surface of almost too much breadth to be supported with elegance by a single row of comparatively small columns, the doubt is suggested whether the columns may not have been geminated on a different plan—*i.e.*, in a double row—which would more adequately support a gallery. Would not a similar arrangement in case of the iconostasis of St. Peter's go far to explain the passage from the "*Liber Pontificalis*": "*columnas sex onychinas volubiles duxit in ecclesiam B. Petri quas statuit circa presbyterium ante confessionem, tres a dextris et tres a sinistris juxta alias antiquas sex filiopares*"? It is not easy to see how else the onyx pillars could well have been assorted with the ancient white marble columns.

Twin columns, it should further be noticed, rarely occur in Byzantine architecture. Authority for them is, however, occasionally found in the miniatures of MSS.

The colonnades (or iconostases) which separated the sanctuary from the rest of the church continued till late in the middle ages. The example in St. Mark's at Venice dates only from the end of the fourteenth century, and is interesting as the monument of a very ancient tradition. While the East was exchanging the sumptuous marbles which once enclosed its sanctuaries for timber screens loaded with paintings, Western Europe was adopting the rood-loft, the earliest specimen of which is found at Naumburg, and may be as old as the eleventh century. The rood-loft, however, if derived from the colonnade or iconostasis of earlier centuries, resembles rather the ambo in several of its uses, for from it in some cases the epistle and gospel were chanted, solemn oaths administered, and benisons pronounced.

Besides affording a general idea of M. de Fleury's work, we were anxious to illustrate, by a more particular notice of at least one subject, the author's mode of treatment. Hence the foregoing remarks on the iconostasis. The author's practical architectural knowledge has proved of the greatest use. Imperfect remains which are meaningless to all but the expert often lead him to a valuable inference. The illustrations too are mostly drawn to scale and accompanied by measurements—an advantage which cannot be valued too highly in a work of the kind under review. Not alone the antiquary, but all who would know more of the ceremonial history of Christianity, will find matter of deep interest in these volumes, while they afford the ecclesiastical architect information of the highest value.

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*Il Dogma e le Scienze Positive, ossia La Missione Apologetica del Clero nel Moderno Conflitto tra la Ragione e la Fede.* Da ANTONIO STOPPANI. Milano: Fratelli Dumolard. 1884.

THE considerations suggested by Antonio Stoppani in the volume before us, apart from the evidence by which he supports them, carry weight both as the opinions of a representative foreign scientist on a most momentous question, and as the deep reflections of an experienced, zealous, and pious priest. Our author believes that the want most felt by scientists of the day is that of some firm and immovable leverage point, of some truth above cavil and dispute, of a principle which may be starting-post and goal in one, a fixed star whereby to steer Science on her voyage across a pathless and treacherous ocean. The need thus expressed will be readily appreciated and endorsed by any one acquainted with the many mysteries of science. True science, so far from destroying faith, actually fosters a habit of trust and confidence. The sceptic is such, not because of his science, but from lack of the genuine scientific spirit. The sincere scientist never denies a truth because he cannot at the moment account for it: whenever he comes upon a difficult and mysterious problem he is ready to put forth all the more mind and energy to acquire fuller knowledge. Here the Catholic apologist can meet the scientist and follow him in his own field, just as the scholastics formerly followed the sceptics of their day on the field of metaphysics, and defeated their adversaries with their own weapons. If we are to succeed, as the scholastics did, we must have their appreciation of current opinion, and share in their spirit and their practical way of combating error.

Our author, in his "*Missione Apologetica del Clero*," (1) reviews the special conditions of modern scientific controversy; (2) he lays down the principles of Catholic apologetics as applied to scientific difficulties; (3) he shows the important part which the clergy must play in the controversy, and how they are to qualify themselves to play it with credit and success; (4) he dwells on the necessity of concord and mutual good-will amongst Catholic apologists. The third division introduces and answers the question, On whom devolves the duty of descending into the arena of scientific controversy? The reply is: Mainly on the clergy. The duty of defending and propagating Catholic truth is of course incumbent on all Christians without distinction of person or class. Still, many reasons bid us neither expect nor exact too much from the laity in matters of religious controversy. This implies no reproach to laymen. They are usually too much taken up by professional, secular, and family affairs to have at their command the leisure and the calmness of spirit requisite for theological and scientific meditation. The co-operation of the laity will always be a comfort and a support to the clergy, but the latter should be fully equipped by themselves, and ready on occasion to battle single-handed. Launched in the ecclesiastical life from his early youth, mixing continually with accomplished men during his college career, the priest

almost unconsciously absorbs theological thought and habits of mind. Such a one, as a rule, is best qualified to render a full, exact, and precise reason for the Faith—such a reason as may satisfy and convince a scientific mind. Hence the necessity for training our clergy in the natural sciences. Wherever there is no side of contact between the actual feelings of the laity on the one hand and the mental attitude of the clergy on the other, Religion is sure to suffer.

Outside the circle of scientists there lies, too, the wide waste of popular irreligiosity and disbelief, fostered in the cottage and the workshop by a corrupt press. Who but the priest is to save the poor man from the propagandism of atheism? But what will he be able to effect to-day without some tincture of science, and where is his scientific taste to be brought out and cultivated but in the seminary? How is such training to be furnished to the young cleric? This interesting question is answered in detail by our author, but the demands of space compel us to send the reader to the work itself.

Perhaps one specimen of our author's manner may be welcome as a conclusion to this short and inadequate notice of his interesting book. Speaking of the absurd method with which scientific objections used to be and are still sometimes met, he shows the danger attending a confusion of what is of Divine faith with human systems and hypotheses. Where such a method prevails, polemical bitterness is not the least unfortunate result.

From so early a date as the opening of the fifteenth century, the battle of sound sense against philosophism raged around the question as to the true nature of fossils, one side holding that fossils were simply organic remains, the other starting any hypothesis, however ridiculous, to sustain their assertion to the contrary. Fossils were merely freaks of nature, products of a certain fatty matter, the results of fermentation, the offspring of a certain lapidean generation or filiation—anything, in fact, rather than what they plainly were. . . . When sound sense eventually had the best of the argument, and it became lawful to take shells for shells, teeth for teeth, and bones for bones, to hold that the whole surface of the earth up to the topmost heights of the mountains was sown thick with the remains of ancient sea-creatures, then the devout "Concordists" [this is the name of one of the schools of apologists introduced by our author] were wild with delight at the evident harmony thus exhibited between the discoveries of the then infant science of geology and the olden accounts of the Flood given by Holy Writ! Even at the present moment, when geology is surely and on a grand scale deciphering the successive revolutions of our globe, exhibiting, with full knowledge of cause, the continual flux and reflux of seas and change of continents, and is classifying the numerous fauna and flora that have appeared and disappeared during the long cycles of ages—even yet, one often meets persons, otherwise well-informed and well-read, who, on observing the marine deposits scattered all over inland countries, are satisfied, without more ado, that here is proof positive of the Flood of Noah, and they are shocked should any one think differently, as if it were one and the same thing to deny the Deluge and reject an argument which derives its only force from their ignorance. You make truth heresy when you raise error into dogma.

G. C.

*Spicilegium Dogmatico-Biblicum.* Seu Commentarii in selecta S. Scripturæ loca quæ ad demonstranda dogmata adhiberi solent. Auctore JOSEPHO CORLUI, S.J. Tomus 2<sup>us</sup>. Gandavi: C. Poelman.

THE second volume fulfils the promise given in the first, and concludes a work likely to be of great service to theologians and preachers. This work should be especially welcome in this country, where Biblical discussion is so common. In the religious controversies of our time it is not sufficient simply to fire off texts; one must be prepared to stand to one's texts—in other words, to prove their appositeness, to guard against misapplications, and this by reference to the original Hebrew or Greek. Fr. Corluy's "*Spicilegium*" is a complete arsenal furnished with every weapon of dogmatic warfare. Nor does the learned author content himself with the texts without the context, as many theological writers do. He explains the whole passage, oftentimes the whole psalm or chapter, from which he quotes. Nor does he hesitate to disclose interpretations at variance with his own, and sometimes even in contradiction to the whole argument. He states very fairly the "pros" and "cons" of the different solutions offered in difficult cases. It is its controversial fairness which forms one of the special features of the work. Sometimes, as in 1 John i. 9, he even gives up a commonly quoted text as wanting in demonstrative power. It is a good fault in a controversialist to understate rather than overstate his case.

One thing we desiderate in this otherwise very complete work, and that is an introduction from the learned author explaining the nature of Scriptural evidence. Some may question whether the Bible, which is used to prove everything, can really prove anything. It must be admitted that—apart, of course, from the authority of the Church—textual uncertainty and diversity of interpretation have weakened Biblical proof. Some of the positions defended of old have been undermined. The Septuagint, upon which the Fathers relied so much, is sometimes at variance with the present Hebrew text. Fr. Corluy shows himself to be fully cognizant of these and other difficulties in the way of Scriptural evidence, but gives his readers no help to overcome them.

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*Atlas d'Histoire naturelle de la Bible*, d'après les Monuments anciens et les meilleures Sources modernes et contemporaines, destiné à faciliter l'Intelligence des saintes Ecritures. Par M. L. CL. FILLION, prêtre de St-Sulpice, professeur d'Ecriture sainte au grand Séminaire de Lyon. Lyon et Paris: Libraire Briday. 1884.

WE are glad to welcome the second of the Abbé Fillion's Bible Atlases, and to see that it in no way falls short of the good qualities of the first Atlas.\* It is in many respects of greater interest,

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\* "*Atlas archéologique de la Bible.*" See DUBLIN REVIEW, April, 1883.

since there are few students of the Bible who do not frequently feel the wish for some information as to the numerous plants and animals named in the sacred books. There are already various *Natural Histories* of the Bible, such as that of Canon Tristram in English, but the present undertaking of the Abbé Fillion has its own peculiar features. It is an atlas of engravings, the author's inspiring thought being here, as it was in the "*Atlas archéologique*," to teach by pictures, as by a method easy and of quick effect. There were about eleven hundred figures in the former, and there must be about the same number in this new Atlas, which the author not unfitly calls a portable museum of Bible natural history. Here, then, we have *represented* every plant or flower or grain, bird, reptile, or beast mentioned in the Scriptures, from the behemoth and leviathan of Job to the industrious ants, the devouring locusts, "the most swift running" roe to whom Asael is likened (2 Kings ii. 18), the beasts and fishes and birds which the children of Israel might eat, and those which they were to consider unclean (Deut. xiv.), and all the rest.

The practical value of this collection of plates to the Bible student is assured by the excellent "Analytical Table" prefixed thereto, in which in briefest possible manner the object is described, its position in the animal or vegetable kingdom being marked by the place of its classification, and the places where it is mentioned in the Scripture text being quoted. An Alphabetical Index still further adds to its value as a work of ready reference. It is also worth noting that the references are to the Vulgate—a not unimportant point to the Catholic. The typographical execution is good, and we may well congratulate the learned author on his success. We hope his long-promised third Atlas—a geographical one—may not long be delayed to complete the series.

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*Rescripta authentica Sacræ Congregationis Indulgentiis sacrisque Reliquiis præposita*, necnon Summaria Indulgentiarum quæ collegit et cum originalibus in archivio S. Congregationis Indulgentiarum contulit JOSEPHUS SCHNEIDER, S.J., S. Congr. Indulgent. Consult. Ratisbonæ: Pustet. 1885.

THIS important work had been prepared for the press by the learned Fr. Schneider in 1883, before his premature death at the German College, Rome, January 7, 1884. Fr. Beringer at once undertook to bring out this most painstaking and valuable work of his deceased fellow-countryman. It is now before the Catholic public, and may be pronounced to be of special importance to religious communities, its author having with unwearied zeal searched the archives of the monasteries of Rome to gather together the Indulgences accorded them by the Holy See. He also found a large number unknown to any former collection of Indulgences. In putting them together, the editor aimed at giving an idea of the principles acted on by the Congregation in granting Indulgences. Another feature of this edition deserves to be noted. Fr. Schneider was named a Consultor of the Congregation of Indul-

gences by Leo XIII., and had long been one of the most active members of that body. Being allowed free access to its literary treasures, he was able to insert in his book not a few votes of the Consultors. To these we particularly call the reader's attention. The second part contains summaries of Indulgences, amounting to over 450. Prinzivalli's collection is thus surpassed. Every document in this volume has been examined and compared with the original, and may safely be relied upon. It also bears the approval of the Congregation of Indulgences.

BELLESHEIM.

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*Bonifaz und Lul.* Ihre angelsächsischen Correspondenten. Erzbischof Luls Leben. Von HEINRICH HAHN. [Boniface and Lullus. Their Anglo-Saxon Correspondents. Life of Archbishop Lullus. By H. Hahn.] Leipzig: Veit & Cie. 1883.

THIS elaborate and painstaking work is a substantial contribution towards illustrating the great figures of St. Boniface and his disciple Lullus, and, therefore, seems entitled to a special notice in this Review. The author, albeit a Protestant, claims our interested attention because of his extensive studies on the age of Charlemagne, and the solid writings already published by him on the darkest periods and intricate political questions of the Middle Ages. His latest book may be styled a solid commentary on the celebrated collection of St. Boniface's letters. The first part deals with St. Boniface's principal correspondents in England, chief of whom is St. Aldhelm (pp. 1-50), Bishop of Sherburne, whose life, virtues, and literary accomplishments are fully described. His letters, although not directly referring to St. Boniface, were inserted, probably by Lullus, in the collection of Boniface's letters. Next comes Berhtwald, the influential Archbishop of Canterbury, whose rights conflicted with St. Wilfrid of York. Our author perhaps gives more space to the canonical process in which Wilfrid was involved than is needed. One of the most interesting parts illustrates the correspondence between St. Boniface and his former superior, Bishop Daniel of Winchester, and the Abbesses Eadburga, Eangyth, and Bugga. Daniel's character is dwelt on at length, by way of contrast with that of Boniface. Next we have two chapters treating of the question laid by Boniface before two English Bishops and Abbot Dud in 735, on the observance by the English Church of the canonical impediment of "cognatio spiritualis." Certain it is that St. Boniface was not cognizant of this impediment, and that it was not observed in England. Whilst the accounts of Bishops Pethelm and Nothelm, whom St. Boniface addressed, testify to deep and solid study, the author's guess about Abbot Dud seems scarcely so well founded. It is questionable whether or not Dud was librarian of the Roman Church. The second part of the book is concerned with St. Boniface's illustrious disciple Lullus, Archbishop of Mainz, who was born in Weasex, educated at Malmesbury, and afterwards went on the Conti-

nent, where he joined his great countryman. According to Hahn, Lullus died in 786. The student of ecclesiastical history will derive great advantage from the perusal of this book.

BELLESHEIM.

*Bibliotheca Theologiæ et Philosophiæ Scholasticæ selecta atque composita* a FRANCISCO EHRLE, S.J.—*Aristotelis opera omnia quæ extant*, brevi paraphrasi et litteræ perpetuo inherente expositione illustrata a SILVESTRO MAURO, S.J. Edidit Fr. EHRLE, S.J., adjuvantibus B. FELCHLIN et Fr. BERINGER, Ejusd. Soc. Presbyt. Tomus I., continens logicam, rhetoritam, poeticam. Paris: Lethielleux. Ratisbonæ: Pustet. 1885.

ECCLESIASTICAL history testifies to the fact that, whenever the study of philosophy within the pale of the Church starts on any new departure, the works of Aristotle are resorted to and become a great object of research. So it was in the Middle Ages, when the great scholastics came forward to vindicate Aristotle against the baneful interpretations of the Arabs. So it was again in the seventeenth century, when, after the close of the Council of Trent, a new and very brilliant period of Catholic science was so prosperously inaugurated. It was indeed a "second spring," and amongst those who merited well of the Church the Jesuit Father Silvester Maurus deserves a first place. By his commentaries on all the works of the great Stagyrte he gained for himself the admiration and gratitude of all students of philosophy. Father Ehrle, in republishing the commentaries of Maurus, has set himself, and discharged, the duties of a weighty task, Maurus having been for more than thirty years Professor of Philosophy in the Roman College. His new, splendidly and correctly printed edition is now before us. It does not give the Greek text, which would have raised the price too much. But very great care has been taken to have the Latin text correct; as, indeed, one might anticipate from so fine a scholar as the editor is known to be. Maurus himself adopted the "versio communis" of Aristotle, which teemed with innumerable errors and mis-spellings; but Father Ehrle follows the excellent edition of Aristotle which fifty years ago was issued by the Royal Academy of Berlin.

Of the immense importance of Father Ehrle's undertaking it seems unnecessary to speak. The encyclical of Leo XIII. on the revival of the study of St. Thomas gives value to the most ample researches on Aristotle that can be undertaken. And as Aristotle has had a twofold set of interpreters, Arabians and Christians, so Fr. Ehrle intends to publish also the works of Avicenna and Averroes—earlier editions of the sixteenth century being, to a great extent, now scarcely legible. Indeed, the printing of their works is being pushed forward with great energy, and their publication may be looked for at no distant date. To add further word of recommendation for an enterprise so deserving as this is would surely be needless.

BELLESHEIM.

*Monumenta Sæculi XVI. Historiam illustrantia.* Edidit, collegit, ordinavit PETRUS BALAN. Vol. I.—Clementis VII. Epistolæ per Sadoletum Scriptæ, quibus accedunt variorum ad Papam et ad alios Scriptæ. Innsbruck: Wagner. 1885.

HAVING noticed the "*Monumenta Reformationis Lutheranae*" in this Review last year, I am glad to urge on the student's attention another work brought out by the same zealous worker. He wishes to throw new light on the pontificate of Clement VII., Leo X.'s cousin, who, after the too short reign of the last German Pope, Hadrian VI., ascended the chair of St. Peter in 1523. The number of documents gathered into this splendid volume amounts to 289. Being drawn from the archives of the Vatican, Modena, and Mantua, they form an important contribution towards vindicating the policy of Clement VII., which in our time, both by Protestant and by Catholic historians, has been stigmatized as unsound, wavering, and contradictory. Certainly Clement VII., at a most critical period (1525), sided with the French King against the Emperor Charles V. But impartial historians ought to ponder the Pope's condition as spiritual father of the Christian family. In his twofold capacity as Pope and Italian Prince, the Pope, in favouring France for a time, must be credited with having faithfully discharged his duties. Any student perusing the Pope's letters to Charles V. (36, 38, 48, 72, 86, 88, 98) will there easily find testimony to his impartiality. German affairs claim a prominent part in these documents, and England comes next. The collection starts with a letter of the Pope to Reginald (later, Cardinal) Pole. This is followed by a quantity of letters to Henry VIII. (7, 101, 136, 218, 240), Cardinal Wolsey (8, 18, 33, 98, 217), and the young King of Scotland (33, 46). The first letter sent to James V. is contained in Theiner's "*Monumenta Vetera Scotorum Historiam illustrantia*," but Balan presents it in a more accurate form, and the second letter has been hitherto quite unknown. In it the Pope exhorts the Scotch King to keep on good terms with England. The Pope's letters to Henry VIII. refer for the most part to the distressed state of Hungary and the threatened invasion of the Turks. They are a fresh evidence of what the Holy See has ever done towards promoting unity amongst Christian princes and directing their exertions.

Mgr. Balan by this volume has rendered a signal service to Church history, and deserves the gratitude of Catholic scholars.

BELLESHEIM.

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*Geschichte der kirchlichen Armenpflege.* Von Dr. GEORG RATZINGER. Zweite Auflage. [History of the Church's Care of the Poor. By Dr. GEORGE RATZINGER. 2nd Edition.] Freiburg: Herder. 1884.

THIS thoroughly studied book first appeared in 1868, when it won the first prize at the University of Munich. But social questions have developed, and many problems have been laid before sociologists

which had not been so much as thought of in 1868. Our author has left nothing undone to throw light on these momentous problems. He traces the history of those noble exertions which the Catholic Church from her very beginnings to our own time has never ceased to employ. Dr. Ratzinger's book is entirely the result of original studies. The Fathers, both Greek and Latin, the decrees of Councils, general and provincial, the laws of secular princes, and also the chief modern literature on social questions, have been duly put under contribution. Dr. Ratzinger is a judicious writer, inquiring into the causes of facts and passing impartial judgment upon them. The care of the Church for the poor developed with the course of time, and may be divided into periods, thus:—(1) At first she employed the *διακονία* for the congregation as such. (2) Then came the period of persecutions, in which she supplied the wants of individual families. (3) After the victory of Christianity we see the foundation of pious establishments providing for the poor. (4) Protestantism has led to a thorough revolution, since it is to the new Christendom of the sixteenth century that must be traced that coercive charity whose ghastly results are before us in English workhouses. In conclusion, our author traces the outlines for renewing in a vigorous form the “*Kirchliche Armenpflege*.” His work deserves unstinted praise. BELLESHEIM.

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*La Philosophie religieuse du Mazdéisme sous les Sassanides.* Par L. C. CASARTELLI. Paris: Maisonneuve. London: Trübner & Co. 1884.

THIS is the title of the book presented to the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters of Louvain by the Rev. L. C. Casartelli, of St. Bede's College, Manchester, when taking his degree of Doctor in Oriental Letters a few months back.\* Some of the most important conclusions arrived at in this highly interesting book are well worth being widely known.

The “*Avesta*” is beginning to be better known; the labours of the great Eranists have popularized the very curious doctrine of Zoroaster from the standpoint of the general history of religions. But can the same be said of the more recent Mazdean systems, and in particular of religious philosophy under the Sassanid kings? We think not; and this so much the more that even among the learned these delicate and complex questions raised by the post-Avestic Mazdean exegesis are far from being decided. Before entering upon an analysis of the work before us, it may not be amiss to recall briefly the historical points of the question.

The religion of Zoroaster, which, according to some, took its rise in Media, but, according to others, in Bactria,† was professed for a considerable time by the semi-nomadic mountaineers and shepherds of Eran.

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\* Vide *Academy*, August 3, 1884, p. 61.

† This important controversy has just been renewed by the article of Dr. Geiger, on the age and birthplace of the “*Avesta*.” Vide *Academy*, August 30, 1884, p. 142, and the refutation announced by M. de Harlez, *ibid.* September 6, p. 156.

Under the Achemenids, the "Avesta" penetrated into Persia after a prolonged resistance. In the meantime, it must be borne in mind that, although the Avestic cult possesses points of contact with the religion of the Achemenids (both the one and the other, for instance, adoring "Aûramazda"), still it is not identical with it. After the works of Spiegel and de Harlez, this question must be considered settled. Under the Seleucids, Mazdeism was very near disappearing; but in A.D. 226 it ascended the throne of Persia, with Ardeshir Pâpekan, the first of the Sassanids, to reign undisputed till 651. At this date the Arabs drove out Mazdeism, which took refuge in the peninsula of Guzerat, where Parseeism has now-a-days almost its only adherents. Nevertheless, the Mazdean doctrine of the Sassanids is not the pure doctrine of Zoroaster; eight centuries have passed over the work of the founder, and his teaching is far from having continued without any change. What were, then, the philosophical and theological doctrines of Mazdeism when it became the national and official religion of Persia under the Sassanids? This is precisely the question which the present volume seeks to answer. It is not, therefore, a question of the Avesta, and much less of the later Mazdeism, which succeeded the Musulman conquest.

The subject of Dr. Casartelli's dissertation is of great importance. The Mazdeism of the Sassanids bears the stamp of the greater part of the contemporary religions; especially is it strongly impregnated with the doctrines of Christianity. The Catholic theologian will find in it some very useful facts for the religious history of the East during the first centuries of our era. The religious records of Sassanid Mazdeism of which the author has here made use are the "Bûn-Deheah," the "Mainyo-i-Khard," "Ardâ-i-Vîrâf Nameh," "Bahman Yesht," and the "Shâyast-lâ-Shâyast." Let us add to these the "Dinkart," which Dr. Casartelli claims as belonging to the Sassanid literature. What proves still more that we are no longer in the age of pure Avestism is the fact that the language itself has changed. The Avestic works are written in Zend or Bactrian. The Sassanid literature is in Pehlevi. What is Pehlevi? It is an idiom of artificial creation, destined for public and sacred use. It contains most heterogeneous elements, being a mixture of Aramean and Middle Persian. Professor de Harlez thinks, however, that it was a purely Eranian language, and that the use of Semitic words in it is the result merely of affectation and a passing fashion.\* Our author treats in succession the Theology, Cosmology, Anthropology, Ethics, and Eschatology of the Sassanid Mazdeism. We cannot do better than follow the same order.

1. *Theology*.—It is well known that the "Avesta" teaches dualism in the Divine nature. Two principles, the one good (viz., "Ahura Mazda"), the other evil (viz., "Anro-Mainyus"), dispute between them the empire of the world. But it is no longer so in the post-Avestic Mazdeism, and when Paul of Dair-i-Shar, in the sixth century, describes the different sects, he meets with the most complete discord

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\* "Manuel du Pehlevi des Livres religieux et historiques," p. 5.

on the great dogmatic questions. The unity of God is taught, but at the same time other schools teach dualism and even polytheism. As Dr. Casartelli well remarks, the Mazdean theology under the Sassanids, which, after all, tends to the unity of God, is a logical consequence of the dualistic system. In fact, dualism, being still more repugnant to logical minds, like those of the Eranians, than polytheism itself, of necessity led to the belief in the unity of the Divine principle. Does this say that the Avestic dualism disappeared completely? No; several sects, admitting a Being, indifferent, immutable, and having an existence previous to that of the Principle of Good and the Principle of Evil, taught that these latter two derive their origin from the Divine and eternal source of the First Being. What is this primordial Being? The Pehlevi books call it "*Zrvan Akarana*" (unlimited time), a kind of destiny. The author exposes in detail the Zervanic systems, because on this point there is great divergence of opinion; and upon the nature of the Original Being, the source of all the others, there is a multitude of different beliefs. Thus, whilst the "*Mainyo-i-Khard*" professes the idea of destiny, of the *Fatum*, which precedes the other Gods, who are subject to it, whilst this belief has given rise to a preponderating sect, that of the Zervanites, the "*Bun-Dehesh*" makes of the Zervan an essential attribute of *Aôharmazd*. Let us not forget, in the meantime, that if Zervanism was a philosophical speculation, excogitated by the schools to escape the incongruities of dualism, the conception of Zervan was not the object of a worship. *Aôharmazd* has always held his place as the great God of the Eranians, even under the Sassanids.

In the meantime, two foreign doctrines, introduced into the Sassanid Mazdeism, have sensibly altered the original features of *Ahura-Mazda*. These two doctrines are that of the Spirit of Wisdom, and that of *Vohûman*, the Son of the Creator. Dr. Casartelli recognizes in these two systems the influence of the *Σοφία* of the Old Testament\* of the Jewish School of Alexandria, and of the Gnostics, and that of the doctrine of the *Λογός* in the Fourth Gospel. Let us explain, in a few words, this double thesis, which must be studied in the interesting details here given by the author.

We have just seen what the Mazdeism of the Sassanids thinks of the good principle, *Aôharmazd*. We must now pass on to the conception of evil. In the "*Avesta*" the Principle of Evil bears the name of "*Anro-Mainyus*." Sassanid literature gives him the name of "*Aharman*," and of "*Ganâk-Minôî*." What are the chief traits of *Aharman*? He is like *Aôharmazd*, a spirit, limited for the rest just as *Aôharmazd*; but, on the other hand, he is essentially wicked, ignorant, timid, and cowardly. He is not immortal; he will have an end, not, however, in himself, but in the evil he has created. Some say evil will disappear. However, there is no agreement found in the Mazdean schools at the Sassanid epoch on the questions relating to his

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\* Cf. especially *Ecclus.* xxiv. 5, 14; *Prov.* viii. 22, 23, 27-30; *Wisdom* ix. 2, 3, vii. 17, 21; &c. &c.

origin and final destiny. But, following Dr. Casartelli, we have given the principal ideas.

The place occupied in the Avestic religion by the worship of the genii is well known. The belief in spirits has remained in the Sassanid Mazdeism. There are two kinds of spirits—one good, the other evil. The first were created by Aûharmazd; Aharman produced the others in opposition to the good spirits created by Aûharmazd.

As regards these spirits we shall mention but one point. One of the demons of Mazdeism is named Aêshma. It is well known that modern rationalism has wished to identify the Asmodeus of the book of Tobias with the Avestic Aêshmo-daeva, and to draw the conclusion that the Bible has borrowed this conception from Zoroastrism. The Catholic apologists have said at times, in answer to this, that the expression Aêshmo-daeva is one forged by the rationalists—that is to say, that the two words are never met with together. However, Dr. Casartelli remarks that the Pehlevi name Aêshmshedâ is to be found as one word in the “Bun-dehesh” (xxviii. 15). Now, if this be so, one can easily suppose an Avestic form, Aêshmo-daeva, and according to the theory which sees in Huzvareh mere ideograms we ought to pronounce Aeshmdev. One must therefore be prudent henceforward in the use of the negative argument, which has thus far been employed. As for the rest, there are many other plausible reasons for rejecting the thesis that the Bible has borrowed from the Avestic demonology.

2. *Cosmology*.—From a cosmological point of view, a capital distinction must be made between the spiritual and material worlds. But these ideas are all conventional ones; for very often Mazdeism comprehends under the spiritual world beings which for us are material. Thus, to commence with heaven, the “Mainyo-i-Khard” distinguishes the Çpihar or spiritual heaven, from the Açman, or material heaven. The Çpihar, or the sphere, is especially the circle in which the zodiac and the planets revolve. The Mazdean books of the Sassanid epoch contain pretty complete systems of astronomy.

The material world was created in six periods. Aûharmazd created at first the material heaven (Açman), then the water, the earth, the plants, the animals, and man. The six periods formed altogether a year of 365 days. The order of creation is not arbitrary; as a matter of fact, the diffusion of waters is regulated by the wind, which blows from heaven; the increase of plants depends upon the water; the animals live on the plants, and man feeds on the animals. One may well think that this theory of six periods of the creation is of Jewish origin. The very differences confirm their common origin; for if there be a divergence on the first and the fourth day, this change is rendered necessary by the Mazdean doctrines, which regard the heavenly bodies and light as belonging to the spiritual creation anterior to that of the material world.

What we have just said constitutes the *ensemble* of the ideas of the “Bun-dehesh” and of the “Mainyo-i-Khard” upon the creation. But the cosmological ideas of the “Dinkart” are sensibly different. According to the “Dinkart,” the firmament and heavenly bodies fall under the category of matter.

We shall just touch upon the question of the mystic trees, which certainly has its importance for the Catholic apologist. Dr. Casartelli peremptorily refutes the objections of Spiegel, who sees in the two mystic trees of the Eranians the origin of the two trees of knowledge and of life in the book of Genesis. The illustrious Eranist remarks that in the Old Testament the mention of the tree of life is quite isolated. Among the Aryans, on the contrary, the legends that relate to it constitute a thoroughly concordant group. There is, then, every reason to believe that the Jews have in this matter borrowed from the Aryan mythology. In answer to this objection, it is only necessary, says our author, to go back to the discoveries of Assyriology made since the publication of Spiegel's "*Eranische Alterthumskunde*." This is what M. Lenormant says: "The decipherment of the cuneiform texts has profoundly changed the point of view of science, and totally ruined the Aryan theory, which now counts but few belated defenders." We must therefore, with Dr. Casartelli, call the attention of the Eranists to the very sensible development which the legend of the two divine trees in the Sassanid system has undergone. A veritable evolution of an Aryan worship, purely naturalist, effected under influences which are evidently foreign and clearly Semitic ones, is to be seen.

3. *Anthropology*.—Man, as we have seen, was, according to the "*Bun-dehesh*," the work of the sixth epoch. Aûharmazd formed from the earth a human being, Gâyômart, male and alone, who lived 3,000 years, until he succumbed to the attacks of Aharman. Primitive man was created perfect by Aûharmazd, but the Spirit of Evil was not long in taking possession of his soul. As regards the physical part of man, he is composed of a body and a soul: the body, being made after the soul, is quite material, and the "*Ardâ Virâf Nameh*" proclaims, in the following words, the "*Memento quia pulvis*"—"Know this, that cattle is dust [*afra*]; that the horse is dust; that gold and silver are dust; and that the body of man is dust."

The soul is the subject of predilection of the Pehlevi treatises, and long texts are cited enumerating and explaining the human faculties. Dr. Casartelli sums up in detail the psychological principles of Mazdeism.

4. *Ethics*.—If the Mazdean writers were fond of psychological distinctions, they were still more attached to questions of moral. The Mazdean religion can boast of having the healthiest, the highest, and the most reasonable ethics of all non-Christian religions. The bases of morality are in the free-will of man. Created naturally good, he is exposed to the temptations of the Evil Spirit. But as Aûharmazd revealed to Zartûsht: It is better in this life to let one's body grow thin and to suffer hunger and to have one's soul fat in heaven, than to fatten the body here below and then have one's soul thin and famished in hell. "*Qui odit animam suam in hoc mundo, in vitam æternam conservat eam*." Life is, then, a spiritual combat. Thus the "*Mainyo-i-Khard*" advises us to take up arms. "Take," it says, "the spirit of contentment for coat of mail; the spirit of truth for

buckler ; the spirit of gratitude for club ; the spirit of devotion for bow ; the spirit of liberality for arrow ; the spirit of moderation for javelin ; the spirit of perseverance for gauntlet. The Spirit of Wisdom will be our support ; the Spirit of Destiny our protection." (Cf. St. Paul, Ephes. vi. 14-17.)

The treatises of Mazdean ethics consist chiefly of long enumerations and minute classifications of the virtues and vices. The general virtues are, according to the "Mainyo-i-Khard," liberality, truth, gratitude, and contentment. Then come the desire to do good to the good and to be a friend to every one ; the firm faith in the creative power of Aûharmazd ; in the malice of Aharman ; in the resurrection of the dead, and in a future life ; the practice of Khvetôdas, astrology, industry, firm trust in religion, the "good eye" towards the efforts of every man, the seeking for the favour of the good and the appreciation of their virtue.

Let us say a word about the duties of one's state of life. Each state of life has its duties, which must be scrupulously observed. The duties of the rich are thus enumerated : to aid the very poor and to make agriculture prosper. The lower classes have other obligations. The duties of husband and wife are often given in the vision of Ardâ Virâf. The husband is to instruct and correct his wife, otherwise he will be responsible for her faults ; she is to be faithful to him, obey him, and honour him. Her body, life, and soul belong to him ; but he is to provide her with all that is necessary for life.

We have not the leisure to dwell upon the ideas which the Mazdeans entertained about merit, although they were certainly remarkable. We shall say a word or two, however, on the means employed to get rid of sins and their consequences, for this question raises a controversy of capital importance on the subject of "Patêt," or Mazdean repentance. In fact, Dr. West believes he can here discover traces of the Protestant repentance, for in the Parsee system remission depends rather on a mental change than on the corporal act. Such is the reason given by Dr. West. The text of the "Mainyo-i-Khard" completely contradicts Dr. West. Here is the text in Dr. West's own version :—

And for the existence of renunciation of *sin*, the special thing is this, that he commits no sin voluntarily ; and if through inexperience, or weakness, or ignorance, a sin arises, *then he is before the high priests and the good in renunciation of sin* ; and after that, if he commits not, then that sin which is committed by him is so removed from his body as that wind which comes a hundredfold, powerful, and quick, and strong, and so sweeps over the wilderness that it will carry off all grass and anything that is broken in that place.

The principal thing is evidently the change of one's interior, but public confession before the priests is an essential condition, which certainly differs *toto cælo* from the Protestant system of justification.

Among the chief duties of the Mazdean faithful are to be mentioned the religious obligations, the first of which is to believe in the exclusive truth of Mazdeism. In effect the latter was anything but

tolerant. It was the only good religion, all others being bad. The Jewish, Manichæan and Christian were especially condemned. "The Jewish religion of Arûm [the Greek empire], then that of the Messiah of the West, and finally that of Mani of Turkestan, it is elsewhere said, were to be combated." The only pure religion is the Mazdean; that of Sînik is mixed; that of Zandîk, of the Christian, of the Jew, and of others, is evil. Christianity had a third name—viz., kilicyâkîk, for which Neryoseng, in his Sanskrit version of the "Yaçna," is our authority. This word kilicyâkîk, is formed from the Persian "kilicya" = ἐκκλησία. There is a special demon, Shêdâ-çpîh—the white demon—attributed to Christianity. It is very remarkable, and at the same time highly important for determining the age of our sources, that none of these passages breathe a word of Islam whilst attacking evil religions. Moreover, they invariably associated Christianity with Arûm or Rûm—i.e., with the Greek empire, which was always in hostility with the Sassanid kings. All these indications are valuable from an historical point of view.

5. *Eschatology*.—On this question we refer the reader to the work of Dr. Casartelli, for, with the exception of certain natural developments, the Mazdeism of the Sassanids does not differ essentially in this point from the Avestic doctrine. However, we may notice with our author an error of Spiegel's, of which we ourselves have been a victim in our work on Cerberus.\* Spiegel represents the famous bridge "Cinvat" as guarded by a dog "Zarîngôsh"—i.e., with yellow ears—a kind of Cerberus, who drives the demons and the wicked souls from the bridge, and who is naturally compared to the two yellow dogs (udumbala) of the Vedic hell. Now, Dr. Casartelli teaches us that the passage of the version of Ardâ Vîrâf upon which the above belief rests does not exist either in the Pehlevi or Parsi texts, but only in a Persian version of recent date, of which the English translation by Pope was the only one known by Spiegel when he wrote his "Traditional Literature." There is no other mention made of this dog in other sources of the epoch.

Dr. Casartelli also refutes the views of Dr. Roth on the subject of the place where those whose good and evil works are in equilibrium are sent to at the end of their life. This curious idea is certainly post-Avestic. However, Dr. Roth has tried to find this doctrine in the "Yaçna" (xxiii. 1). His two principal arguments are, first, the new interpretation of the word *hém-yâçaitê*, which he wishes to put in relation with the name hamêctagân, and also the Pehlevi term, hamyaçto, in the "Dinkart." Dr. Casartelli takes up especially the latter argument. The first will be refuted by Professor de Harlez. In any case, Dr. Roth has misunderstood the phrase which he quotes; it means simply that the human race in the material world is in harmony with the spiritual world. It is not a question at all of souls whose good works equal their bad ones.

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\* "Cerbère. Étude de Mythologie comparée." Par J. Van den Gheyn, S.J. Bruxelles, 1888.

We believe we have said enough to enable the reader to understand what important questions are mooted and often solved in the doctoral dissertation of Dr. Casartelli. Before concluding, we wish to bear testimony to the profound knowledge of authorities and thorough acquaintance with all that relates to the Eranian philology displayed on every page. Many other things might be noticed, but it is time to draw to a close. We cannot do it better than by addressing the new Doctor of Louvain in the words used by Max Müller to the deeply regretted Martin Haug. We are certain that all those who are interested in the study of languages and of ancient religions will desire that the author may continue to communicate to us the fruit of his researches on the language, literature, ceremonial, and religion of the votaries of Zoroaster.

J. VAN DEN GHEYN, S.J., M.R.A.S.

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*The Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt.* By ALFRED J. BUTLER, M.A., F.S.A. In two volumes. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1884.

IN these two very handsome volumes Mr. Butler gives a full and interesting account of the Christian antiquities of the Copts and of their ancient churches. We do not think that the subject has been so systematically and fully treated before, but certainly not in any English treatise. The large amount of interest felt at present among Englishmen in Egypt generally extends in a certain measure to the ancient schismatic Church of Egypt, and hence doubtless this work appears at a time when it will be widely welcomed. It deserves welcome, however, independently of this consideration. There is much in the work, and more particularly in the first volume—which treats of the buildings themselves—that will be found valuable to church architects and liturgicists as being fresh from Mr. Butler's own observations in the localities described. This personal character, indeed, gives the book its real value; so far as that personal element goes, it has the weight of ocular testimony. First-hand information largely predominates in the first volume, as we have said; in the second, we have a much greater amount of space devoted, less fortunately we think, to the comparative study of other rites and the critical rehearsal of former authorities.

But we are not, therefore, ungrateful to Mr. Butler for what he has given us of his own, remembering, too, from the very nature of the case, what it must have cost him. It is surprising to what an extent and with what good purpose he has surmounted the exceptional difficulties which meet the would-be inquirer into Coptic affairs.

No one who has not tried [he observes] can imagine what time and trouble it has often cost to obtain access even to some of the churches of old Cairo; no one would believe how many fruitless journeys under a scorching sun can go to a scanty handful of Coptic notes. And if one searches for oral information, trouble multiplies a hundredfold. Very few indeed of the Copts know anything about their own history or their own ritual, or can assign a reason for the things which they witness in their daily services. A question on a point of ceremonial is usually

met either with a shake of the head or by a palpably wrong answer veiling ignorance. Moreover, the oracle, when discovered, generally prefers speaking to-morrow. (Pref. p. ix.)

Knowing something of the nature of these difficulties, we admire the tact and patience which must have secured to Mr. Butler so large a measure of success.

The first volume opens with a general survey of the structure of Coptic churches. Their peculiarities are not few; some being the consequence of Moslem hatred and oppression—of this kind is the utter absence of external architectural design, and a studied hiding of the church in its surrounding buildings—many others doubtless being traces of ancient usage to which the Copts have clung with their characteristic tenacity. We may note, for example, that, in contrast to Greek practice, Coptic churches, even the most ancient ones, have three true eastern altars, besides a prothesis and diaconicon. Even their chapels, both “side chapels” and “upstairs chapels,” as we should have to say, have frequently three altars each. In the churches the middle or high altar is the only one in general use. The northern and southern altars are used only on the greatest feasts—as the Nativity, Easter, the Exaltation of the Cross, &c.; the reason of this being that, according to Coptic canons, more than one Mass may not be said on one altar on the same day—the altar, like the communicant, must be “fasting.” On those feasts, therefore, when a second and third Mass is needed, they are celebrated on the other altars in succession.

From the structure in general, and the laws which have governed it, we pass to the treatment of those individual chapels and churches of the two Cairos and the Western desert which the author himself visited and examined. These chapters are of the greatest interest, enhanced not a little by the excellent ground-plans which accompany the account of each edifice. We cannot follow Mr. Butler in many of his deductions and theories, but that need not detain us; his facts and personal observations retain their respective value independently. We should recommend the reader, who may feel well interested in the subject of the seventh and eighth chapters, to supplement them by reading the two long letters in the “*Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*” (edition of Paris, 1780, vol. iv.), written more than a hundred and fifty years ago by Père Sicard. One of these letters treats of the monasteries of the Natrun Valley, and the other of the two monasteries of SS. Anthony and Paul in the Eastern desert. They record Père Sicard’s accounts of his own visits and personal observations. Except in the way of going to ruin, these Coptic monasteries have not changed much since 1712, and the information then written is still valuable. It is in a special way supplementary where the Father records his visit to the monasteries of SS. Anthony and Paul, which Mr. Butler had not the opportunity of visiting.

A very noteworthy feature of the churches described by Mr. Butler, especially of the Cairene churches, is the multitude of paintings, and, to Catholics, the large proportion of these which represent either Our Lady herself or some scene of her life. The “*Madonna and Child*”

seems to be painted everywhere ; is embroidered also on the haikal, or sanctuary screen, on dalmatics, on the cuffs or armlets worn by the priest at the altar. We have frequent pictures of the Annunciation, of the nativity of Our Lord, of Our Lady's death, her death-bed surrounded by the Apostles in the traditional way, whilst one painting, named by Mr. Butler the Resurrection (p. 52), is, we fancy, judging from his description of it, a picture of Our Lady's Assumption. For the value, art-character, and manner of execution of these mural and other paintings, we must refer the reader to the book itself.

In the second volume we have chapters on the Coptic altars, Eucharistic vessels, church and altar furniture, as ambons, reliquaries, lamps, &c. ; on the liturgical vestments, on the rites and ceremonies used in the administration of the Seven Sacraments and in other functions. In these chapters it is that we should have preferred more of Mr. Butler's personal testimony to what the Coptic priests do and what they wear, as he saw or learned it, and less of his newly collected liturgical lore. Very many pages of his hot discussions on points of divergence between East and West, and of his criticism of authors, would we gladly give in exchange, if it could have been, for another "scanty handful" of his own notes. Mr. Butler has that mistaken notion and exaggerated esteem of ritual now so common amongst Anglicans. He appears to give point to a thrust at the West or at Rome by confusing ritual with dogma. Thus, he speaks (p. 274) of the Coptic practice of administering Confirmation at the same time as Baptism, and by a priest as the ordinary minister as well as by a bishop ("although," he adds, "they are regarded essentially as two sacraments, not as one"); and he concludes: "In all these particulars the Copts have retained the early *teaching* of the Catholic Church, which the Westerns have abandoned." We have italicized the word "*teaching*," which is out of place here. He means "*practice*," and even then the assertion is not absolutely correct, and is misleading. Baptism, in the early ages, was often administered separately even by a layman, and often by deacons, when the Canons ordered the so-baptized persons to be confirmed afterwards by the bishop. We are not surprised that he should find it "interesting" that

Egypt, which never fell under the sway of a Roman pontiff, retains to this day, in the ministration of the altar, the form of tunic disused by the Latins fifteen centuries ago. (P. 110.)

This tunic which the Latins fifteen centuries ago were guilty of disusing is the colobion, the present Latin tunic is the dalmatic; the colobion had short, close-fitting sleeves, the dalmatic—dreadful to relate—has long, full sleeves! We see now what the "sway" of Roman pontiffs is capable of!

We had noted several places for special remark, but will trespass on our space and the reader's patience with only this one, early in the volume, where Mr. Butler, who has been speaking of the inclusion of relics at the consecration of an altar, remarks:—

But essential as the presence of relics was considered in the early ages of the Church, in later times, despite the miraculous power of multiply-

ing possessed by martyrs' bones, there seems to have been a dearth of such remains, and altars were consecrated without them. In a MS. of the fifteenth century, now in the British Museum,\* may be found a rubric providing that the practice of placing relics inside the altar "*raro fiat . . . propter reliquiarum paucitatem.*" This ordinance, hitherto unnoticed, was pointed out to me by Mr. Middleton. (Vol. ii. p. 16.)

Now, concerning this passage, we remark—without delaying on the last sentence—that the MS. quoted does not contain a "rubric providing" that relics be rarely included, either for the reason quoted or for any other, and that the rubric is not, correctly speaking, an "ordinance" at all. Mr. Butler ought to be carefully correct, since he is so confident and absolute when he corrects others, as he often does. The rubric runs thus (fol. 136b):—"Si reliquie non debeant recondi infra altare [transi ad hoc signum ✕].† Ordo qualiter reliquie ponende sunt in altari. Sciendum est tamen quod variis modis recluduntur reliquie infra altare, licet istis temporibus hoc raro fiat propter reliquiarum antiquarum paucitatem et novorum sanctorum raram canonizationem. Tamen si debeat fieri potest expleri prout supra notatur in magna rubrica in principio dedicacionis more romano," &c. &c. And in another place in the same MS. (fol. 166b), in the course of an *ordo* for consecrating a portable altar "more gallicano," there is a rubric saying that here, if there are relics to be used, "recludantur, sin autem, transi," &c. But we need not say more. It is enough that Mr. Butler's "ordinance, hitherto unnoticed," is really a provisionary rubric, not *ordering* relics either to be included or excluded, or rarely included, or anything else, but stating that here is the order for inclosing them, although, now, this be rarely done! The tone of discovery in this quotation is noteworthy, since the rarity of relics and the omission of them in many cases is not even peculiar to either England or the fifteenth century. It is a thing noticed in other Pontificals than this Lansdowne MS. (written apparently for a bishop of London) and in not a few authors—in so common a handbook, for instance, as Le Brun's "*Cérémonies de la Messe*" (vol. i. pp. 144–5), also in Bloxam's "*Principles*" (new edition, vol. ii. p. 146) and other works. A Roman Missal printed at Basle in 1487, referred to by Le Brun, orders the words "*quorum reliquiæ hic sunt*" (of the prayer "*Oramus te, Domine,*" on reaching the altar at Mass) to be omitted if there be no relics in the altar. This contingency of no relics is also contemplated in the York Pontifical of Archbishop Bainbridge, in the Pontifical of Bishop Lacy of Exeter, &c.

So far, however, is Mr. Butler's own ocular information on Coptic churches new to the Western world that we must close our remarks on his book by repeating our sense of its importance. It is even likely, we think, to mark an epoch by the impetus it will give to other workmen on the line here opened, and in a wide field of exploration

\* Lansdowne 451, fol. 137a.

† The bracketed words, accidentally omitted, are added on the margin in another hand.

which, as Mr. Butler is himself the first to point out, he has not exhausted, and which—from the circumstances of a stay in Egypt of only seven months, with his mind, at the time, “a mere blank as regards architecture, ritual, and ecclesiology”—he could not be expected to have exhausted.

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*Manuel de la langue Mandchoue.* Grammaire, Anthologie et Lexique.

Par C. DE HARLEZ. Paris : Maisonneuve. 1884.

OF all European nations England furnishes the largest contingent of students of the language and literature of China. This phenomenon is not to be exclusively attributed to any abstract love that Englishmen may be supposed to entertain for this ancient language and its rich literature, but likewise in great part to those important commercial and political relations between the two countries which render a knowledge of Chinese a sort of necessity for so many Englishmen. Everything therefore that tends to promote or facilitate the study of Chinese is sure to be cordially welcomed in this country.

It is a well-known fact that a knowledge of the Mandchu language is, to some extent, a *conditio sine quâ non* for those who devote themselves to the study of the Chinese literature. Since the establishment of the present dynasty in China, Mandchu has become one of the languages of the State. All the masterpieces of Chinese literature have been carefully translated into Mandchu, and many important State documents have been written exclusively in this language, so that it happens not unfrequently that an obscure passage or expression of a Chinese author becomes intelligible to the European scholar only after he has consulted the Mandchu translation. Moreover, for the student of Chinese history, Mandchu is absolutely necessary; as certain important works, such as the *Tai Juen Gurun Suduri* [history of the Mongol dynasty in the north of China], the *Aisin Guruni Suduri* [history of the Dzin dynasty, founded by the Mandchu], &c., exist only in Mandchu, and, as far as we know, have neither been translated nor edited up to the present time.

Notwithstanding the importance of Mandchu, it has been hitherto, comparatively speaking, neglected. This circumstance may be at least partially explained by the fact that the facilities for acquiring a knowledge of it were extremely limited. The Mandchu grammars that existed heretofore were either too incomplete, as that of Hoffmann (1888), or inaccessible to most students, as the grammar of Zakharoff in Russian (St. Petersburg, 1879). Moreover, none of the existing grammars contained a chrestomathy and glossary, and texts and dictionaries were still more inaccessible to the student than grammars. The aim of Professor de Harlez's manual is to remedy this state of things. His manual is divided into three parts: a grammar (pp. 1–100), a chrestomathy (pp. 101–172), and a glossary (pp. 175–222). In the grammar, the student will find everything of any importance that is to be found even in the most diffuse grammars, besides a considerable number of original remarks that he would seek elsewhere in

vain. For Professor de Harlez's grammar is not by any means a compilation; it is based to a great extent on the results of his own studies, and these studies have not been confined to Mandchu translations of Chinese authors, but embrace the most important documents originally composed in Mandchu. The chief merits of the grammar are, without doubt, its clearness and conciseness. It is very difficult in a work like this to be concise without being obscure, and to attain completeness without becoming unnecessarily diffuse. Professor de Harlez has, generally speaking, admirably succeeded in this difficult task, chiefly because he lays down in the beginning of each chapter certain general principles, that explain whole groups of facts, and also because he sedulously avoids all unnecessary repetition. Among much that is entirely original we may specially point out the section: "*Des Onomatopées*," and a considerable portion of the syntax; the section headed "*Nature de la langue, ses rapports avec le Chinois*," will likewise be of great service to the student.

Professor de Harlez's aim was doubtlessly not to teach students to speak Mandchu, but to read and understand it, so that he did well to exclude certain minute rules relating to the pronunciation of some syllables in exceptional cases. Still it would not have been, we think, superfluous to mention that the letter *e* before *o* is pronounced *o*, whereas the *o* that follows it has the sound of *u*, for example *seulekhen* (thoughtfulness, forethought) is pronounced *soulekhen*. It would likewise have been well to say that *s* before *i* is in some cases pronounced *sh*. We cannot quite agree with Professor de Harlez when he describes the pronunciation of *l* in Mandchu as "*comme dans nos langues*," because the Mandchu *l* is identical with the Russian *l*, and consequently not at all similar to the *l* of most European languages. At page 32 we read "*amila coq, emile poule*." It would, we think, have been more correct to translate "*amila*" the male (of birds) in general, and "*emile*" the female. The Mandchu word for cock is *amila tchoko*, and for hen *emile tchoko*. Page 32, the transcription of the Mandchu word for cow seems to us not quite correct; instead of *uniyen* we would pronounce *unyen*. Page 33, *urun* is made—by a typographical error—to signify "*brut*," whereas it really means "*bru*." Page 33, the Mandchu word for "*convive*" is given as *andaha*; we should have preferred the transcription *antakha*. Page 36, first line, the two words written *abka-i* ought to be pronounced *abkay*, for it is a dissyllable. But these remarks do not in the least diminish the value of the grammar, the object of which is to teach the written rather than the spoken language. Moreover, it is but just to remark that the pronunciation of the Mandchu is subject to local modifications, so that the Mandchu of Pekin is not pronounced exactly in the same way as the Mandchu of Manchuria.

The chrestomathy is composed of texts selected with discrimination, and graduated with care. We are glad to remark that it contains a considerable number of extracts taken from works hitherto untranslated in Europe, and from unedited manuscripts belonging to the author. The only subject we have for regret is that out of seventy pages of

text, only ten are printed in Mandchu characters, the rest being in Latin transcription.

The glossary is, as far as we can judge, complete, and in every respect satisfactory. It is based naturally more on texts originally composed in Mandchu than on simple translations from the Chinese, and the order in which the words are arranged is extremely simple and practical. As in the glossary it was impossible to enter into explanations of difficult forms and passages, the author explains them in the copious philological and exegetical notes that accompany the text, besides which at the end of the glossary (pp. 223-228) the most difficult extracts of the chrestomathy are literally translated. In a word, the work before us fulfils all the conditions required of a complete and practical handbook, and we have no hesitation in recommending it to all who desire to acquire a knowledge of the Mandchu language.

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*The Revolt of the Netherlands.* By WILFRID C. ROBINSON. London : R. Washbourne. 1885.

INTO this volume the author has gathered six essays of his which appeared in the *Month* a few years ago. They cover the period between the abdication of Charles V. and the death of Philip II., and touch on not a few such difficult topics as the character of Philip and of William the Silent, the Revolt of the Netherlands, Alva's reign of terror, and the like. We had hoped that the volume was a consecutive and more exhaustive study of the period; but we are pleased, nevertheless, to see these useful and pleasant articles reproduced. Many readers who would dread a more ponderous book will be glad to get a general view and a correct notion of a critical and much misunderstood period by means of such easy reading. The real student will need to go deeper, but will find here an agreeable *coup d'œil*, the result of wide reading. It is much to be regretted that the author has here wholly omitted "repeated references to the numerous authorities" consulted in writing. The student, says Mr. Robinson, has "only" to refer "among others" to the "works of Strada, Bentivoglio, Van Metern, Vander Vynckt, Gachard, De Reiffenberg, Groen van Prinsterer, Poulet, Baumstark, Prescott, Motley, Juste, and Forneron"—this is his idea of "any ordinarily well-stocked library"! What has the student done that he should have to plod through the above formidable list each time he wishes "to substantiate my statements" regarding persons and events which are notoriously misrepresented or misunderstood by the authors who *de facto* compose the ordinary library, at least in England? We hope Mr. Robinson will be kinder to him in a second edition.

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*The Catholic Chorister : a Collection of Easy Masses, Motetts, Litanies, &c.* Newbury, Berks : Alphonse Carey.

WE have received from Mr. Alphonse Carey, music publisher, of Newbury, a fresh collection of easy Masses, Motetts, and Benediction Services, which he offers to us in "The Catholic Chorister." This publication, presented in single sheets, has for its object to benefit such small choirs as will wisely refrain from murdering the most difficult productions and complicated arrangements of eminent composers, and aim rather at giving an easy service devotionally and correctly, which is more artistic and always praiseworthy.

In our judgment, the present publication is admirably suited to help this object, as the Motetts, Litanies, &c., are of a character which do not forbid humble genius from giving them a creditable rendering. The compass is within easy range of ordinary voices ; and if the style cannot boast of the florid element—at all times a questionable beauty in Church music—it is graced with the pleasant and devotional, which we know to flow so freely from the talent of such composers as Dr. Crookall. If we were asked to single out a piece which we consider suitable for the most ordinary choir, we should point to the "Ave Verum," by Dr. Crookall, and the hymn, "Turn to Jesus, mother, turn," and here will be found beauty and simplicity so happily linked together that their rendering is worthy of genius.

"The Catholic Chorister" is published in numbers, and on single sheets, each number containing two different pieces, either Motett and Litany or Hymn and Tantum Ergo, &c. ; and its price is equally attractive with the sterling worth offered in the music.

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*L'Abbé Hetsch.* Par l'auteur des "Derniers Jours de Monseigneur Dupanloup." Avec Introduction de MONSIEUR PERRAUD, Evêque d'Autun. Paris : Poussielgue Frères. 1885.

THE leadings of "kindly light" have been so often described that interest in these masterpieces of Grace may possibly be waning ; and biographies so often turn out to be but daubs, in white or in black, of some better or less known personage, that a fresh one enters the list at some disadvantage. There is nothing vulgar in the work before us. This story of a conversion is unique, and the good taste and discrimination of the biographer remarkable.

How Albert Hetsch, bred in Protestantism, and suckled by Pantheism, emerged at last through the twilight of Deism into the broad day of Catholic Faith is a tale not often read and rarely told. The "idea of unity," the thread which guided this disciple of Strauss and Hegel through the labyrinth of German philosophy to the temple of Truth, is ably treated ; with succinctness and great lucidity the itinerary is given ; and, in dealing with modern philosophy, the author shows no 'prentice hand. The crossing of the bar which lies between the stormy ocean of misbelief and the tranquil haven of the Church is touchingly told. The vocation, the work, the trials, and the triumph are skilfully

detailed. Choosing France for his adopted country, and intimately associated during the whole of his sacerdotal life with Monseigneur Dupanloup, the Abbé Hetsch was connected with the foremost Catholics of his time; but his work was done in, and his best energies devoted to, the diocese of Orleans. His name is there remembered as a household word, and the admiration for his great and varied talents, his winning ways, and his saintly piety, will not easily die.

We owe our thanks to his biographer for making him known, and so well known, to us, and if the author's love of her country may once or twice have clothed itself in expressions which seem exaggerated, it is easy to be indulgent to a child of the Church's eldest daughter; and if the reader is unable to agree with every word of praise meted out to the great Bishop, he will acknowledge him to have been the bravest lance in Christendom, though in the heat of the *mêlée* a blow may have been misdirected, and through the dust of the combat ally appeared a foe.

*A Latin Letter* (with an English translation) to His Holiness Pope Leo XIII., Successor of St. Peter, and Primate of the Catholic Church. By THOMAS WIMBERLEY MOSSMAN, D.D., Rector of Torrington, Lincolnshire. London: John Hodges. 1884.

WE have read this remarkable "Letter" with keen interest. It contains a clear, bold profession of faith in the supremacy and infallibility of the Pope. One cannot but be touched by the plaintive cry for guidance and union which runs through its every line.

After having expressed his adhesion to the Roman Church and its supreme Pontiff, and also the hope that the Holy Father may be enabled to "gather together Christ's sheep," the author ventures to tell the Pope that "there are four things upon which the people of England have greatly set their hearts": "an open Bible in their mother-tongue;" secondly, that their clergy may be allowed to marry; thirdly, that they may have the Mass and the other sacred offices in their own tongue; and fourthly, that they may drink of the Chalice in the Holy Eucharist. We cannot understand how, after such an unreserved and full profession of Catholic faith, Dr. Mossman can remain where he is. There is no consistent resting-place for him except within the precincts of the Catholic Church.

*A Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians.* By JOSEPH AGAR BEET. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1885.

WE have on previous occasions expressed a high opinion of the Rev. Mr. Beet's Commentaries, as presenting, in a popular form, the result of very wide reading. They evince considerable scholarship, and yet there is no parade of learning. This fresh volume, on the Galatians, the result of two years' careful work, is not inferior to the volumes which have preceded it. Mr. Beet's theological position makes it impossible for us to approve of much of his commenting on the dogmatic passages of this Epistle. But, apart from con-

troverted points of dogma, we think the learned author deserves credit for many admirable renderings and clever solutions of difficult passages. We might instance his treatment of the well-known "mediator" difficulty in Gal. iii. 20, of which there are said to be some three hundred different explanations; or, again, in the same chapter, his exposition of the Apostle's argument of the "curse of the law," and "the seed," and its apparent invalidity when compared with the Hebrew text. We are glad to see that Mr. Beet does not question the fact of St. Peter's being in Rome, though his suggestion that perhaps St. Peter went there on St. Paul's invitation cannot be regarded as happy. The difference which arose at Antioch between these two Apostles is explained as arising from inconsistency of conduct, and not from doctrinal error, on St. Peter's part. On the question of "the Lord's brethren," Mr. Beet adopts the Epiphanian view—that they were the children of St. Joseph by an earlier marriage, overlooking the difficulty that, if this were so, our Lord would not have been the heir to David's throne. Mr. Beet claims the Galatians as a Keltic and not a Teutonic race, despite of St. Jerome's evidence about Trèves. For this, some Germans will not thank him; for, in consequence of Luther's heretical reading of this Epistle, they would claim it as entirely their own. No doubt, in the tendency to "bite and devour one another," which St. Paul rebukes in the Galatians, Prince Bismarck would recognize a characteristic feature of the German character—the hereditary curse of the god Loki.

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*Poems, original and translated.* By JOHN BRADFORD. Hereford : F. S. Prosser. Bristol : Austin & Oates. 1885.

THESE verses are collected from the Hereford Press of twenty-five years. They are the work of a Catholic who enjoys Wyese country; so they have at least a local claim. The original verses are to be preferred to the translations, but these lines from Millevoie catch the dreamy sadness of the French original:—

Poor dying flower! bent, torn and lone,—  
 Erewhile thou wert the valley's pride;  
 Now o'er the earth thy petals glide  
 Wherever by the breeze they're blown.  
 Death's scythe cuts down both me and thee;  
 The same God's will we both obey;  
 A leaf from thy stem flies away—  
 A long-loved joy abandons me.

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*Men and Women of the Far-off Time.* By S. H. BURKE.  
 London : Burns & Oates.

THE author of "Historical Portraits of the Tudor Dynasty" has gathered various essays into one pair of covers, whereon we see, *en passant*, as the heralds say, the flunkys and sedan-chair of the olden

times. This does not prepare us for coming upon the Anglo-Saxons the moment we go inside, then passing through glimpses of the White and Red Roses, the Tudors and Cardinal Wolsey, and emerging at the other end among Gothic architecture. Still, variety is charming in essays as in so much else. The only break in the variety is a certain concentration of attention upon Queen Elizabeth's time, perhaps because of former studies. The motto is: "Knowledge knows no distinction of persons; it demands only a reverence for the beautiful and the just;" and again: "Time unveils all truth." And, in accordance with his mottoes, the author is bent upon piercing all former misrepresentation, and bringing out his men and women as miniature psychological studies recognizably like the men and women of the living world. We have long before now expressed our opinion of the valuable work Mr. Hubert Burke has done in gathering the materials that make up his more important volumes—the Tudor portraits. He states that "a black and terrible indictment can be proved" against Elizabeth, but he is somewhat too anxious to fill in sketches in her favour. This is the only drawback to the value of these short and bright essays. They are made of the condensed results of study—fact upon fact, with no verbiage and but little comment; and yet, by a very rare gift, the author has produced a book that is positively light reading, and that might well be a pleasure to young students who find deeper Histories hard and heavy.

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*Si-Yu-Ki*: Buddhist Records of the Western World. Translated from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsiang (A.D. 629) by SAMUEL BEAL. 2 vols. London: Trübner & Co. 1884.

DO our readers ask who was Hiuen Tsiang? Let his editor, Chang Yueh, a Minister of State under the Emperor T'ang Huan Tsung—A.D. 713–756—answer that question. He was a learned man, mighty in the Buddhist scriptures—the three Pitakas or Baskets—and a priest in the temple of "Great Benevolence." He was descended from a family illustrious in Chinese literature, who "by their choice services in the world served to produce as their result an illustrious descendant." "In him were found sweetness and virtue. These roots, combined and deeply planted, produced their fruits rapidly. The source of his wisdom was deep, and wonderfully it increased. At opening life he was rosy as the evening vapours and round as the rising moon. As a boy he was sweet as the odour of cinnamon or the vanilla tree. At early dawn he studied the false and the true. He considered the limits of life, and put away from him the pleasures of sense. He was diligent in his labour as a student; he lost not a moment of time, and by his virtues he rendered his teachers illustrious, and was an ornament to his place of study. He mastered the nine divisions of the book and swallowed the lake Mong.\*

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\* A metaphysical way of saying that he acquired a vast deal of erudition.

He broke down the boasting of the iron-clad stomach ; \* and finally, as the schools of Buddhism in his day were contentious, with a virtue of unequalled character and at a time favourable in its indications, he took his staff, dusted his clothes, and set off for distant regions." Such are a few of the flowers of Chinese rhetoric culled from the panegyric wherewith Chang Yueh has celebrated the merits of this illustrious Buddhist pilgrim. In plain English, he was a devout and learned Chinese Buddhist priest of the sixth century of our era, who travelled through India to procure original Buddhist books and such other religious treasures as he might be able to obtain, and who, after encountering the greatest hardships and undergoing innumerable risks for sixteen years, returned again to his native country, with a mind stored with the recollections of the wonderful things he had seen, and with the following treasures :—

1. Five hundred grains of relics belonging to the body of Buddha.
2. A golden statue of Buddha on a transparent pedestal.
3. A statue of Buddha carved out of sandal-wood on a transparent pedestal—a copy from the statue which Udayana, King of Kinumbi, had made.
4. A similar statue of sandal-wood, a copy of the figure made after Buddha had descended from the Trayastrimsai heaven.
5. A silver statue of Buddha on a transparent pedestal.
6. A golden statue of Buddha on a transparent pedestal.
7. A sandal-wood figure of Buddha on a transparent pedestal.
8. One hundred and twenty-four works (sûtras) of the Great Vehicle.
9. Other works, amounting in the whole to five hundred and twenty fasciculi, carried by twenty-four horses.

Hiuen Tsiang lived for nineteen years after his return to China, occupied in the translation from the Sanskrit of the sacred books brought back by him, a labour in which he was assisted by some seven hundred Buddhist monks. When his end drew near he is related to have divided among the poor such scanty property as he possessed, and to have addressed in the following terms his friends, whom he had invited to come and see him for the last time and "to take a cheerful leave of the impure body of Hiuen Tsiang":—

I desire that whatever reward I have merited by good works may fall upon other people. May I be born again with them, in the heaven of the blessed, be admitted to the family of Mi-le, and serve the Buddha of the future, who is full of kindness and affection. When I descend again upon earth to pass through other forms of existence I desire at every new birth to fulfil my duties towards the Buddha, and arrive at the last at the highest and most perfect intelligence."

These were his last words.

In the two volumes before us the Rev. Samuel Beal, whose valuable contributions to our knowledge of Chinese Buddhism are highly

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\* He overcame in argument one who wore an iron corslet lest his learning should burst open his body.

appreciated by all Oriental scholars, has given us a carefully executed translation of Hiuen Tsiang's account of his long wanderings. Mr. Beal's volumes supply a want, for the French translation of the "Si-Yu-Ki" executed by M. Stanislas Julien nearly thirty years ago, has long been out of print, and is extremely scarce. And he has done well in prefixing to Hiuen Tsiang's narrative, translations of the travels of two earlier Buddhist pilgrims, Fa Hian and Sung-yun. It is not easy to over-estimate the value of Hiuen Tsiang's work. An accurate observer and a careful and conscientious writer, he has given us a trustworthy picture of the social and religious condition of the countries visited by him which is our chief authority for their state in his day. As an admirable specimen of his method we may refer to the first twenty pages of book ii. (pp. 69 to 89 in Mr. Beal's first volume), where a general description of India is presented to us. Credulous, of course, he was. Living in an uncritical age, and penetrated to the inmost recesses of his being by the religion which he professed, how could he have helped being? But intentionally mendacious he most certainly was not. His good faith is as unquestionable as his credulity. And to the scientific student the wildest of the legends which he so naïvely relates are by no means the least significant or the least valuable parts of his work.

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*Jean de Vivonne, sa vie et ses ambassades près de Philippe II. et à la Cour de Rome, d'après de documents inédits. Par le VICOMTE GUY DE BREMOND D'ARS. Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit & Cie. 1884.*

**J**EAN DE VIVONNE, seigneur of Saint Gouard, Marquis de Pisany, was not a great man, says our author, by way of beginning his Preface. And this is perhaps true; but he was so much mixed up with the chief events of France, Spain and Italy during the second half of the sixteenth century that we have good reason to be grateful for a biography of him, more particularly for such a pleasant and well written one as this. De Vivonne was born probably in 1530, and from his eighteenth year to his death in the last year of the century, he was before the public either as a soldier or as a diplomat. His two chief embassies were to Spain and to Rome. At the court of Philip II. he remained eleven years; to him long years, for he disliked the Spaniards. Our author shares his sentiments as far as Philip II. is concerned, whom he paints very black indeed. He refuses also to modify his verdict of Philip in the light of M. Gachard's recently published letters of that monarch; and inclines too much to judging of contemporaneous affairs, of the league for example, in the spirit of our own times. In this volume, however, he is chiefly the biographer of an unhesitating royalist of the thorough old-fashioned type, and his book, we must repeat, is full of useful historical matter drawn from unedited sources. He here, we may also note, repeats the judgment that the St. Bartholomew massacre was unpremeditated, which he maintained at length in an Article in the *Revue des Questions historiques* in Oct. 1883, of which at the time we gave a brief résumé.

The reader who is not a student, but likes a book of biography when it is also attractive, may confidently begin "*Jean de Vivonne*." It contains much curious matters about life at that time in both France, Spain and Italy, and the narrative, which is never dry nor obscure, is enlivened by not a few amusing anecdotes. And de Vivonne himself is a most charming character, full of sense and natural wit, upright, honourable, an uncompromising royalist, highly intelligent, shrewd but without scholarship, and so good-natured, kind and amusing, as to be loved by all. He was fond of elegance, of the fashions, of fine horses, of a grand retinue; because, says the author, "*il était glorieux*." He was one of the old school, countrified rather than Parisian, a Gascon, a true descendant of the feudal seigneurs: so too, "*il dépensait en grand seigneur, quel que fût l'état de sa bourse*," which had begun to be the fashion in his day among the nobility. He was ambitious, but with limits—those of chivalrous honour, and of his Catholic faith, to which he was deeply attached—not a small thing in his day. His only daughter, the famous Madame de Rambouillet, would seem to have inherited many of his gifts and not a few of her mother's, the princess Julia Savelli, whom de Vivonne married when he was "*un vieux garçon*" of fifty-seven years, and ambassador at Rome.

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*The Empire of the Hittites.* By WILLIAM WRIGHT, B.A., D.D. With Decipherment of Hittite Inscriptions, by Prof. A. H. SAYCE, LL.D.; a Hittite Map, by Sir CHARLES WILSON, F.R.S., &c., and Captain CONDER, R.E.; and a Complete Set of Hittite Inscriptions, Revised by Mr. W. H. RYLANDS, F.S.A. London: James Nisbet & Co. 1884.

THE number of names on this title-page is quite indicative of the large amount of interest now being felt by scientific and Scripture students in the "Hittite question." Dr. Wright's volume has already had a warm welcome accorded to it, and we are glad to add our welcome and to introduce it to Catholic readers. If further investigations should confirm those which have been thus far made, in the line of result to which at present they tend, we shall witness the singular phenomenon of a mighty empire that flourished nineteen centuries before Christ, the rival first of Egypt and later of Assyria—an empire which "maintained its existence, defying all enemies, for a period of longer duration than that of the empires of Babylon or Assyria, Greece or Rome"—restored in the nineteenth century after Christ to a place in history which it had entirely lost save for a few references in the Bible which some of our modern critics had sagely pronounced to be "unhistorical." Dr. Wright's interesting volume is valuable, as it gives us a complete summary of these investigations, gathered from a variety of less accessible works in which such scholars as Chabas, Brugsch, Sayce, and others have each recorded their particular contribution. And if of these researches Dr. Wright would doubtless not say "*quorum pars magna fui*," he has had a share in them, and that not a trifling one. The first chapter of his volume

records it, and is a charming narrative of an exciting and hazardous adventure to secure the Hamath inscriptions.

The Hittites are called in our Vulgate text the Hethites, and under that form of the name the Abbé Vigouroux gave an excellent and full account of them in the *Revue des Questions historiques* of January, 1882. The book of Genesis makes mention of the Hittites as already a settled people as early as the time of Abraham (xv. 20); it was from them that the patriarch bought the burial-place for his wife Sara at Hebron, for which he paid in current money. From this text onward we meet frequent mention of the Hittites: Esau married two Hittite women, who were a great trouble to Isaac and Rebecca; the spies report to Moses their locality in the promised land; one of their nation, "Urias the Hethite," the husband of Bethsabee, was one of David's "valiant men;" their women were among those strange women for whom Solomon neglected God; they must have been a warlike people and independent of the Hebrew monarch, since we read of their selling horses and chariots, and of the likelihood of the King of Israel hiring the Hittites as allies in war (4 Kings vii. 6). Thus the Bible: but the hieroglyphics of Egypt contain very large record of the Kheta, a people whom most scholars identify with the Hittites, and, where record of the Kheta ceases on the Egyptian monuments, it is continued of them under the name of Khatti in the Assyrian inscriptions. From these two sources we gather a history which makes of this people one of the chief empires of the ancient world. Mariette believes that one of the Hyksos dynasties of Egypt was Hittite. As early as the twelfth dynasty there is hieroglyphic record of Hittite towns and palaces on the borders of Egypt, probably two thousand years B.C. Northwards they had powerful cities on the Orontes—as Kadesh and Hamath—and Carchemish on the Euphrates, whilst either their possessions or their conquests seem to have embraced the whole of Asia Minor. Time after time did the Egyptian monarchs lead their armies against the Hittite kings. Dr. Wright summarizes one chapter thus:—

We thus see the Hittite kings the rivals of the Pharaohs in peace and war from the twelfth to the twentieth dynasty. The shock of Egyptian invasion exhausted itself against the frontier cities of Kadesh and Carchemish, but the mighty empire of the Hittites extended beyond, on the broad plains and highlands of Asia Minor, and so there were always fresh Hittite armies and abundance of Hittite wealth to enable the Hittite empire to withstand the might of Egypt for a thousand years.

The struggle with Assyria was long and fierce, until in B.C. 717, under Sargon, the Hittites were finally overthrown and Carchemish taken. The local extent of Hittite power is deduced from the quantity of monuments, with hieroglyphic inscriptions in different symbols from the Egyptian hieroglyphics, which have been found in numerous places of Asia Minor, as far westward as Smyrna, at Hamath, around Aleppo, and at Jerablis, the site of the ancient Carchemish. That the characters of these hieroglyphics are Hittite, Dr. Wright feels certain; he

appears to have started the theory. That they are Hittite writing is highly probable, but is not yet certain. Indeed, that uncertainty suggests the one remark to be made about this most interesting book—the writer's enthusiastic confidence notwithstanding—viz., that much of the history of the Hittites is as yet more or less conjectural. Captain Conder warns us, in the *Contemporary* for December last, that "it is not yet proven, however probable" it may be, that these numerous monuments of Syria and Asia Minor are Hittite. Portions of this earnest and entertaining volume are highly valuable to Biblical students. We cannot give any idea here of the appearance of the inscriptions, of which there is a complete set of drawings, together with an extremely interesting chapter on the attempted decipherment of them by Professor Sayce.

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*Auxilium Prædicatorum; or, a Short Gloss upon the Gospels.* With Hints as to their Use in Sermons. Vol. III.—St. John. By the Rev. PIUS DEVINE. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1884.

THE first and second volumes of this work were noticed by us in October last. What was there said may stand for this new volume, the method of treatment and style being faithfully continued here. It may be mentioned, however, that the third volume contains, besides the Gospel, the three Epistles of St. John.

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*History of the Church*, designed for the use of Ecclesiastical Seminaries and Colleges. By Rev. J. A. BIRKHAUSER. New York: Putset. 1884.

WE have received the first part of this work, a fasciculus of 252 large octavo pages, treating of the First Period of the History of the Church (from A.D. 1 to A.D. 680). It would be premature to do more at present than announce its appearance. We may venture to say, however, that it promises to be acceptable to that class of students and general readers who desire something shorter than Alzog, yet longer than Chantrel, and less antiquated than Reeve.

We hope to notice it more fully when it is completed.

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*The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles.* Διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα Ἀποστόλων. A Translation, with Notes, and Excursus illustrative of the "Teaching;" and the Greek Text. By Canon SPENCE, M.A., Vicar of St. Pancras. London: James Nisbet & Co. 1885.

CANON SPENCE certainly deserves the best thanks of students for giving them, in an available form, the text itself, a good translation, and an excellent commentary on this newly discovered work. The special value of the notes lies in this, that they are mainly very apposite quotations from the Apostolic Fathers, with parallel passages from the so-called Epistle of Barnabas and from the "Shepherd of

Hermas." Canon Spence considers that the "Teaching" is anterior to both the above-mentioned writings, and that their authors had read and were familiar with the "Teaching." The learned editor agrees with Dr. Lightfoot in attributing to the "Teaching" so early a date as the last quarter of the first century. The general questions concerning genuineness and authorship have already been sufficiently discussed by us. That the "Teaching" is really authentic and of very early date is now the received opinion of scholars. It only remains, then, to discuss its controversial bearings. In the first place, it is a fresh evidence to the antiquity of at least two of the Gospels, St. Matthew's and St. Luke's. So, to use Dr. Lightfoot's phrase, the "Teaching" is "another nail in the coffin of the Tübingen school of Biblical criticism." Moreover, Canon Spence claims the precept about calling nothing our own as a quotation from the Acts of the Apostles. Secondly, the Catholic teaching about fasting and almsdeeds is clearly enjoined. Wednesday and Friday are the Christian fast-days, not Monday and Thursday like the hypocrites, by whom the writer means the Pharisees. By the way, in regard to almsdeeds, we have to complain that Canon Spence refers to the Protestant translation of Daniel iv. 24 without correcting the error which is acknowledged by all Hebrew scholars. Baptism, Confession, and the Holy Eucharist are the Sacraments especially dwelt upon. Immersion is not insisted upon, but fasting by both baptizer and baptized is. The Eucharist is recognized as both a Sacrifice and a Sacrament. Malachy i. 11 is clearly applied to its fulfilment in the Mass. The Real Presence is not set forth very explicitly, but "spiritual food and drink through Jesus Christ" clearly implies it. It must of course be admitted that the words of consecration are not given, and that the Eucharistic prayers seem rather to refer to the Christian Agape, with which in the first days of the Church the Holy Eucharist was associated. There is one curious point in connection with the "Teaching" which we do not remember to have seen noticed before, and that is the entire absence of any reference to drunkenness. Almost every other sin is catalogued in connection with the "way of darkness." This is the more astonishing after what St. Paul tells us about the Agape.

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A *Smaller Biblia Pauperum*, conteynynge thyrtye and eyghte Wodecuttes illustratyng the Lyfe, Parablis, and Miraclis off Oure Blessid Lorde & Savioure Jhesus Crist. With the Propre Descrypciouns thereof extracted from the Original Texte off John Wiclif. Preface by the Late Verie Rev. A. P. STANLEY, D.D., Dean of Westminster. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1884.

A MEMORIAL volume of the Caxton Celebration of 1877 was printed, entitled "A New Biblia Pauperum," containing a series of woodcuts from old blocks then exhibited at South Kensington. The present book is a reprint of the same antique cuts, but reduced in size, and designated "A Smaller Biblia Pauperum." The pictures are certainly a curiosity, and are grotesque enough in

all conscience without either the illustrative (?) texts taken from Wyclif's version and printed in black-letter, or the interminable title-page with its affectation of obsolete spelling. The volume is only a *soi-disant* "Bible of the Poor;" indeed, the blocks probably never served in any printed book. Nothing more seems to be known of them save that they were bought at Nuremberg some sixty years ago by Mr. Sams, of Darlington, a famous collector of antiquities. An artist's mark appears on one print, but is unknown, and a date can only be suggested for them in the sixteenth, but more probably at the close of the fifteenth, century, say the British Museum authorities. Not a few of these curious woodcuts suggest a Catholic artist, and this may be a confirmation of the older date, which again is indicated by their style of workmanship. Several scenes are crowded, often in close juxtaposition, into a single plate, all illustrating one parable, for instance, or one gospel scene. This mixing of scenes is quite comical oftentimes, Our Lord, known by His crucifer nimbus, sometimes (as in folio xxxiv.) having the appearance of standing on each side of a crowd, one Christ pointing to the other. In another plate, the man sowing good seed walks in front of the enemy, a grinning devil with his tongue out, who sows cockle; the seeds appear to fall on the reapers below, who are lifting the good sheaves into the barn and the cockle-bundles into the fire, the flames of which in turn appear to rise from amid the apostles, who still lower down are gathered in front of our Lord, who is telling them the parable. In the corner of another cut, St. Peter, with the keys in his hand, is loosing a sinner by absolution with the uplifted right hand, and close by he is binding the hands of a gruesome-looking wretch, having both his own hands busy with the rope. The whole of the Passion is represented in one plate, our Lord's figure recurring in it eleven times. Altogether this is an interesting collection of curious woodcuts. Throughout, the volume is in keeping; the printing is on imitation old-style paper and in a specially designed parchment cover with antique clasps.

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*Religion in England from 1800 to 1850.* By JOHN STOUGHTON, D.D.  
London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1884.

IN these two well-written volumes Dr. Stoughton purports to give the History of Religion of England during the first half of the present century. The subject is a wide one, as it embraces the history of the almost innumerable religious sects into which the Christianity of England is at present divided. Our author possesses several qualifications which fit him to be the historian of Nonconformist Christianity; yet we miss in his work that comprehensive grasp and breadth of view which would render it one of lasting utility. The volumes are rather materials for a history than history itself. There is an almost total absence of what we may call historical perspective. Minor details assume the prominence of events of national importance. Many pages are often devoted to a biographical sketch of one who, though perhaps eminent in the obscure religious body to which he belonged, yet did

little to influence the broad current of national religious life. The first volume consists for the most part of such short notices.

Nor can we pass over the tone of the work with reference to Catholics. In the very first page we read: "The Irish Union if not produced was certainly promoted by the rebellion of 1798, in which Roman Catholic antipathies played so conspicuous and frightful a part." In page 3 we read: "Each Church hated the other; the bigotry and utterly unchristian spirit of the Papist surpassing that of the Protestant; had their places been changed in relation to political power we can easily infer what the consequences would have been." This is not the place to enter on a historical discussion of the causes which led to the rebellion of 1798, nor is there space to refute those historically untrue assertions. In page 58, after speaking of the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts, the writer goes on to say that the time had now come for relieving Catholics from the disabilities which pressed on them so heavily for such a great length of time. "No danger could be reasonably apprehended from the abrogation of the Test and Corporation Acts; but, looking at the cunning and crooked policy of Romanists, and at principles they maintained subversive of civil and religious liberty—the operating of which has since been made plain enough by the encyclical of the late Pope—it was not difficult to make out a strong case against conceding the political power then demanded." Language of this description, and occurring too, not in a party pamphlet, but in a work which professes to be sober history, exhibits such a total absence of that judicial impartiality we expect to find in a historian, as to render the whole book deservedly suspected.

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*The Life of the Buddha*, and the Early History of his Order; derived from Thibetan Works in the Bkah-Hgyur and Bstan-Hgyur. Translated by W. WOODVILLE ROCKHILL. London: Trübner & Co. 1884.

THE vast Buddhist literature of Thibet is almost unknown to European scholars, and Mr. Rockhill deserves our best thanks for giving us this specimen of it. The first part of his work contains a substantial and connected analysis, and frequently literal translations of the greater part of the historical and legendary texts contained in the Thibetan Dulva or Vinaya Pitaka, the most trustworthy and probably the oldest portions of the Bkah-hgyur. Then we are presented with a literal English version of a work on the Buddhist School of the Hinayâna, by Bhavya, an Indian Buddhist of great renown. In the last two chapters we have an account of the early history of Thibet and Khoten, derived, Mr. Rockhill tells us, from a somewhat hurried examination of the Thibetan Bstan-hgyur and other books that have come under his notice. The peculiarities of Thibetan Buddhism form too great a subject to be even touched upon in the brief notice to which we are here restricted. But we may observe that in the Thibetan Dulva, as in all the Buddhist Sacred Books at present accessible to us, two periods of the life of Gotama are narrated in substantially the same terms—namely, his history down to his visit to Kapilavasta, in the

early part of his ministry, and the account of the year which preceded his attainment of Nirvāna. This is an important and suggestive fact.

*The Works of Orestes A. Brownson.* Collected and arranged by HENRY F. BROWNSON. Vols. 11, 12, 13. Civilization II, III, IV. Detroit: Thorndike Nourse. 1884.

IT has been a good thing to collect Brownson's essays together. He was one of the most remarkable American Catholic writers, and his shrewd, straight, and logical mind, enriched by very considerable powers of research, rendered him in his time a most powerful champion of whatever cause he took up. He was not always on the right side: at times he became sour and wayward; he was never very nice in his dealings with his opponents, but hit them hard and unsparingly. On the whole, however, his services, great services, far out-measured his shortcomings and offences. He was a thorough Ultramontane and a staunch Catholic. His essays on the Papacy and Ultramontaniam, education, civilization, political atheism, and many more that we might name, are thoroughly useful at the present time. As a repertory for Catholic lecturers the three volumes of essays will be found quite as necessary as those by Wiseman and Spalding.

1. *The Homiletic Magazine.* March, 1885. London: Nisbet & Co.
2. *The Monthly Interpreter.* March, 1885. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co.
3. *The Expositor.* March, 1885. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

THESE three Protestant magazines are monthly issues, and devoted almost exclusively to Scripture matters—an evidence of the immense popular interest taken in all that concerns the Bible. The *Monthly Interpreter*, edited by the Rev. Joseph Exell, is of recent birth, and therefore, perhaps, the fuller of strength and vigour of treatment. Dr. Mair's paper on "Some Recent Checks and Reverses sustained by Modern Unbelief," which appeared in February, was particularly valuable. One of the special features of the *Homiletic* is the "Clerical Symposium," in which the Right Rev. Dr. Weathers, Bishop of Amycla, has ably represented the Catholic cause. The subject now in debate is the foundation of belief in immortality. In addition to theological discussion and Scriptural exegesis, the *Homiletic* favours its clerical readers with plans and outlines of sermons, and a sermon *in extenso* from some distinguished foreign preacher. We may remark that the *Expositor* has undergone a change, both of editor and treatment. The Rev. W. Robertson Nicoll has succeeded Dr. Cox, who was editor for so many years. The change of treatment which we notice is the widening of the range of subjects selected, papers being admitted which can hardly be said to have much connection with Scriptural exposition. The

article on Canon Mozley is an interesting review; that on the "Better Resurrection," an eloquent sermon. Professor Fuller's papers on "Recent Research and the Book of Daniel" promise well, and are more in keeping with the general character of the *Expositor*.

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*Le Cardinal de Bernis depuis son Ministère, 1758-1794 : Le Schisme constitutionnel—La Suppression des Jésuites.* Par FRÉDÉRIC MASSON. Paris: E. Plon; Nourrit & Cie. 1884.

FUTURE writers on the affairs of the Church in France during the end of the eighteenth century cannot neglect this painstaking biography, with its hitherto unpublished materials. But whoever uses it will have to carry with him the judgment of a critic, remembering that the history is presented to a great extent from the point of view of De Bernis himself. De Bernis was not unfriendly to Voltaire; and when he was sent as French ambassador to Rome, where he resided during the most important period of his life, he regarded himself as the champion of the so-called liberties of the French Church against the Pope. His bluntness in writing of Popes with whom he had to deal, shows that he forgot the Vicar of Christ in regarding the man. He clears himself of suspected Jansenism, but his Gallicanism is beyond doubt; and for this the biographer at least seems to show sympathy, although this is a point that weighs heavily against all his work as agent of the Duc de Choiseul in Rome. His Gallicanism was, of course, the result of his having entered the priesthood, as many able men did at that unfortunate time, chiefly as a path to worldly advancement and to a political career. Poor by birth, his literary skill attracted the notice of the Court, and he rose to be Louis XV.'s ambassador at Venice, and afterwards Minister of Foreign Affairs. He was forced to resign this post in 1758. The Life of De Bernis already published by M. Masson covers the ground up to this point. The new work embraces a more important period.

De Bernis seems to have been ordained only when he was about to take the Archbishopric of Albi on his return to favour in 1758; he had hitherto worn the tonsure as the Abbé Bernis. He was now sent as French ambassador to Rome, and remained there till his death in 1794. As agent of the Duc de Choiseul, he took a prominent part in forcing upon Clement XIV. the suppression of the Jesuits; and it was he who conducted the negotiations with Pius VI. regarding all the changes produced in France at the Revolution.

He appears to have had no personal rancour against the Jesuits, but he worked zealously for the Duc de Choiseul. M. Masson has here to deal with many still disputed questions; on more than one his judgment will hardly be accepted as conclusive. It was surely not necessary to expend serious argument on the exploded calumny of the poisoning of Clement XIV. M. Masson takes the side of the

Jesuits; and one of their bitterest enemies, Choiseul himself (p. 299), dismisses the charge.

The character of the Cardinal de Bernis took colour from his time; he was a skilful diplomatist and an able man, and he gained all he had counted upon when he chose the service of the Church as a key to the service of the State. It is well for France that, after the fiery trial of the Revolution, the pestilence of Gallicanism has been swept away, and the sanctuary is no longer an entrance to the Court or to political eminence. That was the period of decline and weakness which prepared the Revolution, the open war against the Holy See, the captivity of the Popes, the dispersion of all the religious Orders, the desolation, well-nigh the ruin, of the Church in France. At that period loyalty to the Holy See was almost counted disloyalty to the country as an isolated semi-religious Power. What wonder that men like De Bernis were found to consider that a battle for their country might have its ground at Rome? It was also a time when Jansenism had spread its leaven far beyond its avowed disciples; and many of the Cardinal's sympathies and antipathies were identical with those of the Jansenists, although he cleared himself of the charge of belonging to their ranks. One is conscious that, great personage and high dignitary of the Church as he was, his soul wanted the true ring, the true instinct, of a great Catholic; witness how, at least on one occasion, he manifests a dislike for the devotion to the Sacred Heart.

In conclusion, M. Masson's work is of historical value for the documents it unearths, and the new light of fresh materials. In his Preface he gives the sources of this interesting biography; but, somehow, it seems that, despite the impartial professions of the Preface, he identifies himself a little more than is desirable with the views of the central figure, to whom he has devoted so long and detailed a study.

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*Modern Scientific Views and Christian Doctrines compared.* By the Rev. JOHN GMEINER. Milwaukee, Wis. 1884.

THIS unpretentious little volume of two hundred pages is a treasury of scientific information and philosophical criticism. The most recent doctrines of the great scientists and so-called philosophers are clearly stated—generally, indeed, in their own words—and as clearly shown to be either untenable or else inoffensive to a Catholic. In small compass we have here a lucid refutation of the more popular and widespread errors of the day.

Where assertions are made on false or insufficient grounds, the falseness and insufficiency are accurately pointed out. Sometimes, where the facts themselves are undeniable, the deductions are shown to be without warrant, and the theories raised with so much care and patience to be without foundation.

The general reader will rise from the perusal of this little work, not merely instructed and entertained, but, what is vastly more important, with his faith strengthened in the dogmas of the Church, and his mind comforted by the evident harmony reigning between religious and

scientific truth. To those whose duties oblige them to mix in infidel society, this volume may be strongly recommended. Indeed, it is on the side of a false science and a corrupt philosophy that we must chiefly look for the tempest that is to try us. The true wisdom, then, is not to shirk difficulties or to deny facts, but to answer the one and to explain the other. Considering its very limited size and the extent of the ground it covers, this task has been ably done in the present volume. We must congratulate the learned Professor of the Theological Seminary of St. Francis, Milwaukee, on having so materially assisted us to understand the truth laid down by Bacon three hundred years ago, that "a little philosophy inclineth man's mind to Atheism, but depth in philosophy bringeth men's minds about to religion."

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*St. Paul the Author of the Acts of the Apostles and of the Third Gospel.*

By HOWARD HEBER EVANS, B.A. London: Wyman & Sons. 1884.

THE first question which suggests itself in regard to a book which runs counter to general tradition is what is the author's motive for writing it? Mr. Evans explains that his object is to strengthen the position of these two important parts of the New Testament against rationalist critics by fixing their authorship upon St. Paul, whose authority even infidels cannot gainsay, and as a necessary consequence establishing the fact that both Gospel and Acts were written before the destruction of Jerusalem. Granting the goodness of the motive, it may be open to question whether the reversal of the old and constant tradition of St. Luke's authorship would be a gain to the orthodox cause, and whether the new theory of authorship might not be open to yet stronger objections. The next point is, what evidence does Mr. Evans bring forward to support his new view? He adduces a list of words, phrases and particles occurring in the Acts and Third Gospel, which may be found in St. Paul's epistles and nowhere else in the New Testament. A similarity of language and style between St. Paul and St. Luke has often been remarked, but it is not so great as to prove identity of authorship. Mr. Evans omits to notice the points in which they are dissimilar. By parity of reasoning it could be shown that St. Paul was the author of the first Epistle of St. Peter, which contains words which are not found elsewhere than in St. Paul. Mr. Evans dwells much on what he calls the parallelisms of the Third Gospel and the Acts, and finds therein a proof of Pauline authorship. He supposes that the writer's object was to glorify St. Paul by showing that he was like our Lord in his life and sufferings, and like St. Peter in his miracles. In this Mr. Evans is borrowing an idea from the Baur and the "Tendenz" critics. Could it be established that the writer had any such object, it would prove to our thinking the very opposite to what Mr. Evans desires—that St. Paul was not the writer. Mr. Evans's objections against St. Luke's authorship are about as cogent as his arguments in behalf of St. Paul. Firstly, St. Luke's name is not found in the Third Gospel or the Acts. The first person plural which occurs in certain passages in the

Acts, has no significance for Mr. Evans. Secondly, the writings in question were the work of a highly educated writer, which, according to Mr. Evans, St. Luke was not. He even doubts whether "St. Luke was able to write a prescription or even his own name," and compares "the beloved physician" to one of "the barber-surgeons of the Middle Ages!" This is really too bad, particularly as Mr. Evans seems to have read Mr. Hobart's book on "The Medical Language of St. Luke," and he ought to know that the status of physicians in Asia Minor was very different from that among the Romans. Then as to the narrative of the shipwreck in Acts, Mr. Evans asks:—

"Have we the best evidence to these that Luke ever suffered shipwreck in his life?" Yet he says "the shipwreck evidently appeared to the writer an event of great importance, looming large in his perspective." . . . . "That it could have been *more* important to no one than to St. Paul, the wish of whose life for years it had been to visit Rome, except perhaps to the Roman Christians, for whom he doubtless thus related it at length." (P. 54.)

On the contrary, we should argue that a shipwreck would have loomed more largely in the perspective of one to whom it was a new experience, and therefore it is not likely that the writer of the graphic account was St. Paul, to whom shipwrecks must have been somewhat commonplace, for at the date of his second letter to the Corinthians he says "he had thrice suffered shipwreck, and a night and a day he had been in the depth of the sea." Nor does Mr. Evans attempt to harmonize the biographical details given in the Epistle with the account in the Acts—a thing not easy to do on the supposition that St. Paul was the author of the Acts; nor does he explain how St. Paul could have written the preface to the Third Gospel, and yet have told the Galatians (i. 11, 12) that the Gospel which he preached was not according to man, "for neither did I receive it of man, nor did I learn it, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ." Yet Mr. Evans congratulates himself that he has proved his case

"as conclusively and as scientifically as the Law of Gravity;" that he has proved "Baur, Strauss, and other sceptics to be wrong and their theories *unfounded*;" so, applying the maxim 'ex uno disce omnes,' we may not unnaturally expect that the prevailing purely *scientific* scepticism, with all its arrogant assertions and assumptions—all the more to be deplored because of their demoralizing influence on the masses of mankind—the Materialism of Professor Tyndall, the Positivism and Agnosticism of Professor Huxley and Mr. Herbert Spencer, may speedily prove to be equally unfounded, and therefore equally untenable."

From this modest conclusion, we infer that the Rev. Howard Heber Evans, B.A., Vicar of Mapperly, and formerly Scholar of Lincoln College, Oxford, is either a very young or a very old man.

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*Reasons why we should Believe in God, Love God, and Obey God.*

By PETER H. BURNETT. London : Burns & Oates. 1884.

IN this bulky volume Mr. Burnett proposes to cover almost the whole ground of modern theological controversy. The first division of his book is devoted to proving the existence of God from the marks of design in the material and animal worlds. The second portion is devoted to a refutation of the theory of Evolution ; and if he has not succeeded in demolishing Mr. Darwin, to whom he gives no quarter, he has, at least, succeeded in bringing together an amount of very interesting and very useful information. The remaining portions of the work are occupied with proving the credibility and historical accuracy of the Old and New Testaments.

*The Story of the Scottish Reformation.* By A. WILMOT, F.R.G.S.

Preceded by a Letter, on Queen Mary's Supposed Consent to "Abandon the Mass" if restored to her Kingdom, by the Hon.

COLIN LINDSAY. London : Burns & Oates.

THIS little brochure is a reprint of the edition which we noticed in October, 1883, save that there is added the letter of the Hon. Colin Lindsay traversing the authorities for a statement that Queen Mary once agreed that, if Elizabeth would restore her to her throne, "she would renounce the English Succession, abandon the Mass, and receive the Common Prayer after the fashion of the Church of England." It is strange that a few misprints of the first edition—Vivian for Ninian, Balmer for Balmez, &c.—have been carefully reproduced. We hope that this excellent sketch, suitable in this cheap edition for distribution, will have a large circulation ; it can scarcely fail to do much good.

## *Books of Devotion and Spiritual Reading.*

1. *The Life of the Right Rev. John N. Neumann, D.D., C.S.S.R., Fourth Bishop of Philadelphia.* From the German of the Rev. JOHN A. BERGE, C.S.S.R., by the Rev. EUGENE GRIMM, C.S.S.R. New York, &c. : Benziger Brothers. 1885.
2. *Ravignan's Last Retreat.* Translated from the French, by F. M'DONOGH MAHONY. London : Burns & Oates. New York : Catholic Publishing Society Co.
3. *The Life of Madame de Bonnault d'Houet, Foundress of the "Faithful Companions of Jesus."* Translated from the French, with a Preface by Lady HERBERT. Dublin : M. H. Gill & Sons. 1885.

4. *Life of St. Monica.* By M. l'Abbé BOUGAUD, Vicar-General of Orleans. Translated by Mrs. EDWARD HAZELAND. London: Richardson & Son.
5. *The Way to the Holy Truths of the Catholic Religion.* (Library Edition of Derby Reprints.) Edited by the Very Rev. Mgr. SING. London: Thomas Richardson & Son. 1884.
6. *Some Account of Don Bosco and his Work.* Gathered chiefly from the Narrative of Dr. D'ESPINEY. By Mrs. RAYMOND BARKER. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1885.
7. *Hymns and Verses.* By Lady CATHERINE PETRE. London: Burns & Oates.
8. *Memoirs and Letters of Jenny C. White del Bal.* By her Mother, RHODA E. WHITE. Dublin: M. H. Gill. 1885.
9. *The New Franciscan Manual and Seraphic Treasury.* By Fr. JARLATH PRENDERGAST, O.S.F. Dublin: James Duffy & Son.

1. **B**ISHOP NEUMANN died suddenly in the streets in the year 1860, at the early age of forty-nine. He was one of those strong, pious, zealous, and simple missionaries whom Catholic central Europe has sent in large numbers to the United States. Bishop Dubois, of New York, ordained him priest, and he at first exercised his ministry in the western part of the State of New York. He joined the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer at the latter end of 1840. In spite of a strenuous protest on his own part and on that of the Congregation, he was commanded under formal obedience by Pope Pius IX., in 1852, to accept the burthen of the episcopate. During the remaining eight years of his life, he spent himself and was spent in his vast diocese of 300,000 Catholics. His life, as here presented with loving care and detail by his religious brethren, is full of devout incident and missionary interest. We have a man of simple spirit, solidly learned, and not without a strong feeling for art; a priest filled with zeal for souls and with the spirit of self-sacrifice; a Bishop who repeats in his own person the heroic energy and mortified life of a St. Charles. The narrative is pleasing and well put together, embodying a large proportion of the very words of the holy religious himself, not without quaint simplicity and abounding in anecdote and incident. He deserves remembrance in the annals of the great American Church as the one who first introduced the practice of the Forty Hours. He was one of the leaders in that Catholic education movement which has done so much for the Catholics of the United States. His sudden death, at Philadelphia, shocked and distressed both Catholics and non-Catholics. "But," says his friend the saintly Archbishop Kenrick, "he was prepared to die at any moment. . . . Each year of his life he passed ten days in retreat preparing for death; each month he observed a day of special recollection in the same spirit; each morning he meditated upon heavenly things; each hour and almost each moment his soul communed with God." The death of such a man could never be

unprepared. His life is a precious heirloom to his religious brethren, to his adopted country, and to the Church at large.

2. This little book bears no date, and seems to be a reprint. It professes to be a translation of the notes taken by one of the community of the Conferences given to the Carmelite sisters of the Rue Messine, Paris, at a retreat which was preached to them by Père de Ravignan in November, 1857, a few months before his death. There is nothing very striking in the considerations on the exercises of St. Ignatius as here set forth; but they will be found useful to priests and to religious for private retreats and for spiritual reading. It is a pity the translation has not been more carefully done. Even without having seen the original it is easy to see that there are numerous sentences in which the sense of the French has been very inadequately conveyed. More careful editing might also have corrected such words as "Gonsagnes" (for Gonzague) and "Maureze" (for Manresa).

3. It was right that the saintly foundress of the "Faithful Companions" should have her Life written in English, for the consolation of her children and the edification of the Church at large. Born in 1781, she lived till 1858. Her life lay between the great Revolution and the anti-clerical Republic, and she took advantage of the comparatively quiet times in which her lot was cast to establish one of those numerous congregations of actively pious women which have sprung up in the modern French Church. In April, 1820, she began her society, with two companions and seven poor children, in a house at Amiens. It quickly spread during the ensuing thirty-eight years of her life, and before she died she had numerous houses in France and Italy, besides four or five in England. The peculiar end or spirit of the Institute seems to be much the same as that of the Sisters of Charity, with the addition of public vows; and it is significant that the foundress "begged" her first seven children from the Sisters of Charity at Amiens. The book now before us is fairly translated, and put together with some skill. It is largely made up of the letters and notes of Madame d'Houet herself. In these there is edifying evidence of a holy life, of a strong character, and of a highly supernatural vocation. But there is not much which is interesting in any large sense as regards religion or literature. The minute details relating to the direction of the foundress in her earlier years by a number of Jesuit Fathers who are represented as generally at cross purposes, and, in later years, the plain hints as to "persecutions" and "storms" (nuns' equivalents for all opposition), somewhat disturb the serenity of the devotional atmosphere which one expects in the life of a heroically holy woman.

4. There are very few Lives of Saints which are more profoundly spiritual and stimulating than the Abbé Bougaud's "*Vie de Ste. Monique*." Learned, devout, earnest, eloquent, and picturesque, it is at once an interesting study of one of the most cherished of saints and an admirable example of French prose. This translation, by Mrs. E. Hazeland, deserves a warm welcome in English-speaking countries.

She has done almost the best that could be done with the brilliant French priest's extremely French style, and there is not an unreadable sentence from beginning to end of the handy octavo sent out by Messrs. Richardson. The following short extract may be given as a sample of the author's style and the translator's success:—

I may perhaps be asked where I have found materials for such a history. . . . Augustine loved his mother passionately, spoke of her incessantly, and has embalmed her memory in almost every work that issued from his pen. . . . His mother's name, his mother's memory, would suffice to fill his eyes with tears even when in the pulpit. Yielding to the charm of these souvenirs, he would discourse of them to his people at Hippo, and his sermons, where one would hardly have looked for such allusions, are full of words of touching beauty, bearing the impress of filial gratitude, and the twofold mark of genius and of sanctity. It is needless to say that nowhere has he spoken of his mother so fully, with such heartfelt joy and deep emotion, as in his "Confessions." And yet in perusing this work we feel that St. Augustine does not tell all. A species of modesty restrains his pen, and in several passages it is evident that he designedly veils the halo surrounding her, lest a ray of the same glory should be reflected on his own brow. But the heart divines that which he withholds; tradition indicates it, and the Church often hymns the same. . . . These gems I have gathered, and present them as an offering to Christian mothers.

It might have been as well if the numerous passages in which the author translates St. Augustine himself had been re-translated from the original, or at least carefully compared. Any French rendering of the massive prose of the "Confessions" is sure to be somewhat of a paraphrase; and by the time the French idiom has been turned into English, the original text is sure to be a good deal obscured. In describing, for instance, from the "Confessions," in inverted commas, the celebrated scene at Ostia, when Monica and Augustine conversed about heaven (as we have them in Ary Scheffer's well-known picture), the great Doctor's own words are by no means correctly given. He says their thoughts gradually rose to the contemplation of life eternal as it is in God; but what is meant by saying that they "arrived there, as it were, with one whole spring and beat of the heart?" St. Augustine says they "just touched it during the space of one heart's beat"—a most subtle description of the kind of glimpse of the Divine which human thought is sometimes given to attain. Some other incorrectnesses or superfluities in the story, we may presume, are the author's. There is no authority for saying that this incident happened "on one of those beautiful autumnal afternoons," &c., or that they were looking over the sea; they were looking out on a garden, and there is very little sea view at Ostia. It is to be feared, also, that there is no proof whatever that the "Te Deum" was composed by St. Ambrose and St. Augustine in the traditional way. We have no objection, however, to the introduction of the legendary into the Lives of the Saints; a story may not be true of a particular saint, but it is sure to contain valuable traits of the saint's culture in times early or late. But St. Augustine's own words should be sacred. With this slight protest, we can heartily recommend an excellent translation of an excellent book.

5. We have here a re-issue of the following treatises, which are more or less familiar to Catholic readers as among Mgr. Sing's well-known Derby reprints:—"A Sure Way to find out the True Religion;" "Conversion and Edifying Death of Andrew Dunn;" Fr. E. B. Glover's "Explanation and Ceremonies of the Mass;" and "A Dialogue on the Mass." These useful little tractates have not been in any sense re-edited; but no doubt they will be sought after by missionary priests, and by those of the laity who are so often in want of a book to put into the hands of the ignorant or the inquiring.

6. A handy account, with dates and statistics, of the life and work of the well-known Turin priest, Don Giovanni Bosco, has here been skilfully given by Mrs. Raymond Barker in a neat volume of 112 pages. We learn that Don Bosco is now seventy years of age. He has founded four societies. The first is that of the Salesians or Salesian Oratorians—this is his principal work. Its members, consisting of some thousands of priests, missionaries, and lay professors and assistants, conduct the numerous *patronages*, industrial schools, and orphanages in which he receives and educates some 150,000 poor boys. To encourage vocations to the priesthood among these boys, he has established the Institute of Mary, Help of Christians. A third institute, called the Daughters of Mary, Help of Christians, is chiefly occupied in teaching poor girls; and, lastly, there are the Salesian Co-operators, said to number some 80,000, an association which has been granted by Pius IX. all the privileges of the Tertiaries of St. Francis, and whose work is to assist the Salesian Fathers in seeking out destitute and neglected children. Mrs. Barker's pages are interesting and lively. One character in the narrative will be especially popular—Don Bosco's big dog, "Il Grigio." If the dog's age and adventures are not just a shade apocryphal, Don Bosco's has had more frequent escapes from assassination than any public man of the present day.

7. The friends of Lady Catherine Petre will be pleased to possess this memorial of her pious heart and graceful mind. The lines do not rise into originality or genius, but they contain much devout thought expressed in easy and flowing verse.

8. This is not precisely a devotional book, yet it contains much that is edifying. It is an account of the uneventful career of a bright and charitable American, a married lady, who was born at New York in 1835, and died at Santiago at the age of thirty-one. The style of the narrative is rather inflated and sentimental, yet not unpleasing; whilst Madame del Bal's own letters are very unaffected and full of varied interest. They contain, among other things, a curious picture of the religious condition of Central America twenty years ago.

9. This is the most complete manual for Tertiaries yet published, and contains everything they can desire, not merely as Franciscans, but as ordinary Christians frequenting the services of the Church and engaging in the usual private and public devotions of the faithful.

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